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Sex, Schooling, and Occupational Status¹

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Based on data from an 18-year follow-up of Wisconsin high school seniors, this paper describes the process of occupational achievement among men and women from labor market entry to mid-life. In contrast to several earlier studies, there are marked sex differences in the acquisition and maintenance of occupational status. The effect of post-high school education on the status of first jobs is twice as great among men as among women, and the effect of the status of first jobs on that of current jobs is one-third greater among men than among women. Men gain an average of nine points on the Duncan scale between their first civilian jobs and their jobs at age 36, but women lose an average of more than two points on the Duncan scale. At the same time, sex differences in occupational attainment are not all disadvantageous to women. First jobs of women are six points higher in status on the average than first jobs of men, and when the status of first jobs is controlled, the continuing influence of schooling on occupational status is twice as great among women as among men. Consequently, as others have also found, the total effects of schooling on the occupational statuses of women and men are the same at mid-life. Among the minority of women who remain childless, the process of occupational attainment is more similar to that among men.

Within the past few years there has been increasing research interest in processes of sexual stratification in American labor markets. It is well known that between men and women there are large and persistent differentials in earnings and that there are pervasive patterns of occupational segregation by sex. At the same time structural-equation models of occupational attainment have shown surprisingly modest differences between the sexes in occupational prestige or socioeconomic status. In several national samples, there have been minimal differences between the sexes in levels of occupa-

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tional status and in the effect of schooling on occupational status; occupational status is slightly less variable among women than among men (Treiman and Terrell 1975; McClendon 1976; Featherman and Hauser 1976; Spaeth 1977). Of the several arguments advanced to explain these anomalously small differences (Fligstein and Wolf 1978; Powers and Holmberg 1978), the most appealing is that prestige or socioeconomic status metrics do not adequately reflect important aspects of sexual inequality in labor market positions (Tyree and Treas 1974, p. 294; Wolf and Fligstein 1979*a*, 1979*b*; Hauser, Featherman, and Hogan 1977, pp. 192–93; McClendon 1976; Huber 1980). There is merit in the argument, but a closer look at the labor market careers of men and women reveals marked sex differences in occupational status and in the processes by which it is obtained. Paradoxically, differences in the occupational careers of men and women are consistent with and help explain the earlier findings of similarity between the sexes in current occupational status.

This study investigates the occupational attainment process from adolescence through mid-life in a cohort of male and female Wisconsin high school graduates who have been followed from 1957 to 1975. The analysis is based on a recursive social psychological model of achievement, which is displayed schematically in figure 1. It elaborates the well-known Blau-Duncan (1967) model of occupational achievement by introducing social-psychological variables related to school experience and aspirations, as well as a more

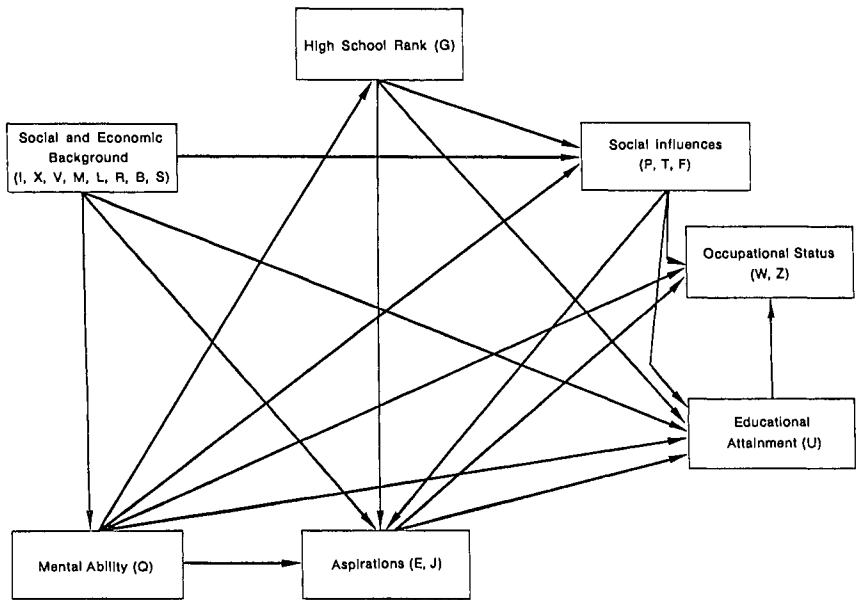


FIG. 1.—Schematic diagram of a social psychological model of occupational achievement

extensive set of social background characteristics. Earlier versions of this model have been used in analyses of educational aspiration and attainment, of occupational status, and of earnings early in the career of the Wisconsin cohort (Sewell and Hauser 1980). To date, comparisons between the sexes have been reported only in summary form (Sewell 1971; Hauser, Sewell, and Alwin 1976).

SOURCES OF DATA

Previous analyses of occupational achievement in the Wisconsin sample focused on jobs held in 1964, seven years after high school graduation. Here, we analyze new data about occupational achievement through 1975, obtained from telephone interviews with the respondents. This was a particularly opportune time to study the achievements of the members of our sample, for schooling was virtually completed in the cohort, and many women who had borne children had returned to the work force.

The Wisconsin longitudinal data come from several sources: (1) A survey of background, school experiences, and aspirations among all high school seniors in Wisconsin public, private, and parochial schools was conducted in 1957. From this survey a random sample consisting of 4,994 men and 5,323 women was drawn. (2) Information was taken from school and public records, with proper precautions to protect the privacy of individual information, on such matters as parental income, students' measured intelligence, and high school rank. (3) In 1964 the sample was followed up using questionnaires directed to parents. (4) In 1975 a second follow-up study was conducted in which approximately 90% of the original sample members were located and interviewed (Clarridge, Sheehy, and Hauser 1977).

Table 1 describes the source and coding of each of the variables in the model; the place of each variable in the model is indicated by a symbol in figure 1. Most of this material is self-explanatory, but a few supplementary comments may be useful. In addition to parental education, occupation, and income, the set of social background characteristics includes maternal employment (*L*), rural origin (*R*), intact family (*B*), and number of siblings (*S*). It has often been suggested that maternal employment affects the socioeconomic life chances of children—especially of daughters—because it raises the family standard of living, because it competes with other familial activities, or because it provides a favorable role model (Hoffman and Nye 1974, chap. 6). The socioeconomic effects of rural upbringing, marital disruption, and large sibships are well known (Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan 1972; Featherman and Hauser 1978; Sewell 1964; Sewell and Orenstein 1965; Sewell, Haller, and Ohlendorf 1970; Yang 1976). Before 1975, measures of sibship size and of intact family were not available in the Wisconsin data.

Following Featherman and Hauser (1978, pp. 23–24), the 1975 survey

TABLE 1—VARIABLES IN MODELS OF THE STRATIFICATION PROCESS

Symbol	Variable Name	Source*	Description
<i>I</i>	Parental income	Wisconsin tax records (1975 survey)	Average for all available years, 1957–60; scaled in \$100 and truncated at \$25,000
<i>X</i>	Occupational status of father (or other head of household)	1975 survey (Wis. tax records)	In 1957; Duncan SEI value of detailed census occupation
<i>V</i>	Education of father (or other head of household)	1975 survey (1957 survey)	Years of school completed
<i>M</i>	Education of mother	1975 survey (1957 survey)	Years of school completed
<i>L</i>	Mother's employment	1975 survey	Scored 1 if R's† mother was employed in 1957; scored 0 otherwise
<i>R</i>	Rural origin	1957 survey and school records	Scored 1 if R's father was a farmer or R's high school was in a place of fewer than 2,500 persons; scored 0 otherwise
<i>B</i>	Intact family	1975 survey	Scored 1 if R lived with both parents most of the time up to high school graduation; scored 0 otherwise
<i>S</i>	Number of siblings	1975 survey	Brothers and sisters (including step- and adoptive)
<i>Q</i>	Mental ability	Wisconsin testing service	IQ based on Henman-Nelson test, given in grade 11
<i>G</i>	High school grades	School records	Based on average of grades in high school, ranked and normalized
<i>P</i>	Parental encouragement	1957 survey	Scored 1 if R reported parental encouragement to attend college; scored 0 otherwise
<i>T</i>	Teachers' encouragement	1957 survey	Scored 1 if R reported teachers' encouragement to attend college; scored 0 otherwise
<i>F</i>	Friends' college plans	1957 survey	Scored 1 if R reported most friends were planning to attend college; scored 0 otherwise
<i>E</i>	College plans	1957 survey	Scored 1 if R planned to attend a college or university; scored 0 otherwise
<i>J</i>	Occupational status aspiration	1957 survey	Duncan SEI value of occupation R hoped eventually to enter
<i>U</i>	Educational attainment	1975 survey	Years of regular (not vocational or technical) schooling completed, e.g., 12 years for high school graduates, 16 years for college graduates
<i>W</i>	Occupational status of first job	1975 survey	Duncan SEI value of detailed census occupation, first full-time civilian job held after completing the highest grade of regular schooling
<i>Z</i>	Occupational status of current (or last) job	1975 survey	Duncan SEI value of detailed census occupation held at survey date or of last occupation held within the preceding five years

* If data were missing, they were obtained from the secondary source given in parentheses.

† R = respondent.

measured the status of the first full-time civilian job (*W*) held by the respondent after the completion of formal schooling, as well as the status of the current (or last) job (*Z*). Previously, first jobs had been excluded in comparisons of the occupational attainments of men and women. The importance of first job in explaining men's subsequent occupational attainment has been amply demonstrated (Blau and Duncan 1967; Duncan et al. 1972; Ornstein 1976; Featherman and Hauser 1978, chap. 5). Specifically, the inclusion of first job in our models allows us to ascertain (1) whether the ways in which education affects current occupational status are different for men and women (by decomposing the total effect of education on current status) and (2) whether the effect of status of first job on status of current job differs for men and women. Also, we are able to ascertain whether the effects of socioeconomic background and the social-psychological variables (mainly involving the school experience) diminish over time, as evidenced by their effects on status of first job and status of current job.

SAMPLE SELECTION, ATTRITION, AND MISSING DATA

Male and female respondents in the 1975 survey were included in this analysis if they were employed in civilian jobs in 1975 (or in the five years preceding the 1975 survey) and if information was available on all of the relevant variables. Sample attrition and selection are summarized in table 2. The final sample consisted of 3,411 men and 2,620 women. We believe that the sample restrictions and data losses do not substantially affect the generality of our findings about the achievement processes among men or women or about differences between the sexes in those processes.

Fligstein and Wolf (1978) have shown that the restriction of the National

TABLE 2
SOURCES OF NONRESPONSE AND SAMPLE SELECTION
IN THE WISCONSIN COHORT

	Men (%) (<i>N</i> = 4,994)	Women (%) (<i>N</i> = 5,323)
1. Nonrespondents in 1975.....	13.3	9.7
<i>a</i>) Deceased.....	2.4	1.1
<i>b</i>) Not found.....	3.0	2.6
<i>c</i>) No telephone contact (disabled or institution- alized, no or unpublished phone, not in U.S.).	3.4	3.0
<i>d</i>) Refused.....	4.5	3.0
2. Respondents in 1975.....	86.7	90.3
<i>a</i>) Ineligible (in military or no civilian job in past 5 years).....	0.8	25.0
<i>b</i>) Missing data.....	17.7	16.1
<i>c</i>) Analysis subsample.....	68.2	49.2
Total.....	100.0 100.0	100.0 100.0

Longitudinal Survey (Parnes) sample to employed women does not bias parameters of structural models of occupational achievement; the alternative hypothesis is that the differential selection of women into or out of the labor force does affect structural parameters of the process (Heckman 1974). While the analyses reported here are based on the restricted samples of men and women, we have carried out parallel analyses with more inclusive samples and have obtained similar results. Neither among men nor among women do there appear large or systematic differences between the analysis samples and the full samples. To take an extreme example, we carried out two regression analyses of the status of first jobs: one for women in the final sample and a second for women with complete data who ever held full-time civilian jobs after leaving school. The second analysis differs from the first by including almost 1,000 women who held full-time civilian jobs after leaving school but who were not employed between 1970 and 1975. There was a reassuring similarity between the parameter estimates in the two samples. Since we chose a contrast in sample definition that was extreme in its potential impact on our findings, we believe that our analyses are quite robust. We also estimated the equations in our model from pairwise present sample moments, and again the results did not vary in any important respect from those reported here.

Our findings in the Wisconsin cohort reflect the experiences of a broad segment of American youth, that of native, white high school graduates. Other important segments of the population are not well represented, especially high school dropouts and nonwhites. For example, Sewell and Hauser concluded that "in the late 1950s, school retention to grade 12 was markedly higher in Wisconsin than in the total United States and that from 75% to 80% of the Wisconsin men of high school age at about that time might have appeared in a sample of high school graduates" (1975, p. 215). Coverage of women is probably better than that of men in the Wisconsin sample. For example, in the 1960 census 74.7% of 20-year-old Wisconsin men and 79.5% of 20-year-old Wisconsin women had completed high school or were then enrolled in grade 12 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1963, pt. 1, tables 168, 172, pt. 51, tables 101, 102). Furthermore, in 1960 only 2.4% of Wisconsin's population was nonwhite, and fewer than 1% of 1975 respondents were of African, Asian, or Native American descent.

In spite of these limitations of the sample, we have also obtained substantial agreement between our structural-equation models and those based on national samples of men for which comparable measurements were available (Sewell and Hauser 1975, chap. 3). Together with the fact that other researchers using our models have generally replicated our findings (Sewell and Hauser 1980), this agreement strengthens our confidence in findings based on the Wisconsin sample.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF MEN AND WOMEN

The means and standard deviations of the social and psychological variables are reported in table 3. Sex differences in social background and academic performance in the Wisconsin sample have been discussed elsewhere (Sewell 1971; Hauser, Sewell, and Alwin 1976; Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf, in press). In spite of deficits of parental encouragement (*P*) and educational aspiration (*E*), women aspired to occupations (*J*) which were slightly higher in status than those to which men aspired. At the same time, the range of occupations to which women aspired was highly restricted in status relative to the range of men's occupational aspirations.

Up to a point, sex differences in educational attainment and occupational status parallel those in educational and occupational aspirations. First, the mean educational attainment (*U*) of men is almost a year greater than that of women, and the variance in educational attainment is restricted among women. This finding is contrary to past research comparing the educational achievements of employed men and women (or of husbands and wives), which has found similar distributions of schooling among men and women; the advantage, if any, has belonged to women (Treiman and Terrell 1975;

TABLE 3
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF SOCIAL AND
PSYCHOLOGICAL VARIABLES BY SEX IN THE
ANALYSIS SUBSAMPLE

VARIABLE	MEN (<i>N</i> = 3,411)		WOMEN (<i>N</i> = 2,620)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<i>I</i>	65.11	45.73	60.83	39.90
<i>X</i>	35.11	23.06	33.90	22.27
<i>V</i>	9.85	3.47	9.59	3.25
<i>M</i>	10.62	2.82	10.33	2.78
<i>L</i>.....	.346	.476	.397	.489
<i>R</i>.....	.369	.483	.369	.483
<i>B</i>.....	.916	.277	.913	.283
<i>S</i>	3.132	2.552	3.305	2.658
<i>Q</i>	101.64	14.74	101.48	13.94
<i>G</i>	97.75	13.92	104.64	13.76
<i>P</i>.....	.600	.400	.470	.499
<i>T</i>.....	.466	.499	.432	.495
<i>F</i>.....	.366	.482	.377	.485
<i>E</i>.....	.400	.490	.283	.451
<i>J</i>	48.72	27.51	50.34	16.34
<i>U</i>	13.81	2.44	12.99	1.77
<i>W</i>	40.97	26.74	47.07	18.34
<i>Z</i>	49.98	23.69	44.74	20.00

NOTE.—Variables are: *I* = parents' income, *X* = father's occupational status, *V* = father's education, *M* = mother's education, *L* = mother's employment, *R* = rural origin, *B* = intact family, *S* = number of siblings, *Q* = mental ability, *G* = high school grades, *P* = parental encouragement, *T* = teachers' encouragement, *F* = friends' college plans, *E* = college plans, *J* = occupational status aspiration, *U* = educational attainment, *W* = status of first occupation, *Z* = status of current occupation.

McClendon 1976; Featherman and Hauser 1976). This discrepancy may be due to the fact that women were historically more likely than men to graduate from high school but less likely than men to attend or complete college (Folger and Nam 1967; Sewell and Shah 1967, 1968). Second, on the average the statuses of women's first jobs (*W*) are six points higher on the Duncan scale than those of men. This differential is larger than that separating the occupational aspirations of men and women. Also, just as in the case of occupational aspirations, the variability in the statuses of first jobs held by women is restricted relative to that among men.

Beyond this point the parallel between sex differences in aspirations and in achievements no longer holds. Despite the initial advantage of women in occupational status, by mid-life the average occupational standing of men is about five points higher on the Duncan scale than that of women. Indeed, not only is the initial sex difference reversed, as men gain about nine points in occupational standing, but also women lose an average of about two points in occupational standing between their first and current or last jobs.

These findings about occupational status square with other studies of life-cycle variation in occupational attainment among men and women. In a study of Rhode Island women (Wolf 1975) and in a national survey of middle-aged women (Rosenfeld 1976), women's average occupational standing was essentially constant over the life cycle. Obversely, several national surveys show that among men mean occupational status grows markedly over the course of working life (Ornstein and Rossi 1970; Sørensen 1975; Duncan et al. 1972; Featherman and Hauser 1978). At the same time, our findings seem inconsistent with national cross-section surveys in which the mean occupational standing of men and of women was virtually the same (Featherman and Hauser 1976; McClendon 1976; Treiman and Terrell 1975). The latter studies, however, were based on samples with broad age ranges over which the relationship between the mean occupational attainments of men and those of 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 heterogeneous with respect to age.

As in the case of occupational aspirations and first jobs, the variability of occupational status is much less in current jobs among women than among men. Still, this differential appears to have declined as the cohort aged. We believe that sex differentials in the variability of occupational standing reflect restrictions in the occupational opportunities open to women. In comparative studies of occupational standing, sociologists are accustomed to summarizing differentials between populations by using a measure of central tendency like the mean (Duncan 1968; Hauser and Featherman 1974), but the differential occupational opportunities of men and of women cannot be so conveniently summarized.

Table 4 gives the major occupation group of the first and current or last occupation for men and women in the Wisconsin sample. Note that we have classified retail sales workers with clerical workers in a lower-white-collar category but placed nonretail sales workers in the same category as managers and proprietors (following Featherman and Hauser 1978, chap. 2). Women are vastly overrepresented among clerical and retail sales workers and among service workers; they are vastly underrepresented among managers, proprietors, and nonretail sales workers, among skilled workers,

TABLE 4
MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP OF FIRST AND 1975 (or Last) JOB BY SEX
AND BY MARITAL/CHILD STATUS OF WOMEN: PERSONS
EMPLOYED WITHIN THE PAST FIVE YEARS (%)

OCCUPATION GROUP	MEN	WOMEN				
		All	Never Married	Ever Married		
				Childless	1-2 Children	3+ Children
First full-time civilian job:						
Professional and technical workers.....	26.9	22.8	39.6	32.5	29.2	14.8
Managers, proprietors, and nonretail sales workers.....	9.8	1.8	3.0	2.5	2.1	1.1
Clerical and retail sales workers.....	9.5	54.0	41.1	47.0	52.4	58.0
Skilled workers.....	11.2	0.8	2.0	1.0	0.4	0.8
Semiskilled and unskilled workers.....	32.2	7.9	7.6	5.5	5.6	9.9
Service workers.....	2.5	11.9	6.1	11.0	9.5	14.5
Farmers and farm laborers.....	7.9	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.8	1.0
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1975 (or last job):						
Professional and technical workers.....	24.8	23.1	39.1	32.0	27.6	16.4
Managers, proprietors, and nonretail sales workers.....	27.2	8.6	12.7	14.5	9.5	6.5
Clerical and retail sales workers.....	6.7	39.0	34.0	33.5	42.0	38.6
Skilled workers.....	17.6	1.5	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.8
Semiskilled and unskilled workers.....	15.9	9.0	5.1	7.0	5.7	12.0
Service workers.....	3.2	15.7	6.6	10.0	12.3	20.1
Farmers and farm laborers.....	4.7	3.2	0.5	2.0	1.9	4.6
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N.....	3,411	2,620	197	200	888	1,326

NOTE.—Percentages may not add to 100.0 because of independent rounding. Nine women could not be classified by marital/child status.

and among semiskilled and unskilled workers. These differentials occur both in current and in first occupations. While far fewer women than men report first occupations in farming, the sex differential in farm employment is reduced in the current occupation. We think this occurs because many men who took first jobs on a family farm later moved to nonfarm jobs; many women with early nonfarm work experience later became farm wives and described themselves as unpaid family workers in 1975. While sex segregation within the professional and technical occupations is well documented over the occupational distribution as a whole the sex differential in professional and technical employment is small relative to those in other broad occupational groups.

Despite the overall stability of sex differentials in occupation group from first to current jobs, there were substantial net intragenerational shifts in the occupational distribution of each sex. Fewer than 10% of men held first jobs as managers, proprietors, or nonretail sales workers, but more than a quarter of men held current jobs in this category. Only 11.2% of men's first jobs were in skilled manual work, and this grew to 17.6% of current jobs. Almost a third of men's first jobs were in semiskilled or unskilled work, and this percentage dropped by more than half, to only 15.9% of men's current jobs. Last, following the national trend (Featherman and Hauser 1978, chap. 2), there was an intragenerational net shift out of farming.

Among women, fewer than 2% held first jobs as managers, proprietors, or nonretail sales workers, and this percentage increased to 8.6% of women's current jobs; still, this was less than the proportion in the same category among men at labor force entry. The percentage of female clerical and retail sales workers declined from 54% of first jobs to 39% of current jobs, but this remained the modal occupational category of women in our sample. Last, there were modest intragenerational net shifts of women into service jobs and, as previously noted, into farming.

The distributions of first and current jobs across broad intervals of the Duncan socioeconomic index (SEI) (Duncan 1961) reflect the changing occupational differentials between the sexes. As shown in table 5, women are virtually excluded from occupations at the bottom of the Duncan scale (values 0-9) and at the top of the scale (values above 80); the exclusion of women from the highest- and lowest-status jobs is nearly as extreme in current as in first occupations. In contrast, more than 10% of men held first jobs whose SEI value was less than 10, and more than 10% of men held first or current jobs whose SEI value was greater than 80. The rise in occupational status among men can be described largely in terms of net shifts from jobs with a SEI value of less than 20 to jobs with a SEI value of 40-49 or 60-69. Among women there were small net intragenerational shifts into occupations whose SEI value was less than 20 and out of occupations whose SEI value lay between 40 and 79. Thus women were excluded from the status

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TABLE 5

SEI OF FIRST AND 1975 (or Last) JOB BY SEX AND BY MARITAL/CHILD STATUS
OF WOMEN: PERSONS EMPLOYED WITHIN THE PAST FIVE YEARS (%)

WOMEN						
SEI	MEN	All	Never Married	Ever Married		
				Childless	1-2 Children	3+ Children
First full-time civilian job:						
0-9.....	10.2	1.5	2.0	1.0	1.2	1.7
10-19.....	30.1	16.3	10.2	11.5	12.2	20.6
20-29.....	6.5	2.6	2.5	2.0	2.4	2.8
30-39.....	6.2	3.9	3.1	4.5	3.6	4.2
40-49.....	8.7	29.8	30.0	29.0	27.4	31.6
50-59.....	3.0	9.0	8.1	8.5	8.3	9.7
60-69.....	14.2	23.9	21.8	26.0	26.6	22.0
70-79.....	10.4	11.6	19.8	16.0	16.1	6.9
80-89.....	8.6	1.3	2.5	1.5	2.1	0.5
90-96.....	2.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean.....	41.0	47.1	51.2	50.3	50.4	43.8
SD.....	26.7	18.3	18.0	17.5	18.0	18.1
1975 (or last) job:						
0-9.....	1.7	1.4	0.5	0.5	0.8	2.1
10-19.....	18.9	20.6	9.1	14.0	14.9	27.1
20-29.....	6.7	6.2	2.0	2.5	4.6	8.4
30-39.....	7.2	6.4	2.5	6.5	5.9	7.4
40-49.....	12.6	22.1	27.4	17.5	20.8	23.0
50-59.....	3.8	10.2	8.6	10.5	11.4	9.7
60-69.....	26.1	20.3	24.4	27.5	25.3	15.1
70-79.....	11.5	9.9	18.8	16.5	13.1	5.6
80-89.....	9.5	2.7	6.6	4.5	3.3	1.5
90-96.....	2.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean.....	50.0	44.7	54.1	51.4	48.9	39.6
SD.....	22.7	20.0	18.0	19.3	19.0	19.6

NOTE.—Percentages may not add to 100.0 because of independent rounding. Nine women could not be classified by marital/child status.

extremes of the occupational distribution, and they also lost standing in the middle of the occupational distribution between their first and current jobs. Over the same segment of the career, men shifted out of the bottom of the occupational status hierarchy and into its middle and upper reaches.

In anticipation of our later findings, tables 4 and 5 also display the association between women's marital and childbearing status and their occupational standing. Table 4 shows the occupational distributions of women who never married and of ever-married women who were childless, bore one or two children, or bore three or more children. The two childless groups each include about 7.5% of the sample. Married women with one or two children

make up one-third of the sample, and married women with three or more children make up the remaining half of the sample. Of course, there is no self-evident temporal or causal interpretation of the association between marital/child status and occupation, particularly in the case of the first full-time job, yet marital/child status is strongly associated with both first and current occupation. Regardless of marital/child status, 70%–80% of women held first jobs in the professional and technical or in the clerical and retail sales groups, but the relative numbers of women in these two groups varied dramatically with marital/child status. Never-married women were almost equally likely to hold professional and technical or clerical and sales jobs, and the odds were only slightly lower (.69) that a childless married woman would hold a professional and technical first job rather than a clerical or retail sales job. Among married women with one or two children the odds were almost two to one that the first job would be in clerical or retail sales rather than in professional or technical work, and among married women with three or more children the odds were almost four to one that the first job would be in clerical or retail sales instead of professional or technical work. While there were many more women than men in clerical or retail first jobs in each of the marital/child status groups, there were relatively more women than men in professional and technical first jobs, except among women who ultimately bore three or more children. Also, women who bore three or more children were more likely than women in the other marital/child status groups to hold first jobs in semiskilled, unskilled, or service occupations.

Marital/child status is associated with similar occupational differentials in current employment. While the percentage of women in clerical or retail sales work does not vary systematically across the marital/child status categories, the percentages of women in professional and technical work are greatest among the never-married women, followed by married childless women, women with one or two children, and women with three or more children. Similarly, the proportion of managers, proprietors, and nonretail sales workers is greater among childless women (married or not) than among women with children. Obversely, the proportion of semiskilled, unskilled, service, and farm workers is greater among women with children than among those without children, and it is greater among women with three or more children than among those with one or two children. In current as in first occupations, the proportion in professional and technical work is greater among women than among men, except among women with three or more children. If childless women and women with low fertility are advantaged in their access to professional and technical employment, their current occupations are not otherwise similar to those of men. Men remain far more likely to hold managerial or nonretail sales jobs, to hold blue-collar jobs, or to farm, and women remain more likely to work in clerical, retail sales, or service jobs.

Marriage and childbearing are also associated with women's occupational status. As shown in table 5, the mean occupational status of first jobs was highest for never-married women and least for women who bore three or more children, but in all of the marital/child status groups the mean standing of the first job was greater than among men. The occupational status differences among marital/child status groups are larger in the case of current jobs; nearly 15 points separate the average occupational standing of never-married women and married women who bore three or more children. Childless women did not suffer a career decline in occupational standing, and they continued to hold slightly higher-status jobs on the average than did men. The average occupational status of both groups of women with children declined between their first and current jobs, and the loss in status was greater among women who bore more children. Among women who ultimately bore three or more children, status of first job was almost three points higher on the Duncan scale than among men, but status of current job was more than 10 points lower than among men. At the same time, even those groups of women who were relatively advantaged in occupational standing appeared to be excluded from the very highest levels of occupational standing. For example, 6.6% of never-married and 4.5% of married, childless women hold current occupations whose SEI values exceed 80, but 11.5% of men hold such high-status occupations. Even among childless women the variance in occupational status is far less than among men.

In summary, whether we look at major occupation groups or at occupational status, women have markedly different occupational distributions than men. Although women hold an advantage in the average occupational status of first jobs, the advantage is reversed by mid-life. Men experience growth in occupational standing, while married women with children lose occupational standing. Among women, only the childless gain occupational status between first and current jobs and maintain a rough parity in occupational standing with men. Moreover, differences in mean occupational status between men and women do not fully describe their differing occupational opportunities; regardless of marriage and childbearing, women are excluded from the highest- and the lowest-status occupations.

So far we have described but not attempted to explain patterns of occupational attainment by sex and marital/childbearing status. We have seen that men and women in the Wisconsin sample differ modestly in socioeconomic background; larger differences between the sexes developed by the time of graduation from high school and may have been accentuated by later schooling, family, and labor market experiences. Moreover, factors affecting labor market success among women may interact with marriage and family formation. In order to elaborate and interpret these processes, we turn to a regression analysis of educational and occupational attainment. We look first at global differences between the sexes in the process of achievement,

and then we return to the effects of marriage and childbearing on the process of achievement.

THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVEMENT

Tables 6 and 7 give the estimated structural coefficients of each equation in our model for men and women, respectively. (Correlation coefficients are reported in the Appendix.) We have compared the coefficients for men and women in each equation. The sex differences mentioned in the following discussion are statistically significant beyond the .05 probability level in a two-tailed *t*-test.

The present analysis focuses on educational and occupational achievement, and we shall only summarize the equations for variables prior to educational attainment.² While the process of educational and occupational aspiration is broadly similar among men and women, there are also marked differences between the sexes. Where these differences occur, it is because men are more sensitive than women to the variables that influence aspiration in both sexes. Men's occupational aspirations are more influenced than women's by paternal occupation. Men's educational and occupational aspirations are also more influenced by ability, by high school grades, and by the support and example of significant others. We believe that all of these differentials reflect the limits imposed by traditional sex role definitions in the late 1950s.

Among men and women, educational attainment (*U*) is affected directly by parental income (*I*), father's education (*V*), ability (*Q*), grades (*G*), friends' plans (*F*), and aspirations (*E* and *J*). In addition, women's schooling is affected directly by mother's education (*M*), and men's schooling is affected directly by the encouragement of parents (*P*) and teachers (*T*). None of these effects (of *M*, *P*, or *T*) is significantly different for men and women, but there are other significant sex interactions. The direct effect of father's education (*V*) on son's education is three times larger than its effect on daughter's education; there is an opposite but nonsignificant interaction between sex and the influence of mother's education (*M*). The direct effect of ability (*Q*) on schooling is more than twice as large among men as among women, and the direct effect of grades (*G*) is nearly four times larger among men than women. Further, the direct influence of high-aspiring friends (*F*) on educational attainment is nearly three times larger among men than among women. At the same time, the effect of educational aspiration (*E*) on educational attainment is about 40% larger among women than among men. Thus, after controlling aspirations, the social and psychological variables responsible for variation in aspiration continue to have more influence on

² For detailed discussion of these equations of the model, see Sewell (1971); Hauser, Sewell, and Alwin (1976); and Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf (in press).

TABLE 6—ESTIMATED STRUCTURAL COEFFICIENTS IN A MODEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT: MEN ($N = 3,411$)

PREDE- TERMINED VARIABLE	DEPENDENT VARIABLE									
	Q	G	P	T	F	E	J	U	W	Z
a) Regression Coefficient (SE)										
I.....	2.76 ^a (.62)	-.038 ^a (.498)	.071 ^a (.019)	.022 ^a (.020)	.114 ^a (.019)	.060 ^a (.016)	1.930 ^a (.907)	.266 ^a (.075)	-.440 ^a (.778)	.884 ^a (.778)
X.....	.0762 (.0134)	-.007 (.011)	.318 ^a (.041)	.165 ^a (.042)	.218 ^a (.041)	.132 ^a (.034)	.096 (.020)	.0024 (.0016)	.069 (.016)	.056 (.017)
V.....	.376 (.090)	.043 (.072)	.677 ^a (.270)	.192 ^a (.042)	.991 ^a (.274)	.438 ^a (.224)	.151 (.130)	.0602 (.0107)	-.006 (.107)	.015 (.112)
M.....	.362 (.100)	-.011 (.080)	.892 ^a (.302)	.730 ^a (.317)	.891 ^a (.306)	.217 ^a (.251)	.112 (.146)	.0086 (.0120)	-.065 (.119)	-.017 (.125)
L.....	.936 (.518)	-1.024 (.415)	5.010 ^a (1.561)	1.264 ^a (1.634)	-.601 ^a (1.581)	.787 ^a (1.296)	.417 (.752)	.102 (.062)	1.346 (.615)	.375 (.643)
R.....	.730 (.547)	1.708 (.437)	-5.379 ^a (1.649)	2.619 ^a (1.727)	-7.453 ^a (1.671)	.583 ^a (1.374)	-5.701 (.798)	-.086 (.066)	-3.382 (.659)	-3.439 (.691)
B.....	.988 (.881)	1.168 (.705)	-.711 ^a (2.651)	-2.097 ^a (2.776)	1.047 ^a (2.686)	1.322 ^a (2.199)	-1.746 (1.276)	-.067 (.105)	.126 (1.044)	-.178 (1.090)
S.....	-.373 (.099)	-.219 (.079)	-2.039 ^a (.299)	-.441 ^a (.313)	-.813 ^a (.303)	-.424 ^a (.249)	-.212 (.145)	.003 (.012)	-.248 (.118)	.250 (.124)
Q.....		.559 (.014)	.499 ^a (.063)	.350 ^a (.066)	.331 ^a (.064)	.233 ^a (.053)	.219 (.031)	.0137 (.0025)	.035 (.025)	.144 (.026)
G.....			.758 ^a (.064)	1.286 ^a (.068)	.743 ^a (.065)	.701 ^a (.057)	.390 (.033)	.0399 (.0028)	.026 (.029)	.022 (.030)
P.....						25.25 ^a (1.51)	11.94 (.88)	.235 (.075)	1.71 (.75)	1.80 (.78)
T.....						12.60 ^a (1.42)	5.41 (.83)	.150 (.069)	2.11 (.68)	.98 (.72)
F.....						22.46 ^a (1.46)	10.79 (.84)	.627 (.072)	.81 (.72)	.93 (.76)
E.....								1.535 (.098)	-5.99 (1.01)	-3.39 (1.06)
J.....								.0041 (.0017)	.154 (.017)	.118 (.018)
U.....									7.215 (.171)	1.264 (.220)
W.....										.347 (.018)
Constant..	89.8	40.3	-89.5	-129.6	-99.5	-97.1	-28.3	6.37	-72.0	-6.7

TABLE 6 (Continued)

PREDE- TERMINED VARIABLE	DEPENDENT VARIABLE									
	Q	G	P	T	F	E	J	U	W	Z
b) Path Coefficient										
<i>I</i>.....	.086*	-.001	.067*	.020	.109*	.065*	.032*	.050*	-.008	.017
<i>X</i>.....	.119*	-.012	.150*	.076*	.105*	.062*	.081*	.023	.059*	.055*
<i>V</i>.....	.088*	.011	.048*	.013	.071*	.031	.019	.086*	-.001	.002
<i>M</i>.....	.069*	-.002	.051*	.041*	.052*	.012	.012	.010	-.007	-.002
<i>L</i>.....	.030	-.035*	.049*	.012	-.006	.008	.007	.020	.024*	.008
<i>R</i>	-.024	.059*	-.053*	.025	-.075*	-.006	-.100*	-.017	.061*	-.070*
<i>B</i>.....	.019	.023	-.004	-.012	.006	.007	-.018	-.008	-.001	-.002
<i>S</i>	-.065*	-.040*	-.106*	-.023	-.043*	-.022	-.020	.003	.024*	.027*
<i>Q</i>.....		.592*	.150*	.103*	.101*	.070*	.117*	.083*	.019	.090*
<i>G</i>.....			.215*	.359*	.215*	.199*	.197*	.227*	.013	.013
<i>P</i>.....						.253*	.213*	.047*	.037*	.037*
<i>T</i>.....						.128*	.098*	.031*	.039*	.021
<i>F</i>.....						.221*	.189*	.124*	.015	.019
<i>E</i>.....								.308*	-.070*	-.070*
<i>J</i>.....								.046*	.159*	.137*
<i>U</i>.....									.659*	.130*
<i>W</i>.....										.391*
<i>R</i> ².....	.097	.352	.261	.218	.215	.492	.457	.535	.617	.468

NOTE.—Variables are: *I* = parents' income, *X* = father's occupational status, *V* = father's education, *M* = mother's education, *L* = mother's employment, *R* = rural origin, *B* = intact family, *S* = number of siblings, *Q* = mental ability, *G* = high school grades, *P* = parental encouragement, *T* = teachers' encouragement, *F* = friends' college plans, *E* = college plans, *J* = occupational status aspiration, *U* = educational attainment, *W* = status of first occupation.

* Regression coefficients and their standard errors have been multiplied by 100 for ease of presentation.

* Significant at .05 level.

TABLE 7—ESTIMATED STRUCTURAL COEFFICIENTS IN A MODEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT: WOMEN (N = 2,620)

PREDE- TERMINED VARIABLE	DEPENDENT VARIABLE									
	Q	G	P	T	F	E	J	U	W	Z
a) Regression Coefficient (SE)										
I.....	1.26 ^a (.78)	-1.759 ^a (.611)	.076 ^a (.026)	.068 ^a (.026)	.085 ^a (.025)	.105 ^a (.020)	3.601 ^a (.810)	.230 ^a (.069)	1.492 ^a (.883)	1.113 ^a (.990)
X.....	.0384 (.0149)	.007 (.012)	.311 ^a (.049)	.076 ^a (.049)	.213 ^a (.039)	.108 ^a (.039)	.007 (.016)	.0011 (.0013)	-.003 (.017)	.000 (.019)
V.....	.413 (.101)	.064 (.080)	1.563 ^a (.333)	.740 ^a (.332)	1.063 ^a (.329)	.698 ^a (.267)	.019 (.106)	.0198 (.0090)	.232 (.114)	.000 (.128)
M.....	.753 (.109)	.289 (.086)	2.243 ^a (.362)	.901 ^a (.361)	2.282 ^a (.357)	.830 ^a (.292)	.249 (.115)	.0236 (.0098)	.101 (.125)	-.001 (.140)
L.....	-.172 (.546)	-.622 (.430)	2.786 ^a (.798)	3.301 ^a (.792)	-2.041 ^a (.774)	-1.480 ^a (.436)	-.066 (.568)	-.077 (.048)	-.509 (.614)	-.008 (.688)
R.....	.715 (.600)	2.315 (.472)	6.548 ^a (.984)	7.240 ^a (.978)	-7.085 ^a (.958)	1.321 ^a (.596)	-.785 (.631)	.013 (.054)	-.736 (.683)	-1.964 (.765)
B.....	.358 (.951)	1.802 (.749)	-.025 ^a (3.135)	-.961 ^a (3.124)	-2.872 ^a (3.093)	-4.303 ^a (2.499)	-.580 (.989)	-.051 (.084)	2.840 (1.070)	1.723 (1.200)
S.....	-.419 (.105)	-.363 (.083)	-1.744 ^a (.347)	-.853 ^a (.346)	-1.376 ^a (.342)	-.408 ^a (.278)	-.191 (.110)	-.005 (.009)	-.248 (.119)	-.091 (.134)
Q.....	.607 (.015)	.411 ^a (.081)	.411 ^a (.081)	.348 ^a (.081)	.313 ^a (.080)	.007 ^a (.065)	.044 (.026)	.0062 (.0022)	.054 (.028)	.146 (.031)
G.....		.572 ^a (.082)	.572 ^a (.082)	1.213 ^a (.082)	.558 ^a (.081)	.464 ^a (.068)	.292 (.027)	.0101 (.0023)	.183 (.030)	.099 (.034)
P.....						25.91 ^a (1.70)	5.32 (.67)	.109 (.059)	-1.75 (.76)	1.95 (.85)
T.....						12.24 ^a (1.66)	3.38 (.66)	.083 (.056)	-.88 (.72)	-42 (.80)
F.....						13.59 ^a (1.67)	3.22 (.66)	.228 (.057)	-1.95 (.73)	1.00 (.82)
E.....								2.180 (.073)	-3.88 (1.08)	-1.87 (1.22)
J.....								.0052 (.0019)	.314 (.024)	.045 (.027)
U.....									3.783 (.250)	2.771 (.292)
W.....										.258 (.022)
Constant..	88.5	39.2	-105.6	-142.6	-88.1	-63.5	5.4	9.74	-44.8	-32.6

TABLE 7—Continued

PREDE- TERMINED VARIABLE	DEPENDENT VARIABLE									
	Q	G	P	T	F	E	J	U	W	Z
b) Path Coefficient										
<i>I</i>.....	.036	-.051*	.060*	.055*	.070*	.093*	.088*	.052*	.032	.022
<i>X</i>.....	.061*	.012	.139*	.034	.098*	.053*	.010	.014	-.004	.001
<i>V</i>.....	.096*	.015	.102*	.049*	.071*	.050*	.004	.036*	.041*	.000
<i>M</i>.....	.150*	.058*	.125*	.051*	.131*	.051*	.042*	.037*	.015	.000
<i>L</i>	-.006	-.022	.027	.033	-.021	-.016	-.002	-.021	-.014	.000
<i>R</i>.....	.025	.081*	.063*	.071*	-.071*	.014	-.023	.004	-.019	-.047*
<i>B</i>.....	.007	.037*	.000	-.005	-.017	-.027	.010	-.008	.044*	.024
<i>S</i>	-.080*	-.070*	-.093*	-.098*	-.075*	-.024	.031	-.007	-.036*	.012
<i>Q</i>.....		.615*	.115*	.098*	.090*	.002	.037	.048*	.041	.101*
<i>G</i>.....			.158*	.337*	.158*	.142*	.246*	.078*	.137*	.068*
<i>P</i>.....						.287*	.163*	.031	-.048*	.049*
<i>T</i>.....						.135*	.103*	.023	-.024	-.010
<i>F</i>.....						.146*	.095*	.062*	-.052*	.024
<i>E</i>.....								.554*	-.095*	-.042
<i>J</i>.....								.048*	.280*	.036
<i>U</i>.....									.366*	.246*
<i>W</i>.....										.237*
<i>R</i> ².....	.084	.417	.226	.219	.200	.397	.282	.562	.335	.299

NOTE.—Variables are: *I* = parents' income, *X* = father's occupational status, *V* = father's education, *M* = mother's education, *L* = mother's employment, *R* = rural origin, *B* = intact family, *S* = number of siblings, *Q* = mental ability, *G* = high school grades, *P* = parental encouragement, *T* = teachers' encouragement, *F* = friends college plans, *E* = college plans, *J* = occupational status aspiration, *U* = educational attainment, *W* = status of first occupation.

* Regression coefficients and their standard errors have been multiplied by 100 for ease of presentation.

* Significant at .05 level.

the educational attainments of men than women. Once educational aspirations have been formed among women, however, their effect on attainment is larger than among men. Neither maternal employment (L), rural origin (R), intact family (B), nor sibship size (S) affects educational attainment (U) directly among men or women; yet there is an interesting sex interaction in the effect of maternal employment (L). The effect of maternal employment is small and positive among men and small and negative among women; the difference between the two coefficients is statistically significant. While the evidence is insufficient to show that maternal employment helps men's and hurts women's educational attainment, it does show that maternal employment is less helpful to women than to men. It is sometimes suggested that the role model of the working mother leads daughters to higher aspirations and achievements. Our evidence does not support this interpretation. If maternal employment has any influence, it is probably economic and directed more to improving the life chances of sons than of daughters.

Of course, the final equation in educational attainment does not fully elucidate the process of educational attainment or sex differences in that process. Tables 8 and 9 give reduced-form equations for men and women (Alwin and Hauser 1975). Each of the social background variables in our model except maternal employment (L) and intact family (B) affects significantly the schooling of men or women or both (see lines 1 of tables 8 and 9). Rural origins (R) improve the educational chances of women but not of men. Each later social psychological variable affects significantly the educational attainment of men and of women; these effects are partly mediated through later variables. Hauser et al. (1976) have elaborated this aspect of the model, so we focus our discussion on sex interactions in the reduced-form coefficients. We have already noted the larger effects among men of father's education (V) and maternal employment (L) in the final schooling equation (line 5); these interactions appear also in the reduced form (line 1). Further, the total effect of father's occupational status (X) is larger among men than women. At the same time, mother's education (M) has a larger total effect among women than among men; together with the opposite interaction of father's education (V), this suggests that a process of same-sex role modeling supplements the impact of both parents' educations on men and women. The total effect of ability (Q) on schooling is twice as large among men as among women; a 10-point difference in men's IQs leads to a 0.65-year increase in post-high school education, but the same difference in women's abilities leads only to a 0.33-year difference in schooling. Similarly, the total effect of a 10-point difference in grades (G) is twice as large among men (0.70 years) as among women (0.33 years). Last, the total effect of having high-aspiring friends (F) is also twice as great among men (1.02 years) as among women (0.54 years).

The occupational status of first job (W) is directly affected by several

TABLE 8—COEFFICIENTS OF REDUCED-FORM EQUATIONS IN THE MODEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT: MEN ($N=3,411$)

DEPENDENT VARIABLE	PREDETERMINED VARIABLE																	
	I ^a	X	V	M	L	R	B	S	Q	G	P	T	F	E	J	U	W	
	a) Regression Coefficient (SE)																	Constant
1) U.....	.730 (.099)	.0142 (.0021)	1103 (.0142)	.0529 (.0160)	.138 (.082)	— 149 (.087)	090 (.140)	— .067 (.016)									11.32	
2) U.....	.550 (.090)	.0093 (.0020)	.0858 (.0130)	.0293 (.0146)	.077 (.075)	— .101 (.079)	.026 (.128)	— .043 (.014)	.0651 (.0025)								5.48	
3) U.....	.553 (.083)	.0098 (.0018)	.0828 (.0120)	.0301 (.0135)	.148 (.070)	— .220 (.073)	— .056 (.118)	— .028 (.013)	.0262 (.0028)	.0696 (.0029)							2.68	
4) U.....	.380 (.079)	.0048 (.0017)	.0675 (.0114)	.0124 (.0127)	.116 (.066)	— .118 (.070)	— .054 (.111)	— .004 (.013)	.0182 (.0027)	.0523 (.0029)	.671 (.077)	.366 (.072)	1.016 (.074)				4.76	
5) U.....	.266 (.075)	.0024 (.0016)	.0602 (.0107)	.0086 (.0120)	.103 (.062)	— .086 (.066)	— .067 (.105)	.003 (.012)	.0137 (.0025)	.0399 (.0028)	.235 (.075)	.150 (.069)	.627 (.072)	1.535 (.098)	.0041 (.0017)		6.37	
6) W...	5.386 (1.081)	.200 (.023)	.869 (.156)	.411 (.175)	2.505 (.902)	— 5.369 (.952)	.617 (1.534)	— .870 (.172)									20.8	
7) W.....	3.731 (1.019)	.154 (.022)	.644 (.147)	.194 (.164)	1.945 (.848)	— 4.932 (.895)	.026 (1.441)	— .646 (.162)	.599 (.028)								—33.0	
8) W.....	3.753 (.974)	.159 (.021)	.618 (.140)	.200 (.157)	2.557 (.812)	— 5.953 (.858)	— .673 (1.379)	— .515 (.155)	.265 (.033)	.598 (.034)							—57.1	
9) W.....	2.187 (.942)	.110 (.020)	.478 (.135)	.028 (.151)	2.202 (.781)	— 5.078 (.828)	— .611 (1.325)	— .285 (.150)	.185 (.032)	.421 (.034)	6.88 (.91)	4.83 (.86)	8.46 (.88)				—36.2	
10) W.....	1.481 (.919)	.086 (.020)	.428 (.132)	— .003 (.147)	2.086 (.760)	— 4.001 (.814)	— .358 (1.289)	— .224 (.146)	.133 (.031)	.313 (.034)	3.41 (.93)	3.20 (.84)	5.34 (.89)	5.08 (1.21)	.184 (.021)		—26.1	
11) W.....	— .440 (.745)	.069 (.016)	— .006 (.107)	— .065 (.119)	1.346 (.615)	— 3.382 (.659)	.126 (1.044)	— .248 (.118)	.035 (.025)	.026 (.029)	1.71 (.75)	2.11 (.68)	.81 (.72)	— 5.99 (1.01)	.154 (.017)	7.215 (.171)	—72.0	
12) Z.....	4.663 (.968)	.180 (.021)	.582 (.140)	.323 (.156)	1.692 (.808)	— 6.363 (.853)	.204 (1.373)	— .318 (.154)									34.0	
13) Z.....	3.222 (.915)	.140 (.020)	.386 (.132)	.135 (.148)	1.204 (.762)	— 5.983 (.804)	— .312 (1.295)	— .123 (.146)	.521 (.025)								—12.8	
14) Z.....	3.236 (.895)	.143 (.019)	.370 (.129)	.139 (.145)	1.596 (.746)	— 6.637 (.788)	— .759 (1.267)	— .039 (.143)	.307 (.030)	.383 (.031)							—28.2	
15) Z.....	2.116 (.879)	.108 (.019)	.269 (.126)	.014 (.141)	1.308 (.729)	— 6.002 (.773)	— .709 (1.237)	.135 (.140)	.249 (.030)	.256 (.032)	5.59 (.85)	3.33 (.80)	5.66 (.82)				—13.3	
16) Z.....	1.734 (.865)	.089 (.019)	.240 (.124)	— .008 (.139)	1.228 (.716)	— 4.934 (.766)	— .387 (1.214)	.176 (.138)	.207 (.029)	.181 (.032)	3.28 (.87)	2.28 (.80)	3.58 (.83)	.31 (1.14)	.187 (.020)		—7.7	
17) Z.....	.732 (.820)	.080 (.018)	.013 (.118)	— .040 (.131)	.842 (.677)	— 4.611 (.725)	— .135 (1.148)	.164 (.130)	.156 (.028)	.031 (.031)	2.39 (.83)	1.71 (.75)	1.22 (.80)	— 5.47 (1.11)	.171 (.019)	3.764 (.188)	—31.7	
18) Z.....	.884 (.778)	.056 (.017)	.015 (.112)	— .017 (.125)	.376 (.643)	— 3.439 (.691)	— .178 (1.090)	.250 (.124)	.144 (.026)	.022 (.030)	1.80 (.78)	.98 (.72)	.93 (.76)	— 3.39 (1.06)	.118 (.018)	1.264 (.220)	.347 (.018)	—6.7

TABLE 8 (Continued)

DEPENDENT VARIABLE	PREDETERMINED VARIABLE																	R ²
	I*	X	V	M	L	R	B	S	Q	G	P	T	F	E	J	U	W	
	b) Path Coefficient																	
1) U.....	.137*	.134*	.157*	.061*	.027	-.029	.010	-.070*										.169
2) U.....	.103*	.087*	.122*	.034*	.015	-.020	.003	-.045*	.393*									.308
3) U.....	.103*	.092*	.118*	.035*	.029*	-.044*	-.006	-.029*	.158*	.396*								.410
4) U.....	.071*	.045*	.096*	.014	.023	-.023	-.006	-.004	.110*	.298*	.135*	.075*	.200*					.477
5) U.....	.050*	.023	.086*	.010	.020	-.017	-.008	.003	.083*	.227*	.047*	.031*	.124*	.308*	.046*			.535
6) W.....	.092*	.172*	.113*	.043*	.045*	-.097*	.006	-.083*										.168
7) W.....	.064*	.133*	.084*	.020	.035*	-.089*	.000	-.062*	.330*									.266
8) W.....	.064*	.137*	.080*	.021	.045*	-.107*	-.007	-.049*	.146*	.311*								.329
9) W.....	.037*	.095*	.062*	.003	.039*	-.092*	-.006	-.027	.102*	.219*	.126*	.090*	.152*					.381
10) W.....	.025	.074*	.056*	-.000	.037*	-.072*	-.004	-.021	.074*	.163*	.062*	.060*	.096*	.093*	.189*			.415
11) W.....	-.008	.059*	-.001	-.007	.024*	-.061*	.001	-.024*	.019	.013	.031*	.039*	.015	-.110*	.159*	.659*		.617
12) Z.....	.090*	.175*	.085*	.038*	.034*	-.130*	.002	-.034*										.150
13) Z.....	.062*	.137*	.057*	.016	.024	-.122*	-.004	-.013	.324*									.245
14) Z.....	.062*	.139*	.054*	.017	.032*	-.135*	-.009	-.004	.191*	.225*								.278
15) Z.....	.041*	.105*	.039*	.002	.026	-.122*	-.008	.015	.155*	.150*	.116*	.070*	.115*					.312
16) Z.....	.033*	.087*	.035	-.001	.025	-.101*	-.005	.019	.129*	.106*	.068*	.048*	.073*	.006	.217*			.339
17) Z.....	.014	.078*	.002	-.005	.017	-.094*	-.002	.018	.097*	.018	.050*	.036*	.025	-.113*	.199*	.388*		.409
18) Z.....	.017	.055*	.002	-.002	.008	-.070*	-.002	.027*	.090*	.013	.037*	.021	.019	-.070*	.137*	.130*	.391*	.468

NOTE.—Variables are: I = parents' income, X = father's occupational status, V = father's education, M = mother's education, L = mother's employment, R = rural origin, B = intact family, S = number of siblings, Q = mental ability, G = high school grades, P = parental encouragement, T = teachers' encouragement, F = friends' college plans, E = college plans, J = occupational status aspiration, U = educational attainment, W = status of first occupation, Z = status of current occupation.

* Regression coefficients and their standard errors in this column have been multiplied by 100 for ease of presentation.

* Significant at .05 level.

TABLE 9—COEFFICIENTS OF REDUCED-FORM EQUATIONS IN THE MODEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT: WOMEN ($N = 2,620$)

DEPENDENT VARIABLE	PREDETERMINED VARIABLE																		
	I^a	X	V	M	L	R	B	S	Q	G	P	T	F	E	J	U	W	Constant	
a) Regression Coefficient (SE)																			
1) U.....	.585 (.094)	.0086 (.0018)	.0701 (.0122)	.1084 (.0131)	.115 (.066)	.172 (.072)	-.090 (.115)	-.063 (.013)											10.82
2) U.....	.544 (.090)	.0074 (.0017)	.0566 (.0118)	.0839 (.0127)	.109 (.063)	.149 (.070)	-.102 (.110)	-.050 (.023)	.0326 (.023)										7.94
3) U.....	.603 (.088)	.0071 (.0017)	.0545 (.0114)	.0743 (.0124)	.089 (.062)	.072 (.068)	-.161 (.108)	-.038 (.028)	.0124 (.0028)	.0332 (.0028)									6.64
4) U.....	.478 (.083)	.0035 (.0016)	.0351 (.0108)	.0430 (.0118)	.109 (.058)	.038 (.065)	-.142 (.101)	-.015 (.011)	.0065 (.0026)	.0217 (.0028)	.702 (.069)	.367 (.067)	.540 (.068)						8.38
5) U.....	.230 (.069)	.0011 (.0013)	.0198 (.0090)	.0236 (.0098)	.077 (.048)	.013 (.054)	.051 (.084)	-.005 (.009)	.0062 (.0022)	.0101 (.0023)	.109 (.059)	.082 (.056)	.228 (.057)	2.180 (.073)	.0052 (.0019)				9.74
6) W	4.034 (1.021)	.030 (.020)	.539 (.133)	.717 (.143)	-.101 (.718)	.325 (.789)	3.396 (1.250)	-.661 (.138)											30.4
7) W	3.626 (.990)	.018 (.019)	.405 (.129)	.472 (.140)	-.104 (.696)	.092 (.765)	3.279 (1.212)	-.525 (.134)	.325 (.025)										1.6
8) W	4.267 (.966)	.015 (.018)	.382 (.126)	.367 (.137)	.818 (.678)	-.750 (.749)	2.624 (1.182)	-.392 (.131)	.104 (.031)	.364 (.031)									-12.6
9) W	4.024 (.968)	.008 (.019)	.343 (.126)	.309 (.138)	-.886 (.678)	-.891 (.754)	2.651 (1.181)	-.348 (.132)	.092 (.031)	.338 (.032)	1.57 (.80)	1.10 (.78)	.58 (.79)						-8.9
10) W	2.364 (.919)	.001 (.018)	.307 (.119)	.190 (.130)	-.800 (.640)	-.687 (.712)	2.046 (1.161)	-.266 (.124)	.077 (.029)	.221 (.031)	-.1.34 (.79)	-.57 (.75)	1.09 (.76)	4.37 (.98)	.334 (.025)				-7.9
11) W	1.492 (.833)	-.003 (.017)	.232 (.114)	.101 (.125)	-.509 (.614)	-.736 (.683)	2.840 (1.070)	-.248 (.119)	.054 (.028)	.183 (.030)	-.1.75 (.76)	-.88 (.72)	1.95 (.73)	-3.88 (1.08)	.314 (.024)	3.783 (.250)			-44.8
12) Z	3.994 (1.118)	.047 (.021)	.453 (.145)	.735 (.157)	.682 (.787)	-.1.031 (.864)	2.718 (1.370)	-.610 (.151)											29.0
13) Z	3.494 (1.076)	.031 (.021)	.289 (.140)	.435 (.152)	-.614 (.756)	-.316 (.831)	2.576 (1.317)	-.443 (.145)	.398 (.027)										-6.2
14) Z	4.019 (1.062)	.029 (.020)	.270 (.138)	.349 (.150)	-.428 (.746)	-.2.006 (.823)	2.038 (1.300)	-.335 (.144)	.217 (.034)	.298 (.034)									-17.9
15) Z	3.441 (1.056)	.011 (.020)	.174 (.138)	.193 (.151)	-.516 (.740)	-.2.530 (.823)	2.120 (1.288)	-.222 (.143)	.189 (.035)	.251 (.035)	4.05 (.87)	.80 (.84)	2.54 (.86)						-10.3
16) Z	2.362 (1.045)	.004 (.020)	.134 (.138)	.148 (.148)	-.428 (.728)	-.2.006 (.810)	2.264 (1.269)	-.173 (.141)	.182 (.035)	.184 (.035)				5.30 (1.11)	.145 (.028)				-7.7
17) Z	1.499 (1.015)	.000 (.019)	.060 (.132)	.025 (.144)	-.440 (.706)	-.2.154 (.785)	2.456 (1.229)	-.155 (.137)	.159 (.032)	.147 (.034)	1.91 (.87)	-.34 (.85)	1.35 (.86)	5.30 (1.11)	.145 (.028)				-44.2
18) Z	1.113 (.990)	.000 (.019)	.000 (.128)	-.001 (.140)	-.008 (.688)	-.1.964 (.765)	1.723 (1.200)	-.091 (.134)	.146 (.031)	.099 (.034)	1.95 (.85)	-.42 (.80)	1.00 (.82)	-1.87 (1.22)	.045 (.027)	3.747 (.287)	2.771 (.292)	.258 (.022)	-32.6

TABLE 9 (Continued)

DEPENDENT VARIABLE	PREDETERMINED VARIABLE																	R ²
	I ^a	X	V	M	L	R	B	S	Q	G	P	T	F	E	J	U	W	
	b) Path Coefficient																	
1) U . . . . .	.132*	.108*	.129*	.170*	-.02	.047*	-.014	-.095*										.177
2) U . . . . .	.122*	.092*	.104*	.132*	.030	.040*	-.016	-.074*	.256*									.237
3) U . . . . .	.136*	.089*	.100*	.117*	-.025	.020	-.026	-.056*	.097*	.258*								.276
4) U . . . . .	.108*	.044*	.064*	.067*	-.030	.010	-.023	-.022	.051*	.169*	.198*	.102*	.148*					.360
5) U . . . . .	.052*	.014	.036*	.037*	-.021	.004	-.008	-.007	.048*	.078*	.031	.023	.062*	.554*	.048*			.562
6) W . . . . .	.088*	.037	.096*	.109*	-.029	.009	.052*	-.096*										.084
7) W . . . . .	.079*	.022	.072*	.072*	-.028	.002	.051*	-.076*	.247*									.140
8) W . . . . .	.093*	.018	.068*	.056*	-.022	-.020	.040*	-.057*	.079*	.273*								.184
9) W . . . . .	.088*	.010	.061*	.047*	-.024	-.023	.041*	-.050*	.070*	.254*	.043	.030	.015					.187
10) W . . . . .	.051*	.001	.054*	.029	-.021	-.018	.041*	-.039*	.058*	.166*	-.037	-.015	-.029	.107*	.297*			.276
11) W . . . . .	.032	-.004	.041*	.015	-.014	-.019	.044*	-.036*	.041	.137*	-.048*	-.024	-.052*	-.095*	.280*	.366*		.335
12) Z . . . . .	.080*	.052*	.074*	.102*	-.017	-.025	.038	-.081*										.076
13) Z . . . . .	.070*	.035	.047*	.061*	-.015	-.032	.036	-.059*	.277*									.146
14) Z . . . . .	.080*	.032	.044	.049*	-.010	-.048*	.029	-.044*	.151*	.205*								.171
15) Z . . . . .	.069*	.012	.028	.027	-.013	-.052*	.030	-.030	.132*	.173*	.101*	.020	.061*					.186
16) Z . . . . .	.047*	.004	.022	.016	-.010	-.051*	.032	-.023	.127*	.127*	.048*	-.008	.033	.119*	.118*			.213
17) Z . . . . .	.030	.000	.010	.003	-.003	-.052*	.035	-.021	.111*	.101*	.037	-.016	.012	-.065*	.103	.332*		.261
18) Z . . . . .	.022	.001	.000	-.000	-.000	-.047*	.024	-.012	.101*	.068*	.049*	-.010	.024	-.042	.036	.246*	.237*	.299

NOTE.—Variables are: *I* = parents' income, *X* = father's occupational status, *V* = father's education, *M* = mother's education, *L* = mother's employment, *R* = rural origin, *B* = intact family, *S* = number of siblings, *Q* = mental ability, *G* = high school grades, *P* = parental encouragement, *T* = teachers' encouragement, *F* = friends' college plans, *E* = college plans, *J* = occupational status aspiration, *U* = educational attainment, *W* = status of first occupation, *Z* = status of current occupation.

^a Regression coefficients and their standard errors in this column have been multiplied by 100 for ease of presentation.

* Significant at .05 level.

variables, but the most powerful effects are those of educational attainment (*U*) and occupational status aspirations (*J*) (see lines 11 in tables 8 and 9). The effects on first job of other variables in the model (background, ability, grades, significant others) are largely mediated by more proximate influences on occupational status.

Despite this general similarity in the estimates for men and women, there are marked sex interactions in the occupational status equations. In the final equation (line 11), father's occupational status (*X*) has a positive effect on men's first-job status, but not upon that of women. Similarly, rural origins (*R*) significantly reduce the status of the first job among men, but not among women. These effects parallel interactions in the final equations for occupational aspiration, but the sex differences in effects on status of first jobs persist even when occupational aspirations and educational attainment are controlled. Moreover, the effects of father's status and rural origins appear even in the initial equation for men (line 6), but these variables have no influence on initial occupational status among women. Maternal employment (*L*) has a small positive effect on men's initial occupational status; it leads to a 2.5-point increase in status in the initial equation (line 6) and a 1.3-point increase in status in the final equation (line 11). No similar effect occurs among women. While the negative effects of maternal employment on women's first-job status are not statistically significant, the slopes for women are significantly less than those for men in every equation (lines 6-11). As in the determination of schooling, maternal employment is of greater benefit to sons than to daughters.

The total effect of ability (*Q*) on status of first occupation (*W*) is almost twice as large for men (0.60 points on the Duncan SEI) as for women (0.32 points; lines 7 of tables 8 and 9). This interaction is a result of the larger effect of ability on schooling among men than among women. It disappears when educational attainment is controlled, because ability has no substantial direct influence on status of first job for either sex (line 11). Similarly, in the first equation where grades (*G*) appear (line 8), the total effect of grades is 64% larger among men (0.60) than among women (0.36). Again, this interaction is explained by the larger effect of grades on educational attainment among men than among women; in the final equation for first-job status (line 11), the coefficient of grades becomes insignificant among men. Among women, on the other hand, there remains a significant positive direct effect of grades on initial occupational status that is half as large as the total effect of grades and that is significantly larger than the direct effect of grades among men. Thus, the total effect of high school grades on initial occupational status is larger among men than among women because high school grades are more likely to facilitate men's postsecondary schooling. Yet, when schooling is complete, high school grades substantially affect the occupational chances of women but not of men. We think this is because the skills

acquired in school may be more relevant in the jobs women enter (e.g., clerical and sales work, nursing, and teaching) than in those men enter.

The total and direct effects of occupational aspirations (J) on initial occupational status (W) are about twice as large among women as men (lines 10 and 11 of tables 8 and 9); among women each unit difference in occupational aspiration results in a one-third-unit difference in initial occupational status when other variables in the model are controlled. This appears to parallel the special importance of educational aspirations in women's educational attainments. It is ironic that women's aspirations are less responsive than those of men to several of the causal factors in the attainment process but are also of greater significance in their later attainments than are men's aspirations. Traditional female role expectations seem to limit the range of women's aspirations; yet those goals are more likely to affect the socioeconomic life chances of women than of men.

The influence of a year of post-high school education on the status of first jobs is almost two times larger among men (7.22 points on the Duncan SEI) than among women (3.78 points). While educational attainment (U) has a larger effect on initial job status than does any other variable, women clearly obtain a lower payoff for their schooling than men at the time of initial labor force entry. We have ruled out two artifactual explanations of this finding—nonlinearity in the effect of schooling and differential timing of labor force entry—but space limitations preclude our presenting the details here. The effects of postsecondary schooling on initial occupational status are roughly linear. With less than a college education, women obtain higher-status first jobs than men; with a college degree or postgraduate education, men obtain higher-status first jobs than women. Further, the process of labor market entry is more protracted among men than among women.

Among men and women alike, the status of current (1975 or most recent) occupation (Z) is directly and strongly influenced by ability (Q), educational attainment (U), and status of first job (W). In addition, occupational aspiration (J) has a substantial direct effect on the current occupational status of men, but not of women (lines 18 of tables 8 and 9). The effects of other social and psychological variables are primarily indirect, through schooling or the status of first jobs. As in the determination of initial occupational status, the effects of father's occupational status (X) and rural origin (R) on current occupational status are larger among men than among women; in the case of father's occupation, the interaction effect remains significant even when status of first job is controlled. Sex interactions in the reduced-form coefficients of ability (Q) and significant others (T , F) are mediated by later variables in the model; they do not appear in the final equation.

Ability (Q) has a small, positive direct effect on current occupational

status (Z); among men and women status increases by 1.4 points for each 10-point difference in IQ when all other variables in the model are controlled. Ability is the only variable in the model whose direct effect on current occupational status is substantially larger than its direct effect on initial occupational status. Formal qualifications such as educational attainment and grades may be more important than ability for placement in first jobs, but the data suggest that ability increases in importance as it is expressed through labor market activity.

The most important sex interactions occur in the effects of educational attainment (U) and status of first job (W) on current occupational status (Z). In the final equation (line 18), the coefficient of schooling is more than twice as large among women (2.77 points on the SEI) as among men (1.26 points). Obversely, the effect of initial occupational status is one-third larger among men (0.35) than among women (0.26). These two interaction effects suggest that women, because they often have to find new jobs after interruptions in employment, continue to rely on educational attainment instead of work experience as the basis of occupational placement. Men rely heavily on education for initial job placement, but, because they tend to have continuous work histories, their later occupational status depends mainly on earlier occupational status.

This explanation is in accord with studies of occupational attainment among women with differing amounts of employment experiences or labor force interruptions. Both Wolf (1975) and Rosenfeld (1976) have found that (1) education has a larger net effect on current occupational status for women with less work experience than for women with more work experience, (2) the status of an earlier job has a larger net effect on the status of the current job for women with fewer interruptions in employment, and (3) employment experience is more important than education for the determination of current occupational status for women with fewer employment interruptions, but not for women with more interruptions.

Unfortunately, our 1975 survey included only a partial work history for women, but we have further elaborated the influence of women's schooling on occupational status using our marital and child status classification as a proxy measure of work experience. Table 10 shows relevant coefficients in the equations for first and current occupational status by sex and marital and childbearing status. In the equations for status of first job (line 1), the effect of schooling is larger among men than among any of the groups of women. In the reduced-form equations for current occupational status (line 2a), the total effects of schooling are virtually the same among men as among the majority of women who had married and borne children. The total effects are lower among never-married women (2.43) and childless married women (3.00), but these differences are not statistically significant. The direct effects of schooling on status of current jobs (line 2b) vary in the

TABLE 10

REGRESSION OF OCCUPATIONAL SEI ON SCHOOLING AND STATUS OF
FIRST JOB BY SEX AND BY MARITAL/CHILD STATUS OF WOMEN:
PERSONS EMPLOYED WITHIN THE PAST FIVE YEARS

REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	WOMEN					
	MEN	All	Never Married	Ever Married		
				Childless	1-2 Children	3+ Children
1. First job on schooling...	7.22 (.17)	3.78 (.25)	3.98 (.59)	2.17 (.58)	4.28 (.43)	3.89 (.49)
2. 1975 (or last) job on schooling:						
a) Total.....	3.76 (.19)	3.75 (.29)	2.43 (.63)	3.00 (.72)	3.74 (.48)	3.74 (.56)
b) Direct.....	1.26 (.22)	2.77 (.29)	.27 (.62)	1.91 (.69)	2.50 (.49)	3.07 (.57)
3. 1975 (or last) job on first job.....	.347 (.018)	.258 (.022)	.543 (.070)	.503 (.085)	.291 (.037)	.171 (.032)

NOTE.—Parenthetic entries are standard errors. Each regression equation also includes 15 variables representing social background, high school experiences, and aspirations.

expected fashion across marital/child status groups; the coefficient is least among never-married women, and it increases with the number of children born to ever-married women. Last, there is an opposite pattern of variation in the autoregression of occupational status across the marital/child status categories. Status persistence is greatest among the never-married women (.543) and least among the married women with three or more children (.171). Persistence is more than half again as large among never-married women as among men, and it is half as large among married women with three or more children as among men. Even among childless and never-married women, the process of occupational attainment differs from that among men; yet married women with children account for most of the differences between men and women in occupational status attainment.

Our finding of sex differences in the effect of postsecondary schooling on occupational status attainment may appear to be inconsistent with earlier studies that showed unexpected similarity in the influence of schooling on occupational status among men and women (Treiman and Terrell 1975; McClendon 1976; Featherman and Hauser 1976). We find larger direct effects of schooling on the status of first jobs among men than among women, and we find larger direct effects of schooling on the status of current jobs among women than among men. In fact, there is no necessary inconsistency, for earlier studies have not included the status of the first occupation. In our reduced-form equations giving the total effects of educational attainment on current occupational status (lines 17 of tables 8 and 9), the schooling coefficients are almost identical for men and women (3.7 points on the SEI

per year of schooling). According to our model, the equal effects of schooling are brought about by the larger initial effect and smaller delayed effect for men, combined with greater persistence of occupational status among men. Obversely, among women both the initial effect of schooling and the persistence of occupational status are less than among men, but schooling has a much larger delayed effect on current occupational status for women than for men. Despite sexual equality in the total effects of schooling on current occupational status, the mechanisms by which schooling affects occupational standing at mid-life appear to be quite different among men and women.

DISCUSSION

Past research has suggested that the attainment of occupational status occurs in essentially the same ways for employed men and women. The means and standard deviations of current occupational status are similar among men and women, as are the effects of socioeconomic background and educational attainment on current occupational status. Of course, similarity between the sexes in the attainment of occupational status does not imply similarity in other aspects of the jobs held by men and women or in the processes by which those jobs are obtained. We have shown that marked occupational segregation of men and women in the Wisconsin sample coexists with similarity in average levels of current occupational status; we have shown, also, that women tend to be excluded from the extremes of the occupational status distribution. We are well aware that occupational status is not the only important outcome of labor force activity, but we believe that it is a very important outcome.

Our analysis helps explain findings of similarity between the sexes in the effects of socioeconomic background and in the total effect of education on occupational status at mid-life. We have shown, however, that the similarity in the total effects of education is deceptive. By including status of first job in our models, we have revealed striking sex differences in the occupational attainment process. However, these sex differences do not unilaterally disadvantage women. In fact, the nature of the sex differences suggests a complex process, whereby women are advantaged at certain stages and men at others. Women obtain first jobs whose occupational status is, on the average, six points higher on the Duncan SEI than those of men, while at the same time women have a much narrower range of variation in first-job statuses than do men. At mid-life men's mean occupational status level is higher than women's because men have gained occupational status over the course of their work lives, whereas women have lost some ground. Thus, we find that women are advantaged with respect to at least some aspects of first job placement but seem clearly to be disadvantaged from that point onward.

An inspection of the process through which men and women are sorted into positions of occupational status at mid-life on the basis of their own prior achievements (education and status of first job) suggests a very complicated allocation process. Despite striking sex differences, the total returns that men and women obtain for their educational attainment are essentially the same. With regard to the status of their first jobs, women obtain much smaller returns on their education than men do. Later in the life cycle, women obtain higher occupational status returns on their educational qualifications than do men, whereas men obtain higher returns on their earlier occupational achievements. We believe that these latter differences are easily understood if the patterns of employment of men and women at different points in the life cycle are taken into account. Women are forced to rely at mid-life on formal qualifications such as educational attainment for occupational placement because they frequently reenter the labor market after interruptions, whereas men are better able to build on their earlier occupational experience because of their more continuous work histories.

Male-female differences in reliance on educational qualifications and on work experience are articulated with patterns of job segregation between the sexes. The fact that women have relatively high levels of status in first jobs can be explained in part by what we know about the kinds of occupations women enter. Women have higher-status first jobs than men because women with educational levels between 12 and 15 years usually take first jobs in lower-white-collar occupations (clerical and sales jobs), which have higher occupational statuses than the occupations that men with the same levels of education tend to enter (blue-collar jobs).

The fact that women fail to gain occupational status over the course of their work lives can also be explained by occupational segregation. First, it should be noted that the lack of mobility is not due entirely to the fact that women interrupt employment because of family obligations. While we have demonstrated a correlation between women's marital/childbearing histories and the resemblance between men's and women's occupational careers, even women without children have gained little occupational status over the course of their working lives. Similar findings are reported by Wolf (1975) and Rosenfeld (1976). Wolf and Rosenfeld (1978) have speculated that female-dominated occupations may be easier to reenter after interruptions in employment, yet do not offer much chance for upward mobility. Their empirical analysis offers some confirmation of this speculation. Grimm and Stern (1974) have shown that, although women are highly represented in certain professional occupations (nursing, social work, schoolteaching, library work), men are overrepresented in the higher-level positions within these same occupations. This implies that if "female-typed" occupations offer chances of advancement, it is men in these occupations who are more likely to be promoted. Research based on the Wisconsin data also indicates

that women are much less likely than men to be in positions of authority—control over the work process of others—even when the effects of educational attainment, level of occupational status, and self-employment are held constant (Wolf and Fligstein 1979*a*, 1979*b*). These pieces of evidence suggest that women, in part because of their concentration in female-typed occupations, are less likely than men to be upwardly mobile over their working careers and tend not to be promoted to higher-level supervisory positions. On the other hand, even though men have lower-status first jobs, they are much more likely to obtain higher-status jobs later in the life cycle.

Our analysis has also pointed to other ways in which the attainments of women are limited or proscribed relative to those of men. Women's educational and occupational aspirations are more limited in range and less responsive to several of the factors that affect men's aspirations. At the same time, women's aspirations more strongly influence educational and early occupational attainments. Father's occupational standing affects the occupational aspirations and attainments of men, but not of women. In contrast, mother's employment does not contribute to the educational attainments of women; if anything, it is more helpful to men than to women to have had a working mother. While men's academic performance in high school is primarily important in facilitating higher education, among women high school grades have less effect on educational attainment but continue to have a direct and lasting effect on occupational status.

Given the complex allocation process that we have observed, the strategies for producing equality of opportunity for men and women are not obvious. Extending the chances for advancement of women in female-dominated occupations would clearly improve the situation. Also, women should have increased opportunities to obtain the graduate and professional education necessary for entry into the higher professions and higher levels of administration in both the private and public sectors. But this is not enough. We think it unlikely that much progress will be made in reducing occupational (or economic) inequalities between the sexes unless and until sex role socialization differences and occupational sex typing are substantially reduced.

APPENDIX

CORRELATIONS AMONG VARIABLES IN THE MODELS OF OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT FOR WOMEN ($N = 2,620$, above Diagonal) AND MEN ($N = 3,411$, below Diagonal)

	<i>I</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>Q</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>J</i>	<i>U</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Z</i>
<i>I</i>.....		.466	.340	.284	.029	-.306	.137	-.192	.149	.061	.221	.124	.234	.269	.212	.275	.190	.186
<i>X</i>.....	.478		.488	.322	.016	-.345	.021	-.240	.184	.117	.297	.144	.284	.301	.208	.293	.180	.187
<i>V</i>.....	.380	.516		.476	.017	-.204	-.055	-.227	.223	.166	.310	.182	.284	.315	.215	.319	.212	.196
<i>M</i>.....	.286	.336	.506		.041	-.137	-.020	-.210	.239	.204	.307	.194	.295	.309	.239	.316	.208	.196
<i>L</i>	-.027	-.018	.013	.059		-.137	-.111	-.139	.011	-.020	.040	.029	.009	.009	.015	-.009	-.014	.002
<i>R</i>	-.300	-.352	-.219	-.135	-.106		.080	.227	-.064	.032	-.068	.014	-.175	-.094	-.087	-.098	-.079	-.109
<i>B</i>.....	.095	.054	-.012	.000	-.112	.000		.000	.008	.042	.012	.016	-.008	-.003	.033	.003	.062	.044
<i>S</i>	-.156	-.200	-.180	-.193	-.141	-.196	-.058		-.148	-.149	-.217	-.139	-.206	-.204	-.176	-.196	-.160	-.150
<i>Q</i>.....	.214	.251	.235	.196	.041	-.136	.032	-.141		.633	.312	.351	.281	.319	.338	.354	.307	.330
<i>G</i>.....	.115	.130	.135	.113	-.014	-.023	.048	-.107	.588		.308	.433	.278	.364	.411	.387	.363	.333
<i>P</i>.....	.259	.328	.272	.229	.072	-.194	.026	-.226	.374	.355		.430	.444	.525	.381	.455	.230	.277
<i>T</i>.....	.131	.174	.153	.142	.014	-.044	.015	-.101	.349	.439	.424		.334	.410	.349	.374	.227	.229
<i>F</i>.....	.277	.299	.270	.217	.008	-.193	.038	-.155	.320	.322	.414	.321		.427	.328	.409	.203	.248
<i>E</i>.....	.296	.334	.290	.233	.030	-.172	.046	-.191	.441	.481	.550	.447	.506		.614	.722	.381	.349
<i>J</i>.....	.280	.346	.282	.224	.041	-.251	.017	-.191	.457	.467	.513	.405	.472	.759		.508	.461	.342
<i>U</i>.....	.298	.325	.328	.243	.038	-.177	.030	-.169	.482	.536	.465	.401	.479	.643	.571		.490	.453
<i>W</i>.....	.271	.339	.295	.216	.064	-.237	.023	-.186	.423	.442	.428	.363	.415	.523	.543	.764		.439
<i>Z</i>.....	.261	.327	.264	.192	.050	-.253	.018	-.136	.408	.375	.382	.310	.359	.438	.491	.578	.639	...

NOTE.—Variables are: *I* = parents' income, *X* = father's occupation, *V* = father's education, *M* = mother's education, *L* = mother's employment, *R* = rural origin, *B* = intact family, *S* = number of siblings, *Q* = mental ability, *G* = high school grades, *P* = parental encouragement, *T* = teachers' encouragement, *F* = friends' plans, *E* = college plans, *J* = occupational aspirations, *U* = educational attainment, *W* = first occupation, *Z* = current occupation.

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