

Florida State University Libraries

Electronic Theses, Treatises and Dissertations

The Graduate School

2005

Women's Early Career Goals and Attainments at Midlife

Chardie L. Baird



THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

WOMEN'S EARLY CAREER GOALS AND ATTAINMENTS AT MIDLIFE

By

CHARDIE L. BAIRD

A dissertation submitted to the
Department of Sociology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Degree Awarded:
Fall Semester, 2005

The members of the Committee approve the Dissertation of Chardie L. Baird defended on July 6, 2005.

John R. Reynolds
Professor Directing Dissertation

Mary Ellen Guy
Outside Committee Member

Patricia Y. Martin
Committee Member

Irene Padavic
Committee Member

Approved:

Patricia Y. Martin, Chair, Department of Sociology

David Rasmussen, Dean, College of Social Sciences

The Office of Graduate Studies has verified and approved the above named committee members.

Dedicated to my mother Heidi G. Baird

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee John Reynolds, Patricia Yancey Martin, and Irene Padavic for their guidance, patience, and willingness to share their expertise throughout my career as a graduate student at Florida State University. I have greatly benefited from their knowledge of subject matter and the craft of research. I am certain that I will continue discover all that they have taught me as I carry on as a sociologist.

I would also like to thank Idee Winfield and Melissa Hardy who have been excellent mentors to me. Idee Winfield's challenging Power and Privilege course and sound advice inspired me to become a sociologist and to strive to reach the standards she sets as an excellent teacher and mentor. Melissa Hardy provided me with numerous opportunities to become a better sociologist and researcher. Her financial support and advice have helped me tremendously both in my research and professional relationships.

Alison Anderson, my editor, and Mary Ellen Guy, the outside member on my dissertation committee, both provided me with unique, outside perspectives on my dissertation which helped my work to be clearer and more relevant.

My friends and colleagues Jennifer Keene, Andrea Willson, Naomi Spence, Stephanie Burge, and Kim Shuey offer inspiration, intellectual challenges, emotional support, much-needed comic relief, and a safe space to discuss my ideas and concerns. I do not think I could have enjoyed this process as much if I did not have them to share it with.

Heidi Baird, Spencer Baird, Tabitha, and Mason have each played an important role in getting me through this process. Knowing that they loved me whether I failed or succeeded helped me find the strength and courage to try.

It is almost impossible to thank my partner Ethan Bernick enough for all he has done to help me through the dissertation process and my time in graduate school. I know my words will fall short in expressing my appreciation. Explaining my ideas to an intelligent, interested person who is outside the discipline of sociology has helped me to develop a deeper understanding of my discipline. He is a wonderful man who has supplied me with unwavering love, support, and patience.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	Page viii
List of Figures	Page x
Abstract	Page xi
1. Introduction	Page 1
Historical Context of Women’s Careers: 1970-2000	Page 2
Multi-level Synthesis	Page 3
Dissertation Outline	Page 6
2. Literature Review and Hypotheses	Page 7
Career Goal Formation	Page 8
The Link between Goals and Attainments in Later Life	Page 16
Conclusion	Page 24
3. Hypotheses, Data, and Methods	Page 31
Data	Page 31
Sample.....	Page 33
Measurement.....	Page 33
Analysis.....	Page 39
4. Career Goals Analyses.....	Page 50
Results	Page 50
Summary of Career Goal Results.....	Page 59
5. Career Attainments Analyses.....	Page 72
Results	Page 72
Summary of Career Attainments Results.....	Page 83
6. Discussion and Conclusions	Page 99
Major Findings	Page 100
Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research.....	Page 106

Theoretical and Practical Implications.....	Page 108
Conclusion	Page 109
APPENDIX	Page 113
A Correlation Matrix for Community Context, Gender Beliefs, and Goals Measures.....	Page 113
REFERENCES	Page 115
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	Page 127

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Career Goal Formation Hypotheses	Page 26
Table 2.2: Hypotheses of the Link between Career Goals, Gender Beliefs, and Women’s Career Attainments.....	Page 27
Table 3.1: Key Variable Definitions.....	Page 43
Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics	Page 61
Table 4.2: Mean Career Goals in 1979 by Gender Beliefs in 1979.....	Page 62
Table 4.3: Logistic Regression Analysis of Expecting to Work when 35 Years of Age	Page 63
Table 4.4: Regression Analysis of Mean Earnings of the Occupation Respondents Desired to be Working in at Age 35.....	Page 65
Table 4.5: Regression Analysis of Prestige of the Occupations Respondents Desired to be Working in at Age 35	Page 67
Table 4.6: Regression Analysis of the Percent Female in the Occupation Respondents Desired to be Working in at Age 35.....	Page 69
Table 4.7: Summary of Results from All Career Goals Dependent Variables	Page 71
Table 5.1: Descriptive Statistics	Page 85
Table 5.2: Respondents' Average Occupational-level Attainments in 1998 by Gender Beliefs in 1979	Page 86
Table 5.3: Sample Selection Analysis of the Median Weekly Earnings of the Occupations in which Respondents are Employed in 1998.....	Page 87
Table 5.4: Sample Selection Analysis of the Percent Female in the Occupations in which Respondents are Employed in 1998.....	Page 89
Table 5.5: Sample Selection Analysis of the Prestige of the Occupations in which Respondents are Employed in 1998.....	Page 91

Table 5.6: Sample Selection Analysis of Respondents Hourly Wages	Page 93
Table 5.7: OLS Regression of Respondents' Years of Completed Education in 1998.....	Page 95
Table 5.8: Logistic Regression on Working Full-Time in 1998.....	Page 96
Table 5.9: Summary of Results from All Career Attainment Dependent Variables	Page 97

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Risman’s Multilevel Model of Gender Inequality	Page 28
Figure 2.2: Conceptual Model of Young Women’s 1979 Occupational Career Goal Formation at Age 14 to 19	Page 29
Figure 2.3: Conceptual Model of the Link between 1979 Occupational Career Goals when Young Women are 14 to 22 Years of Age and 1998 Occupational Attainments when Women are 33 to 38 Years of Age...	Page 30
Figure 3.1: NLSY Skip Patterns for Occupational Aspirations Questions	Page 49
Figure 6.1: Summary of the Significant Predictors of Young Women’s Occupational-Level Career Goal Formation at Age 14 to 19	Page 111
Figure 6.2: Summary of the Significant Predictors of the Link between 1979 Occupational Career Goals when Young Women are 14 to 22 Years of Age and 1998 Occupational Attainments when Women are 33 to 38 Years of Age	Page 112

ABSTRACT

Occupational sex segregation, the gender wage gap, and ghettoization persist despite improvements in women's opportunities since World War II. Recent research calls for a focus on the social psychological factors in early life that affect women's career attainments to help us more fully understand the persistence of women's disadvantaged positions in paid work. This dissertation synthesizes prior research to develop a multilevel model of career goal formation by examining community context, mothers' attainments, and gender beliefs as factors that shape young women's career goals. It also considers the degree to which career goals and gender beliefs influence work outcomes in later life. I study the 1979 and 1998 panels of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth to identify early life factors that affect young women's career goals and to assess the extent to which these early goals influence women's employment situations in later life.

This dissertation has three main findings. First, I find that young women's early career goals are influenced by women's disadvantaged position in the labor force more generally, as manifested in relationships with their mothers and women's status in the broader community. Young women with mothers who have lower occupational earnings, lower occupational prestige, and work with more women are more likely to plan to work in occupations with lower earnings, prestige, and more women themselves. Second, part of the influence of community context and mothers' attainments is indirect through young women's beliefs about gender. Third, early career goals and gender beliefs have lasting and cumulative effects on women's attainments in later life. Young women with less ambitious career goals and more traditional gender beliefs complete fewer years of education and are less likely to work full-time in later life. In turn, less education and fewer work hours are associated with employment in occupations with more women, lower median weekly earnings, lower occupational prestige, and lower hourly wages. Overall, the results provide evidence of the social embeddedness of women's career goals, and the cumulative impact of early career goals and gender beliefs on women's mid-life attainments. In addition, the results suggest that women's disadvantaged position in the labor market persists

partly because the career goals of each generation are influenced by the constraints and opportunities experienced by their predecessors.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

What factors predict young women's career goal formation? To what degree do career goals and gender beliefs in early life influence work outcomes in later life? Understanding the determinants of career goal formation and its link to outcomes is important because early career goals may contribute to women's disadvantaged position in the labor market. Despite a number of improvements in women's opportunities since World War II, occupational sex segregation, the gender wage gap, and ghettoization endure (Jacobs 1989, 1995; Jacobsen 1994; Reskin 1993; Reskin and Roos 1990). How might the process of career goal formation contribute to the persistence of gender inequality at work? Three factors are considered in this dissertation: mothers' attainments, gender beliefs, and community contexts.

There is a good deal of evidence that daily interactions are peppered by gender differentiation that is usually accompanied by messages about women's general inferiority to men (See Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999 for a review). These interactions are likely to limit young women's career goals. In addition, young women learn about jobs and careers in communities that are more or less traditional as well, in other words where women's work and financial independence are more or less normative or common. In short, early career goals are likely to reflect the images portrayed by mothers, cultural beliefs about gender, and community contexts. If the dominant message to women is that they can not succeed in the labor market, they are likely to lower their career goals and make corresponding career-relevant decisions that will accumulate leading to disadvantaged outcomes for paid work in later life.

Despite the potential importance of early career goals and gender beliefs for gender inequality at work, past research has primarily focused on the factors in later life that shape career outcomes. As a result, there is a need to develop models that depict the social constraints on women's career plans and preferences (Correll 2004). This dissertation integrates gender socialization theory and cultural constraints theory to develop and test a multilevel model of young women's career goals. Then I assess the impact of early goals and gender beliefs on

women's employment status at midlife and, if employed, their occupational attainments. These findings are interpreted using a life course framework of cumulative advantage and disadvantage.

Historical Context of Women's Careers: 1970-2000

Young women form career goals and those goals become realized or unrealized in particular economic and cultural contexts that change over time. The cohort of women I study were born in the late 1950s to the early 1960s, were teenagers in the late 1970s when they were first interviewed, and were approaching age 40 in 1998 (the last date of follow up that I examine). During their life course, there have been a number of changes in women's employment situations. To get a sense of the time periods they have experienced, I briefly review women's increased labor force participation, changes in occupational sex segregation, decreases in the gender earnings gap, climbing divorce rates, and decisions related to marriage and childbearing from 1970 to 2000.

From the 1970s to the year 2000, there has been an increase in women's labor force participation and share. The number of women working in the civilian labor force increased steadily from 1970 to 2000 with a slight dip for white and black women in 2000. While all women's labor force participation increased during this period, married women made particular gains from the 1950s to the present (Goldin 1990). Between 1970 and 2000, single women 16-19 years of age experienced a 6.4 percentage point increase in their labor force participation rates compared to a 15.4 percentage point increase for married women aged 16-19. In the same time period, single women aged 20 to 24 experienced a 3.1 percentage point increase in their labor force participation rates compared to a 15.9 percent point increase for married women of the same age (Statistical Abstract 2003: Table 595).

The period is also characterized by changes in occupational sex segregation. The 1970s were a period of change in occupational sex segregation in the United States. Beller (1984:24) reports a decline of 6.6, from 68.3 to 61.7, in the index of occupational segregation calculated for 262 detailed occupations. Studies show that this occurred because women were integrated into occupations previously dominated by men (Beller 1984:24; Bianchi and Rytina 1986), while female dominated occupations largely remained the same. Employers tended to hire women for

occupations previously dominated by men when men left as a result of declining levels of autonomy, creativity, and/or authority (Reskin and Roos 1990).

The period from 1970 to 1990 was also a period in which the gender gap in earnings declined. The following material draws heavily on Spain and Bianchi (1996). Women's earnings, measured as a percentage of men's annual, hourly, and weekly earnings, increased from 1970 to 1990 (110). In 1970, full-time, year-round (FTYR) employed women's annual earnings were 60 percent of men's. By 1990, FTYR women's annual earnings were approximately 75 percent of men's. The gender gap among blacks also improved during this period. In 1970, black women had median annual earnings that were 70 percent of black men's earnings. By 1990, black women earned 85 percent of what black men earned (132).

In addition, divorce rates (the number of divorces per one thousand married women aged fifteen and over) have steadily increased throughout the 20th Century (Cherlin 1992; Clark 1995; Pavalko and Elder 1990). In 1970, the divorce rate was approximately 13 percent and was approximately 20 percent by 1990 (Clark 1995). The divorce rate can have a number of consequences for women's careers. For example, getting a divorce may push women into the labor market in order to support themselves and/or their children (Gerson 1985).

Finally, the median age at first marriage has increased for women, while staying about the same for men from 1970 to 1990 (Spain and Bianchi 1996). In 1970, women tended to marry at approximately 21 years of age and by 1990, women tend to marry at 24. Research shows that some women are making this choice deliberately to make sure that they establish a career (Johnson, Oesterle, and Mortimer 2001).

Multi-level Synthesis

Sociologists' have not fully developed an understanding of the contributions of cultural, social psychological, and other supply-side factors to women's careers. Instead sociological research has focused on structural factors like discrimination, at least until recently (c.f. Correll 2001, 2004; Correll and Ridgeway 2004; Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999). To attempt to fill this gap, the first research question in my dissertation asks: do mothers' attainments, beliefs about gender, and community contexts influence teenage girls' career goals? This research question broadly contributes to the growing demand for more research on the social

psychological processes that contribute to social inequality. Recent scholarship on inequality at work has turned to the social psychological and cognitive dynamics that shape both employees' career goals and preferences and employers' nonconscious discriminatory actions (Reskin 2003; Mortimer, Zimmer-Gembeck, Holmes, and Shanahan 2002; Correll 2004; Ridgeway and Correll 2000, 2004; Schwalbe 2000). I take up Correll's (2004) challenge to develop more sociological models of traditional supply-side factors, models that more adequately portray the social origins of (and social constraints on) women's career plans and preferences.

To develop this model, I draw on gender socialization theory, Risman's (1998) multilevel model of gender inequality, and research that links mothers' attainments, community context, and beliefs about gender to career goals. I consider both career goals and beliefs about gender to be the result of a process of gender socialization shaped by community context and mothers' attainments. Gender socialization theory posits that girls/women and boys/men learn gender-specific definitions of what constitutes successful, happy lives, and as a result visualize gender-specific pathways to adulthood and careers. According to gender socialization theory, girls learn to be family-centered from their families, peers, the mass media, and the educational system. These messages lead girls to expect to be full-time homemakers or in positions in the labor market that allow them to remain family-centered.

I extend gender socialization theory by developing a more multi-level focus and by focusing on process. First, I draw on Risman's (1998) theory of gender inequality which provides a framework for thinking about this in a much more multi-level manner than is allowed by gender socialization theory. Her theory suggests that career goals will also be shaped by the community context, such as the demand for female labor where young women reside. Second, I synthesize prior research that identifies three influences on career goals: community context, mothers' attainments, and beliefs about gender. However, no studies combine these influences to test how they work together to explain the multilevel process of career goal formation. I propose that community context and mothers' attainments will affect teenage girls' career goals directly and indirectly by influencing their beliefs about gender. Finally, I extend prior research by paying more attention to the variation in career goals among young women.

In the second part of my dissertation, I ask: do early career goals and gender beliefs affect women's occupational attainments through family demands. This research question contributes to the core of a long-standing debate among gender and work researchers who tend to emphasize

either early factors (i.e. work values, work expectations, assessment of competence) or later factors (i.e. work/family conflict, expansion and contraction of labor markets, employer discrimination, and the demand for female labor) on women's career attainments. For example, queuing theory emphasizes later factors and gives limited treatment to employees' preferences (Reskin and Roos 1990; Thurow 1969, 1972, 1975). Queuing theorists argue that all potential employees want the same benefits from their jobs, such as the best earnings, health insurance, and promotion opportunities that they can get. This conceptualization of employees' desires is a bit homogeneous and neglects the constraints on the formation of their preferences. As Padavic and Reskin (2002: 89) note, "the long-term effects of childhood socialization are unknown." This is the case because few studies adequately test the importance of early factors on later outcomes. My study tests a multi-level model that synthesizes prior research on the influences of career goals, gender beliefs, community contexts, and family demands as influences on women's career outcomes.

There is very little research on the link between goals and attainments because researchers tend to focus on either the early personal factors or the structural factors in later life for gender inequality in women's early occupational outcomes. In fact, there are only five studies that test the link between career goals and attainments (Almquist, Angrist, and Mickelsen 1980; Gerson 1985; Levine and Zimmerman 1995; Jacobs 1987; Risman 1999). In general, all five studies find a weak to moderate relationship between goals and outcomes, but suffer from four limitations (which I review in Chapter 2).

I draw on cumulative advantage/disadvantage theory to establish a potential mechanism for how factors in early life affect women's career attainments. I argue that different career goals start young women on divergent paths that lead to the accumulation of advantages or disadvantages for employment in later life. For example, a young woman raised by a mother who is employed in a nontraditional career may be more likely to develop nontraditional beliefs about gender. These beliefs and plans may then lead her to make less traditional coursework choices and family-planning decisions, to participate in less traditional social activities, and to pursue less traditional career paths. Each decision that she makes pushes her closer to success in the labor market.

Dissertation Outline

The remainder of my dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter 2 has two major sections, career goal formation and the link between goals, gender beliefs, and outcomes. Both major sections review the relevant literature and end with an outline of my conceptual model and the corresponding hypotheses.

Chapters 3 through 6 present the data, results, and conclusions of my dissertation. I describe my data, sample, measures, and analysis techniques in chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the analyses that test my hypotheses about the process of career goal formation. Chapter 5 presents the analyses that test my hypotheses about the link between career goals and outcomes in later life. I summarize my findings, outline contributions to theory, discuss the limitations of my dissertation research, and make suggestions for future research in chapter 6, the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES

The research presented in this dissertation addresses two major questions. The first is: how do teenage girls form career goals? By career goals, I mean individuals' plans for working inside the home, outside the home, or a combination of the two. In addition, I consider the line of work girls' plan to pursue. The second question I address is: do early goals and beliefs affect work outcomes in later life?

There have been few sociological studies of how teenage girls form career goals. There appears to be some reluctance among sociologists to theorize about career goal formation. Correll (2004) suggests that sociologists are hesitant to study "career-relevant decisions" because of the way human capital/rational choice economists and some sociologists (e.g., Hakim's preference theory) have framed the formation of women's career goals. Human capital, rational choice, and preference theory explanations for gender segregation and wage inequality argue that women are disadvantaged at work because most women are primarily focused on caring for their families. As a result, women choose jobs that pay less because they perceive them as compatible with their family demands (Hakim 1991; Mincer and Polachek 1974; Polachek 1978). Sociologists tend to view this perspective as too simplistic and individualistic or show that many women seek "men's work" when given the chance (Reskin and Roos 1990). In addition, sociological studies find that family commitments have small negative effects on women's work effort in later life (Marsden et al 1993). As a result, there are few sociological theories and studies of women's plans, preferences, and choices in early life.

Gender socialization theory has been the primary sociological theory describing the process of the formation of choices and preferences. It primarily focuses on how individuals' choices and preferences in childhood are shaped through social interactions (e.g., with peers, family members, significant others) and more structural constraints (e.g., the educational system, mass media).

Building on the important findings and limits of gender socialization theory, recent research on gender inequality is moving toward more social-psychological explanations (Correll 2004; Martin 2001, 2003; Mortimer, Zimmer-Gembeck, Holmes, and Shanahan 2002; Schwalbe 2002). The work of Risman (1998) and Correll and Ridgeway (Correll 2001, 2004; Correll and Ridgeway 2004; Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999) emphasizes the complexity of the processes that re-create and perpetuate gender inequality. Risman's multilevel model of the gender structure provides a useful conceptual framework for understanding these processes by describing how gender inequality is produced and maintained at the individual, interactional, and institutional level. Correll and Ridgeway emphasize the importance of cultural gender beliefs on career-related decisions and early careers. Still few studies examine the link between goals, gender beliefs, and outcomes.

I divide the literature into two main sections. In the first section, I describe gender socialization theory because it has been the primary sociological theory describing the process of the formation of choices and preferences. Then I review Risman's multilevel model of gender inequality and Correll and Ridgeway's work on the mechanisms affecting gender differences in career-related decisions. Next I review empirical research on career goals. Then, I explain my conceptual model of the formation of career goals and list my specific hypotheses.

In the second major section of the literature review, I focus on the link between goals and outcomes by reviewing five studies that have focused on the link between goals and outcomes. Then I discuss prior research on factors shown to affect women's career outcomes: community context and family demands. Then, I discuss the theory of cumulative advantage as a mechanism for how social-psychological factors in early life may have consequences for paid work in later life. I conclude this chapter by describing my conceptual model and hypotheses.

Career Goal Formation

Gender Socialization Theory

According to gender socialization theory, four main institutions of socialization, families, peers, the mass media, and the education system, teach children gender-specific pathways to adulthood. These institutions teach children that girls and boys should behave differently, expect different lives, and hold different beliefs about their own abilities. These differential messages

lead girls to expect to be full-time homemakers or employed in jobs that allow them to be family-centered. Boys are generally taught to expect to be employed full-time, be the primary breadwinners, and marry women who will be primarily responsible for the home and caregiving.

Gender socialization theory has been a dominant explanation for the processes that lead to differences in career-relevant decisions for some time. However, it has been criticized for having three main limits. First, gender socialization theory implies that beliefs developed in early life are static over the life course (Risman 1987; Gerson 1985, 1993; Bielby and Bielby 1984). Second, it posits that individuals' socialization experiences are homogeneous by gender--that all boys and all girls experience the same gender socialization (Padavic and Reskin 2002). Third, people's gendered behaviors vary, not only over the life course but from context to context (Lorber 1994; Risman 1998; West and Zimmerman 1987). These limitations have begun to be addressed by more complex conceptions of gender and renewed attention to social psychological processes that contribute to gender inequality.

Multilevel Model of Gender Inequality

Risman (1998) argues that gender inequality is created and reproduced by a complex interplay between three levels of analysis: individual, interactional, and institutional. Figure 2.1 shows Risman's multilevel model of gender inequality. Risman argues that gender inequality is rooted in gender differentiation, the belief that women and men are different. The belief in gender difference helps recreate and reproduce gender at three different levels: individual, interactional, and institutional levels.

The individual level consists of the self, identity, and socialization. It is useful to conceptualize people's identities in terms of how individuals understand themselves, their abilities, and their life plans. According to this conceptualization, identities are gendered and develop through socialization. Similar to gender socialization theory, Risman argues that significant others encourage girls and boys to develop different values. Boys are taught to value competition and girls are taught to value nurturing.

The interactional level, consisting of cultural images, face-to-face interactions, and situational meanings, is most important for reproducing gender inequality. Risman (1998) argues that cultural images are of particular importance to interactions in contemporary U.S. society. In everyday interactions, women and men draw on cultural images of gender to determine how to behave, what to expect of others, and what others will expect of them. For

example, men who spend time with their children tend to be praised for being great fathers. This happens because men and fathers are depicted as providers, not caregivers. In contrast, the cultural image of women leads to the expectation that they will spend time with their children, so women do not tend to receive praise for doing so (Risman 1998).

The institutional level includes cultural roles, ideological discourse, formal organizational schemas, and distribution of material advantage. “Differentiation at the institutional level is based on explicit regulations or laws regarding resource distribution, whether resources be defined as access to opportunities or actual material goods” (p. 28). It is easiest to grasp the concept of the institutional level by thinking of macro-level evidence. Examples include the gender wage gap and occupational segregation, feminization, and ghettoization.

Applying Risman to career goal formation, young women’s plans should be shaped at the interactional level through the expectations and experiences of family members, especially their mothers’ work/family experiences. People modify their career plans, in part, through their interactions with others. Another influence on plans is cultural images and beliefs about gender.

Career plans are likely to be shaped at the institutional level in a variety of ways. For example, the fact that women tend to be underrepresented in certain industries, such as manufacturing, affects what women view as their options when they are making their career plans (Weeden and Sorenson 2004) . Women’s career goals are likely to reflect the fact that the most visible career choices are those with lower status, pay, and authority and shared with few men. Furthermore, not seeing women in advantaged positions in the labor market could lead women to view themselves as unable to do so, lowering their own confidence levels.

Risman’s theory encourages a more complex understanding of how gender inequality is created and reproduced at multiple levels. The main limit of this theory is its ambiguity. For example, the individual level includes socialization because the major result of gender socialization is an internalization of expectations about what women and men should do with their lives and how they should behave. However, people are socialized at the interactional level through their communications with other people. Another ambiguity in this work that a number of sociologists struggle with (Martin 2004) is the definition of what constitutes the institutional level. The institutional level is defined as the laws and regulations affecting the distribution of resources. The following are examples of the processes occurring at the institutional level: the

distribution of material advantages, formal organizational schemas, and ideological discourse. She does not provide definitions for any of these examples. As a result of these ambiguities, I use the multilevel model of gender inequality as a broad interpretive framework and not as a source of testable hypotheses.

Cultural Gender Beliefs

Recent scholarship has further developed the concept of cultural images by linking broad cultural beliefs about gender to social psychological processes that result in gender inequality. Correll and Ridgeway (2004) define cultural beliefs about gender as “the rules or instructions of difference and inequality that we understand to be gender” (p. 511). Cultural beliefs have two dimensions: the “horizontal”, beliefs that women and men are different, and the “hierarchical,” belief that men are more competent at the skills that are valued in society (Conway, Pizzamiglio, and Mount 1996). For example, women may be considered more communal and men more competent at instrumental rationality (Eagley, Wood, and Diekmann 2000).

Research shows that cultural beliefs about gender have consequences for both assessments of ability and career goals (Correll 2001, 2004; Eagley, Wood, and Diekmann 2000; Conway, Pizzamiglio, and Mount 1996). For example, experimental research shows that negative stereotypes by themselves can reduce an individual’s performance on a task (Shih, Pittinsky and Ambady 1999; Steele 1997; Steele and Aronson 1995). Correll (2001), using the National Educational Longitudinal Survey (NELS-88) finds that boys perceive themselves to be better at math than girls even when actual mathematical ability is controlled. Subsequent experimental studies show that gender gaps in self-assessments of ability disappear when students are told at the beginning of a task that men and women are equally competent at the task (Correll 2004). Furthermore, self-assessments of ability affect decisions about high school course enrollment and college majors (Correll 2001). Students who think they have mathematical competence are more likely to enroll in calculus courses in high school and major in math, science, or engineering in college. Girls in the NELS were more likely to have lower self-assessments of ability and therefore less likely to be math, science, and engineering majors in college. As a result, men end up entering higher paying and more prestigious occupations perpetuating occupational sex segregation and the gender wage gap.

It is important to note that people receive contradictory messages about gender (Deaux and Stewart 2001; Kennedy 1993; Kondo 1990) and resist the dominant cultural beliefs about

gender (Ridgeway and Correll 2004). The girl power movement (Ridgeway and Correll 2004) and the Women's Olympic Soccer Team are examples of well-publicized, counter-hegemonic images of women. Examples of resistance include the following: women who are scientists, engineers, and mathematicians; heterosexual couples with an egalitarian division of labor in the home (Risman 1998); and men in nontraditional occupations, such as nurses and paralegals (Williams 1993).

While people resist these messages, form identities that are counter-hegemonic, and behave in ways that resist the social order (Connell 1987, Covaleski et al 1998; Williams 1993), there is evidence that people are aware of the hegemonic beliefs about gender (Eagly, Wood, and Diekmann, 2000; Fisket et al 2002) and expect to be held accountable to those beliefs about gender in their everyday interactions. As a result, when people "enter public settings that require them to define themselves in relation to others, their default expectation is that others will treat them according to hegemonic gender beliefs" (Correll and Ridgeway 2004: 513). Thus, it is unlikely that any individual person is able to resist hegemonic cultural beliefs about gender consistently in all interactions.

I combine insights about cultural gender beliefs and a multilevel approach to develop a more sociological model of career goal formation. Having established this broader framework, I review literature related to the central concepts: mothers' attainments, beliefs about gender, and community contexts.

Empirical Studies of Factors Affecting Career Goals

Mothers' Attainments. Children learn directly and indirectly about work from their parents, who serve as role models (Eccles et al. 1983; Farmer 1985; Kidd 1984). They watch their parents going to work or staying home, hear about day to day experiences on the job, and find out from their parents what types of behavior and training allowed them to obtain their jobs (Jacobs et al. 1991; Jodl et al. 2000; Hanson 1994).

Empirical evidence suggests that adolescents' career goals are most affected by the actions of their same sex parent (Dryler 1998; Jodl et al. 2001; Kalmijn 1994; Rosenfeld 1978). For example, early mobility and status attainment research emphasize the importance of fathers' occupations for shaping sons' career goals and outcomes. Studies from the 1960s and 1970s report that sons who work in white collar nonmanual positions and blue collar manual jobs tend to follow in their fathers' footsteps, so that the transmission of occupational status from fathers to

sons is common (Blau and Duncan 1967; Featherman and Hauser 1976; Hout 1988; Stevens 1986). Additionally, sons are more likely to choose an educational program more analogous to their father's occupation than their mother's (Dryler 1998).

Studies of women show that when mothers are employed, daughters are more likely to participate in the labor force, be continuously employed, and choose less typically female occupations (Almquist and Angrist 1970; Astin et al. 1971; Baruch 1974; Hoffman 1974; Holstrom 1973; Rapaport 1971; Siegel and Curtis 1963; Tangri 1974). Rosenfeld (1978) finds that (1) daughters tend to enter the same occupation as their mothers if their mothers are employed, especially in sales/clerical, professional, or farm occupations; (2) mothers' occupations matter more for daughters than fathers' occupations; and (3) fathers' occupations only matter if mothers do not work outside the home. While this literature deals with attainments, I assume that the effect on daughters' goals will be similar. Some evidence supports this claim. More recently Shu and Marini (1998) find that mothers' education and occupational prestige shapes the occupational prestige of daughters' desired occupations. In addition, the sex-type of mothers' occupations was positively related to the sex-type of daughters' desired occupations. In general, research has established a link between parents' (especially same-sex parents') careers and their children's career goals.

Community context. The community context in which people grow up is important to occupational searches and the formation of career goals because this is where people learn about the labor market and apply for jobs. People typically limit their job searches to their communities (Jones and Rosenfeld 1989; Markham and Pleck 1986; Markham et al. 1983; Villemez, Beggs, and Williams 1995). National job searches exist only for a few people in high level occupations (Villemez and Beggs 1994). In fact, only 35 percent of people in the United States ever leave their original community (Villemez et al 1995). Of those who do leave, most move to an adjacent, not a distant community (Villemez, Beggs, and Williams 1995). In addition, communities are where employers and employees actually meet and interact (Armstrong and Taylor 1993; Bartik 1996; Hughes and McCormick 1994; Topel 1986; Brueckner, Thisse and Zenou 2002). Thus, young people are likely to develop their goals and make career-relevant decisions based on what they have learned about the labor market in their communities of origin.

Since community contexts are measured differently from study to study, we are still determining what community characteristics matter for young women's career goals. For example, Xie and Shauman (1997) find that the occupational plans of 1972 high school seniors are affected by the sex segregation of the community and the ratio of female to male hourly wages. Williams (2002) finds that educational plans are positively influenced by the number of women in college and negatively by the number of young women who are married in their local communities. Cotter, Hermsen, and Vanneman (2002) suggest that the percentage of women working in a community indirectly affects career goal formation. A community with a high percentage of women working may develop a different context in which women work and learn about careers. As the demand for women workers increases, employers may have to pay women a better wage in order to keep them. Women may begin to expect more from their employers and employers begin to expect more from their women employees, diminishing prejudice and statistical discrimination (Cotter, Hermsen, and Vanneman 2002).

Other community factors have not yet been examined in empirical research but are likely to be important for young women's career goals, namely the local divorce rate and the local available jobs. Young women who live in areas with high divorce rates are likely to have more contact with women who are economically independent or who face economic hardships as a result of divorce. Evidence suggests that divorces have a larger negative effect on wives' economic well-being than husbands' (Burkhauser 1990; Duncan and Hoffman 1988; Spain and Bianchi 1996). While family income decline for both men and women after a divorce (McManus and DiPrete 2001; Burkhauser 1990; Duncan and Hoffman 1988), women's family income declines by 24 percent and men's by 6 percent. In comparison, the median family income for divorced women is \$20,000 compared to \$50,000 for married women (Lugaila 1998). One potential response to this experience is for young women to develop less traditional gender beliefs and more ambitious career goals in order to protect themselves from facing these hardships in later life.

Another factor likely to affect the career goals of young women is the industrial makeup of the community in which they grew up. Since different types of industries provide different employment opportunities for women, industrial makeup might affect goals. The sex composition of industries might provide clues as to how industrial composition affects women's early career goals. There is little evidence about the occupational sex-segregation of industrial

sector (Tomaskovic-Devey et al. working paper). The available evidence suggests that the manufacturing industrial sector is moderately to highly sex segregated (Cartwright and Edwards 2002; Peterson and Morgan 1995; Tomaskovic-Devey et al working paper; Weeden and Sorensen 2004). The wholesale sector is found to be moderately to highly sex-segregated (Cartwright and Edwards 2002; Lorence 1992; Peterson and Morgan 1995; Tomaskovic-Devey et al working paper; Weeden and Sorensen 2004). The retail sector is estimated to have the lowest sex segregation in 2000 (Tomaskovic-Devey et al working paper, but see also Weeden and Sorensen 2004).

Thus, the industrial make-up in the communities where young women live when they are developing their career goals is likely to affect those goals. An area with a large manufacturing presence leads women to see men working more than women, which may lower the likelihood that they will plan to work. Women living in areas dominated by wholesale/retail are more likely to see women working and are more likely to expect to work. However, the jobs in these sectors do not tend to be very prestigious or well-paid. Thus, women living in areas dominated by wholesale trade will be more likely to have lower goals.

Gender beliefs. Prior research has established a positive link between gender beliefs and career goals. Young women who plan to complete college tend to have less traditional gender beliefs (Herzog and Bachman 1982). The less traditional the gender beliefs, the more likely students are to make progress in the career decision-making process, which in turn shapes their feelings of satisfaction with their college major (Harren, Kass, Tinsley, and Moreland 1978). In addition, the work and career plans of high school girls with less traditional gender beliefs differ from those of high school girls with more traditional beliefs (Weeks et al 1984).

More recent research has focused on race/ethnic differences in gender beliefs. Evidence suggests that Black women hold more egalitarian beliefs than white women (Bielby and Bielby 1984; Blee and Tickamyer 1986, 1995; Cazenave 1983; Dugger 1988; Rice and Coates 1995). While fewer studies have focused on Hispanics and whites, the available evidence suggests that Hispanics tend to hold more traditional gender beliefs than African-Americans or Whites (Gonzalez 1982; Harris and Firestone 1998; Wilkie 1993).

Conceptual Model

The Figure 2.2 outlines my model of teenage girls' career goal formation. I expect that community context will affect women's career goals directly and indirectly by shaping women's

beliefs about gender. I focus on mothers' employment situations and education level to explore the influences of mothers' attainments on young women's career goals. I expect mother's situations to affect young women's career goals both directly and indirectly by shaping their gender beliefs. This multilevel model of career goal formation that emphasizes mothers' attainments, community context, and gender beliefs is a more elaborate sociological model of the supply-side factors affecting gender inequality.

Hypotheses

Table 2.1 lists my hypotheses based on the literature reviewed above.

The Link between Goals and Attainments in Later Life

My second research question assesses the degree to which early career goals and gender beliefs influence work outcomes in later life. This question contributes by filling a long recognized gap in research on gender and work. What is rare is a national study of women's careers that follows women from approximately 20 years old to approximately 40 years old with emphasis on the effects of early plans and beliefs. As Padavic and Reskin (2002: 89) note, "the long-term effects of childhood socialization are unknown." The limited research that does exist has many limitations.

Five Studies of the Link between Career Goals and Attainments in Later Life

Five significant studies focus on the link between goals and attainments. Each concludes that there is a weak relationship between early socialization and career goals and outcomes in later life. However, each suffers from some important limitations.

Jacobs. Jacobs (1987) used the 1968 National Longitudinal Survey of Young Women aged 14-24 to determine the importance of early goals for predicting young women's occupational attainment. There was a weak to moderate relationship between the sex-type of occupational goals and the sex-type of occupational attainments in 1980. These findings were interpreted as evidence that social constraints limited the effects of goals on women's attainments. Social constraints might include discrimination, sexual harassment from co-workers, and pressure from significant others. Although the data contain no such measures, Jacobs concluded that social constraints affect women's labor market outcomes more than early gender socialization.

Levine and Zimmerman Replication. Levine and Zimmerman (1995) replicated of Jacobs's study using the 1968 and 1979 cohorts of National Longitudinal Surveys. They used the 1980 and 1988 follow-up surveys for the 1968 cohort and the 1990 follow-up for the 1979 cohort. This research also found a weak to moderate relationship between goals and attainments for the 1968 and the 1979 cohort. Approximately one-third of the young women in the 1968 cohort met their goals of working in male-dominated occupations and 55 percent met their goals of working in female-dominated occupations. In comparison, the 1979 cohort had fewer girls meeting their goals of working in male-dominated occupations (18 percent) and in female-dominated occupations (52 percent). Furthermore, young women with nontraditional goals in the 1968 cohort were 12 percent more likely than those with traditional goals to end up in a male-dominated job by the time they reached their mid-twenties. However, traditional goals had no significant effect on the occupational attainments of the 1968 cohort at ages 26-28 or 34-36.

The Jacobs study and Levine and Zimmerman replication suffer from two limitations. First, both studies excluded women who were not employed in later life. Jacobs's justification for this is that excluding not employed women who ensures that people with unrealistic goals are removed from the sample. However, it may lead to underestimating the relationship between goals and attainments. Perhaps teenage girls who plan to be full-time homemakers come from relatively privileged families and do not foresee the need to work in the future. Family privilege may further make them especially likely to meet their goals.

The second limitation of these studies is that neither directly tests the relative importance of early socialization compared to situational factors in later life for women's occupational outcomes. Jacobs's log-linear models and Levine and Zimmerman's probit model do not include any measures of factors in later life that might affect women's occupational outcomes. While Jacobs discuss sexual harassment and discrimination in his literature review as indicators of later life factors that would affect outcomes, he does not include any measures of these concepts in his analysis.

Almquist, Angrist, and Mickelson. Almquist, Angrist, and Mickelson (1980) drew on interview data from 116 members of the 1968 graduating class of a small, private women's urban university in their senior year. In the interviews, respondents were asked about a number of issues, including their career goals. In 1975, they sent a follow-up questionnaire inquiring about the women's attainments since graduation.

Almquist et al. (1980) find that the relationship between occupational goals and attainments is weak to moderate. As for occupational goals, in general, the women underestimated how much they would be employed in later life. In 1968, 59 percent of women expected to work; in 1975, 72 percent were working with only 5 percent not having worked at all since graduation. In contrast, most women were able to realize the marriage and educational goals they held as seniors: 100 percent of seniors expected to marry and 80 percent were married by 1975.

The main limitation of this study is that its respondents are not likely to be representative of most women. The sample is a convenience sample of women in a small, private women's university graduating in the late 1960s. In addition, this cohort of women is older than the cohort I study.

Gerson. Gerson (1985) interviewed women about their goals as teenagers in the 1950's and attainments when they were thirty years of age. Her main research question was how some women meet their career goals and what factors affect women's abilities to travel smoothly down their chosen path. She finds that few women met their goals; rather they "built their life paths out of a series of decisions over the course of their lives in response to the opportunities and constraints posed by their immediate social environments" (42). Gerson (1985) argues that there are four primary factors that affect women's ability to realize their occupational goals: relationship stability, employment opportunities, financial stability, and beliefs about domesticity. For example, young women who were family oriented were better able to realize those goals in adulthood if they were in a stable marriage, married to a man who made enough money that she did not need to work, believed that motherhood was important to being a good woman, and did not have any employment opportunities.

Gerson's study suffers from two limitations. First, since she interviewed women about their goals and preferences when they were in their thirties, they could only provide retrospective information about their teenage experiences. Such information is very likely to be influenced by recall bias. The second limitation of this study is its small sample size. While this study provides rich, detailed information on sixty women, it is difficult to ascertain how representative this study is of women's experiences more generally.

Risman. Risman, Atkinson, and Blackwelder (1999) study career goals, gender beliefs, and career outcomes using the Career Development Study (CDS) collected by Otto, Call, and

Spenner (1981). The sample consisted of 1,711 married women in 1979, who were junior and senior high school students in Washington in the mid-1960s.

To measure goals and gender beliefs, Risman, Atkinson, and Blackwelder use a gender beliefs scale, a four-category measure of respondents' work and family plans, the Duncan SEI score of the planned career, and a scale of how willing they were to compete with men in the occupational sphere. They consider both job situations, such as the percentage of men in the occupation and the mean career socioeconomic index (SEI) growth in the occupation, and family situations, such as number of children in the household, marital status, and husband's income in adulthood to be later life constraints on career outcomes.

The findings suggest that later life constraints matter more than goals and gender beliefs in early life for women's employment. Only work and family plans remained significant once later life constraints were included in the analyses. The more women were focused on their employment plans in early life, the more hours they worked in later life. However, neither explanation accounts for much of the variation in women's labor market outcomes. The model only explained 14 percent of the variation in hours worked. In addition, they did not test to see if goals and gender beliefs work through factors affecting career outcomes in later life.

Critique of Past Studies. In summary, these four studies have three main limitations for addressing my question. First, neither Jacobs's (1987) study nor the Levine and Zimmerman (1995) replication includes measures of constraints in later life. While these authors discuss constraints on attainments in their literature review, neither include measures to test them empirically in their analyses. So while both studies find a weak relationship between occupational goals and attainments, they do not include later factors in their models. In addition, neither study includes women who were not in the labor force. Certainly, women who do not desire to and those who do not enter the labor force have been socialized as well. These women may have experienced the most traditional gender socialization. Therefore, omitting these groups yields a partial understanding of the link between goals and attainments. Third, the qualitative studies by Almquist, Angrist, and Mickelsen (1980) and Gerson (1985) are rich in detail about the process of women's careers, but we cannot be sure how representative they are of women's experiences due to their both studies have small sample sizes ($n = 64$ and $n = 60$ respectively). Risman's (1999) study addresses some of the limitations in the earlier studies; however, it also suffers from one important limitation. The study does not address the possibility that goals and

gender beliefs may affect women's career outcomes through their family situations, educational attainment, and work effort.

Structural Factors Affecting Career Attainments

In this dissertation, I explore the link between early plans and later life attainments taking into account a set of contextual and individual factors that also constrain or facilitate women's careers. Specifically, I examine the community factors representative of structural forces that shape women's employment and family situations. The community factors represent broad conditions that are likely to shape women's career attainments. For example, women living in a community with a large demand for female labor may find it easier to gain employment than women living in communities with a minimal demand for female labor. In contrast, family situations may actually mediate some of the influences of goals and gender beliefs. Community factors and family situations are not competing explanations. Rather, they all work together to shape women's career outcomes.

Demand for Female Labor. The life course perspective and queuing theory both emphasize the broader structure of employment opportunities, a key factor affecting men's and women's attainments in later life. For example, Shanahan, Elder, and Miech (1997) use a life course perspective to study how the Great Depression, World War II, and the postwar economic boom affected men's life experiences. Men who graduated from high school during the Great Depression continued their education to avoid entering a limited labor market. These men graduated from college during World War II, went off to war, and then returned to enter the labor market during the boom (Shanahan, Miech, and Elder 1998). Though these studies focused on men, they suggest the importance of workers' employment opportunities and the composition of jobs, which likely applies to contemporary women as well.

Queuing theorists highlight the importance of the economic situation for people's mobility outcomes (Reskin and Roos 1990; Thurow 1969, 1972, 1975). According to queuing theorists, job matching occurs through a "dual-queuing" process, the labor queue and job labor queue. The labor queue is composed of available workers who look at the available jobs, ranking their desirability based on criteria such as wages, mobility, autonomy, and status. The job queue consists of employers with job openings who assess available workers ranking their desirability (Reskin and Roos 1990; Thurow 1969, 1972, 1975). The shape of the job queue changes as the job composition of the economy shifts, for example, from goods to service sector

occupations (Oppenheimer 1970; Reskin and Roos 1990). The recent growth in the service sector raised the labor demand beyond the numbers of qualified men, which beckoned women to fill these new opportunities (Jones 1985; Scott 1982; Starr 1982; Strom 1987; U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau 1929). In addition, technological advances often change jobs from skilled positions to more automated positions, lowering their desirability. Technological advances and the resultant lowering in the skill level required for these positions is significant for women's labor market outcomes because it means that even if employers prefer male employees, they will need to dip lower in the labor queue and hire more women.

Prior research suggests the importance of the demand for female labor and economic situation for women's career attainments in later life. These concepts are closely linked. Both attempt to indicate conditions under which women are likely to be hired. The demand for female labor tends to be measured by the percent of women working in a community to indicate that women have been accepted as workers in that area. Industrial sector indicates the type of industry that tends to hire women workers. In the next section, I review the literature on other important factors known to affect women's career attainments: family demands.

Family Demands. The ability of women to realize their career goals is often compromised by family demands. Balancing work and family demands is a dilemma for all employees with families (Barnett 1997; Crosby 1991; Greif, DeMaris, and Hood 1993; Hochschild 1989, 1997; LaRossa 1988; Mishel, Bernstein, and Schmidt 2001; Milke and Peltola 1999; Moen 1992). Women report that family interferes at work and that their work suffers consequences as a result of their family to work spillover (Keene and Reynolds 2005). Family demands often lead women to exit the labor force altogether or working part-time (Becker and Moen 1999).

It is not surprising that women's career goals are often hindered by family demands because women tend to be primarily responsible for household labor. When women live with men, their average time spent working on domestic tasks increases by 4.2 hours per week while their partners experience a decline of approximately 3.6 hours per week in their domestic tasks (Gupta 1999). In addition, the tasks men participate in are the tasks that require less frequent attention or are more enjoyable, leaving women to do the more frequent, less enjoyable tasks (Hochschild 1989; Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, and Robinson 2000; Waite and Goldscheider 1992). In qualitative interviews of married couples, Hochschild (1989) found that one couple divided

the household labor into categories like “inside/outside” or “upstairs/downstairs.” Even though the couple considered the division of labor to be equal, the husband was responsible for the basement and outside, which were associated with less frequent and time-consuming tasks. Her findings are also reflected in the experiences of couples more generally. In 1995, women spent 8 hours more per week on housework than men (Bianchi et al 2000). Most of that time was spent on core housework or the most frequent tasks, such as cooking meals, meal clean-up, and laundry (Bianchi et al 2000). Thus, women with more demanding family situations are likely to have lower career attainments in later life.

The Importance of Goals for Outcomes

The concept of cumulative advantage/disadvantage provides the logic for why early career goals and gender beliefs may matter as much as community contexts and family demands in later life for career outcomes: later life factors may be an extension of earlier advantages or disadvantages. The concept of cumulative advantage implies that different gender socialization experiences start girls on divergent pathways that accumulate advantages or disadvantages for paid work. For example, young women raised by mothers who are full-time homemakers will be more likely to develop traditional beliefs about gender and career goals. These beliefs and plans may lead them to different academic choices, career paths, and career outcomes in later life than young women raised by mothers who work in more male-dominated occupations, such as engineering or medicine. Those beliefs and plans may lead them to be less-oriented to careers in the labor force. As a result, from a young age they may be less likely to put the necessary effort into their math and science courses or enroll in advanced courses that would help them get into college. Therefore, they may not go to college thus lowering their ability to get better-paying jobs. If they do go on to college, they are more likely to end up in schools with lesser reputations. Even if they change their mind in college and decide to pursue a less traditional occupational path, they are behind those who took the relevant course work in high school. Each decision that they make in this direction pushes them further from success in the labor market and makes it harder for them to catch up with the requirements and credentials needed to help them obtain more success in the labor market.

Cumulative Advantage/Disadvantage. According to the concept of cumulative disadvantage/advantage, resources in early life (family income, intellectual ability, ascribed statuses, neighborhood) start people on different pathways associated with the likelihood of

accumulating advantages or disadvantages over the life course. This tendency leads to wider and wider inequality in later life outcomes such as income (Crystal and Shea 1990), careers (Correll 2004; Rosenbaum 1984), and health (Ross and Wu 1996).

Studies of careers show that early career advantages accumulate over the course of individual careers. Studies of scientists found that individuals who accepted jobs at prestigious schools had access to resources, such as computers, talented graduate assistants, and successful colleagues that helped them develop a lengthy publication record and a positive reputation in their fields (Allison, Long, and Krauze 1982; Cole and Cole 1973; Long 1978; Zuckerman 1977). Furthermore, a case study of a large work organization (Rosenbaum 1984) found that individuals who were promoted early in their careers in a work organization were more likely to be continually promoted. In addition, graduate students' publication and the prestige of their doctoral program increases the prestige of their first job and their future publications for Industrial and Organizational Psychologists (Jodge, Kamneyer-Mueller, and Betz 2004). For economists, working as research assistants and submitting and publishing articles as graduate students increases publishing productivity early in their careers (Buchweller, Dominitz, and Hansen 1999). Finally, department affiliation is more important for the productivity of chemists, biologists, physicians, and mathematicians than vice versa by providing the facilities, intellectual stimulation, and the motivation helpful for productivity (Allison and Long 1990).

Advantages and disadvantages for careers may occur earlier in life as well. Students who think they do not have much mathematical ability, even when they actually do, are less likely to enroll in courses such as calculus or major in science (Correll 2004), which is likely to shut doors that could lead to higher paying, higher status, more autonomous jobs in later life. Here research shows that underestimating math ability hurts women's persistence in math and science fields.

Conceptual Model

Figure 2.3 shows my conceptual model of how goals and gender beliefs affect outcomes at midlife. I expect that gender beliefs and career goals will affect women's career outcomes directly and indirectly through their family situations. I also expect community context to affect women's careers directly. This multilevel model of career attainments that emphasizes goals, gender beliefs, family demands, and community context is a more elaborate sociological model of the social psychological factors affecting gender inequality.

Hypotheses

Based on the literature above, I develop the hypotheses listed in Table 2.2.

Conclusion

The process of career goal formation is relatively under-theorized and under-studied by sociologists (Correll 2004). Correll (2004) suggests that this is the case because those who do address this issue tend to conceptualize young women's plans as if they developed in a vacuum without influence from the socio-historical context or other factors that may shape career goals. Whatever the reason for the lack of research on career goals, sociologists are left with a very cursory understanding of this process and its effect on outcomes in later life.

The theories and research that go beyond the vacuum explanation to directly and indirectly address career goal formation also suffer from some limitations. First, some theories such as gender socialization theory tend to provide explanations that are too simplistic. Second, theories that attempt to deal with the process in a more complex manner, such as Risman's multilevel model of gender inequality, have thus far tended to be difficult to operationalize. In addition, Risman and gender socialization theory do not set out to explain career goal formation so their application to this process is imprecise at best. Finally, the research in this area has only looked at one or two types of influences. By this I mean that it demonstrates relationships between various factors influencing career goals, but it does not piece these factors together to see how they work in concert to shape career goals.

In the first of two major components of my dissertation, I attempt to build on this prior work to develop a multilevel model of career goal formation. This model identifies factors such as community contexts, mothers' attainments, and gender beliefs as important influences shaping women's career goals. I argue that community contexts and mothers' attainments shape goals directly and indirectly through young women's gender beliefs.

Focusing on career goal formation in a multilevel way may have important implications for research on women's disadvantaged location in paid work in later life. Not only does it suggest a more multilevel and therefore sociological understanding of this process, but it suggests a more complicated relationship to later life outcomes than explored in previous studies on the link between goals and outcomes. It reminds us that each step of the way there are

various constraints and opportunities affecting our decisions. It also points out that there are a number of steps along the way, not just the two (i.e. goals and outcomes) suggested by earlier research.

The second major section of my dissertation attempts to synthesize research that tends to focus on either the early or later life factors that influence women's career outcomes. To do this I develop a multilevel model that examines how women's careers are shaped by career goals, gender beliefs, community contexts, and family demands. In addition, I explore how these early life factors affect women's family situations, educational attainment, and the hours they work.

In the next chapter of my dissertation, I outline the data, sample, and measures I use to test my hypotheses about career goal formation and its link to paid and unpaid work outcomes in later life for women. The fourth chapter is the analysis of career goals. The fifth chapter is the analysis of attainments. The final chapter discusses my findings, the limits of my study, and makes suggestions for future research.

Table 2.1 Career Goal Formation Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1a.

Young women residing in areas with higher divorce rates will have more ambitious career goals.

Hypothesis 1b.

Young women residing in areas with a higher demand for female labor will have more ambitious career goals.

Hypothesis 1c.

Young women residing in areas with a higher percentage of people employed in the manufacturing sector will have less ambitious career goals.

Hypothesis 1d.

Young women residing in areas with a higher percentage of people employed in the wholesale/retail sectors will have less ambitious career goals.

Hypothesis 1e.

Young women whose mothers have greater attainments in their careers will have less traditional gender beliefs and more ambitious career goals.

Hypothesis 1f.

Young women with nontraditional gender beliefs will have more ambitious career goals.

Hypothesis 1g.

Part of the effects of community context and mothers' attainments will indirectly affect career goals through young women's gender beliefs.

Table 2.2 Hypotheses of the Link between Career Goals, Gender Beliefs, and Women's Career Attainments

Hypothesis 2a.

Young women with higher career goals (higher earnings, lower percent female, and more prestige) are more likely to have higher attainments in later life (occupational: higher earnings, lower percent female, and more prestige; individual: higher wages) than young women with less ambitious career goals.

Hypothesis 2b.

Young women with more traditional gender beliefs will have lower attainments in later life (occupational: lower earnings, higher percent female, and lower prestige; individual: lower wages) than young women with nontraditional gender beliefs.

Hypothesis 2c.

The effect of goals on attainments will vary by gender beliefs.

Hypothesis 2d.

The effect of gender beliefs on attainments will vary by goals.

Hypothesis 2e.

Women with more family demands (married, more children, and elderly relatives living in the home) will have lower attainments (occupational: lower earnings, higher percent female, and lower prestige; individual: lower wages) than young women with fewer family demands (divorced, never married, young children, fewer children or no children, and no elderly relatives living in the home).

Hypothesis 2f.

Never married women will have higher attainments (occupational: higher earnings, lower percent female, and more prestige; individual: higher wages), especially women with nontraditional gender beliefs.

Hypothesis 2g.

Women with more exits from paid work will have lower attainments (occupational: lower earnings, higher percent female, and lower prestige; individual: lower wages), especially women with traditional gender beliefs.

Hypothesis 2h.

Women with more children will have lower attainments (occupational: lower earnings, higher percent female, and lower prestige; individual: lower wages), especially women with traditional gender beliefs.

Hypothesis 2i.

The effects of gender beliefs and goals on attainments will work indirectly through family demands.

Hypothesis 2j.

Women living in community contexts with lower divorce rates, lower demand for female labor, lower demand for female labor in 1998 than 1979, higher percent employed in manufacturing, and higher percent employed in wholesale/retail will have lower attainments (occupational: lower earnings, higher percent female, and lower prestige; individual: lower wages) than women living in areas with higher divorce rates, higher demand for female labor, higher demand for female labor in 1998 than in 1979, lower percent employed in manufacturing, and lower percent employed in wholesale/retail.

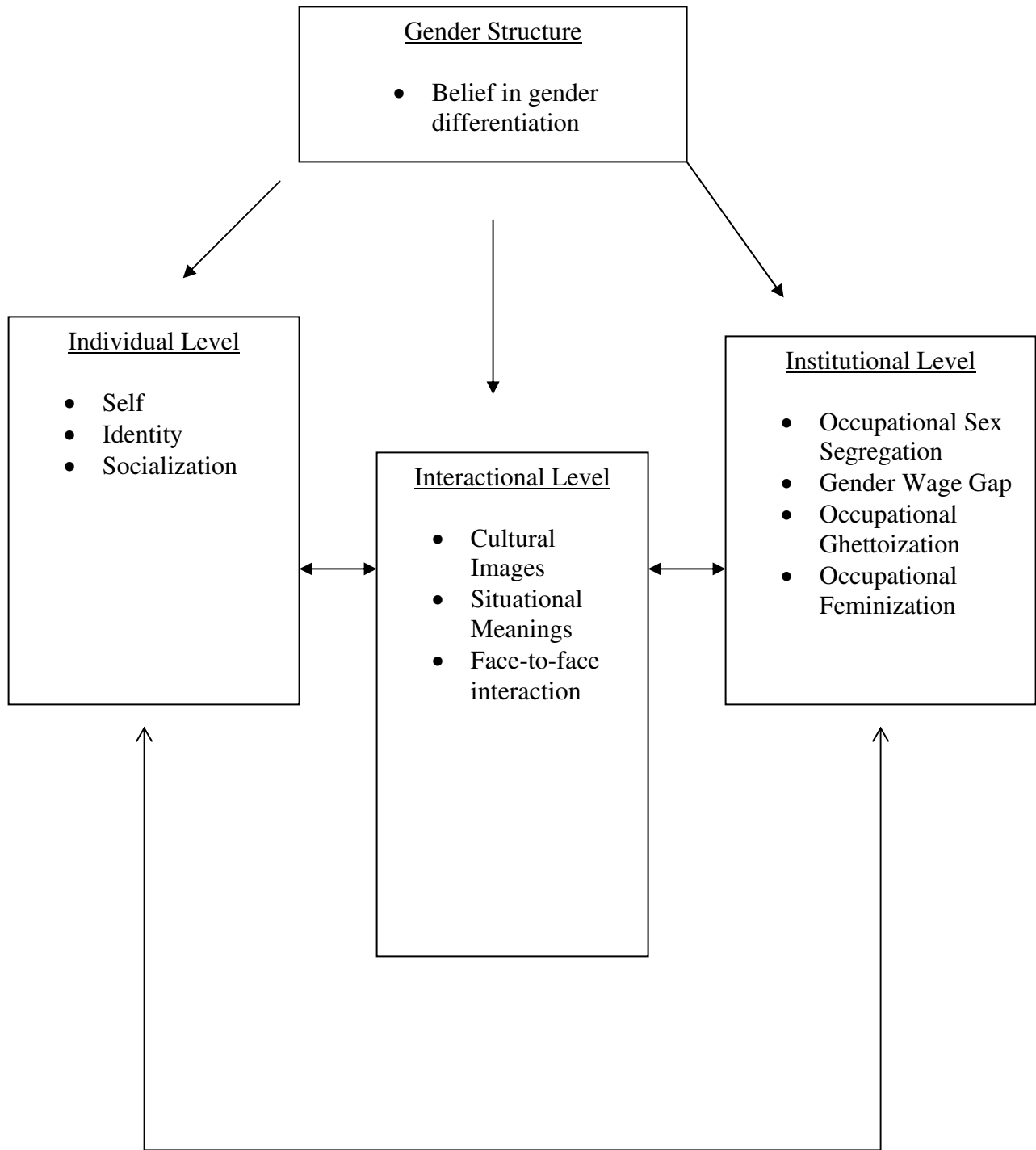


Figure 2.1 Risman’s Multilevel Model of Gender Inequality, Adapted from pg. 29

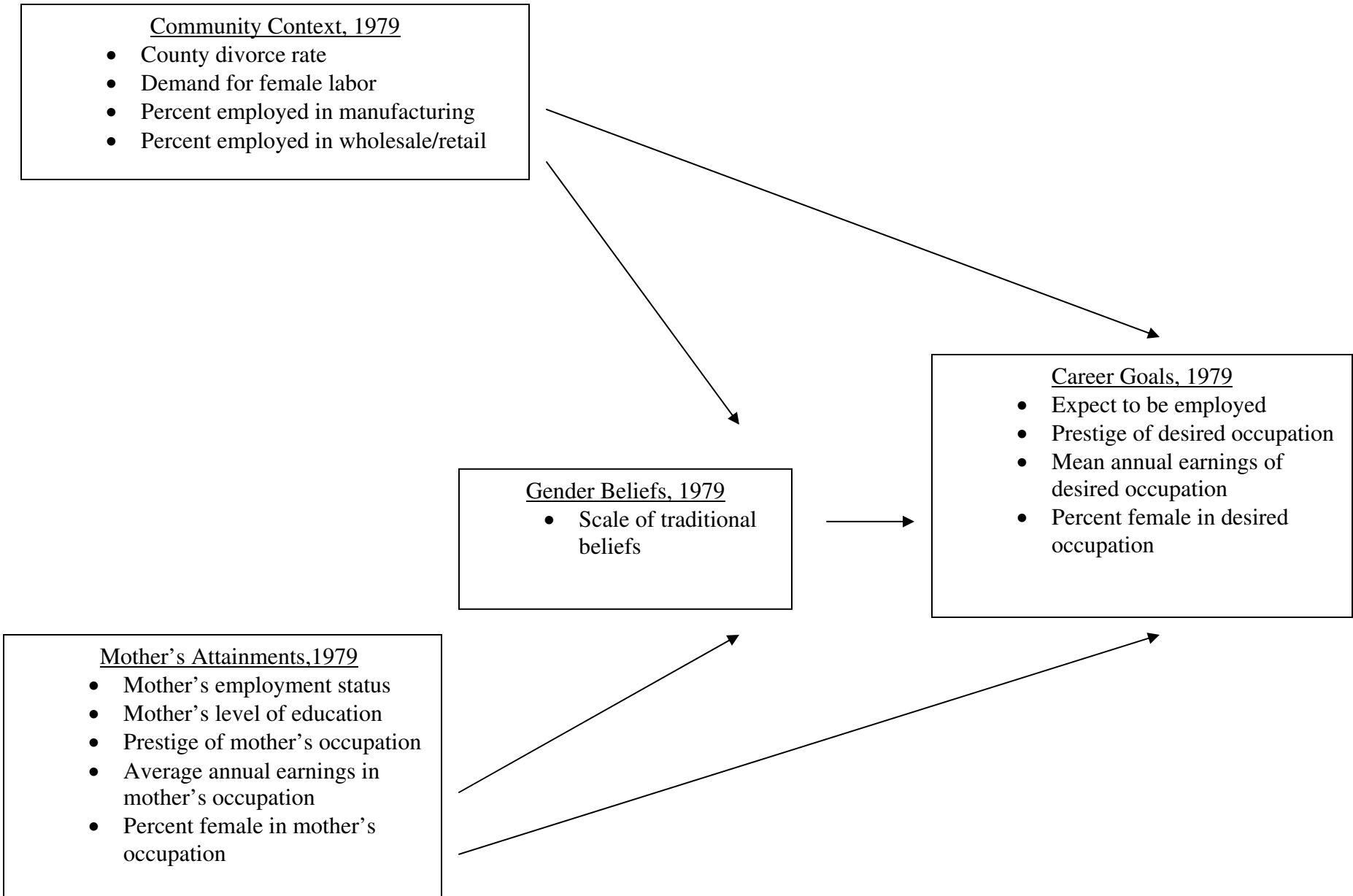


Figure 2.2 Conceptual Model of Young Women's 1979 Occupational Career Goal Formation at Age 14 to 19

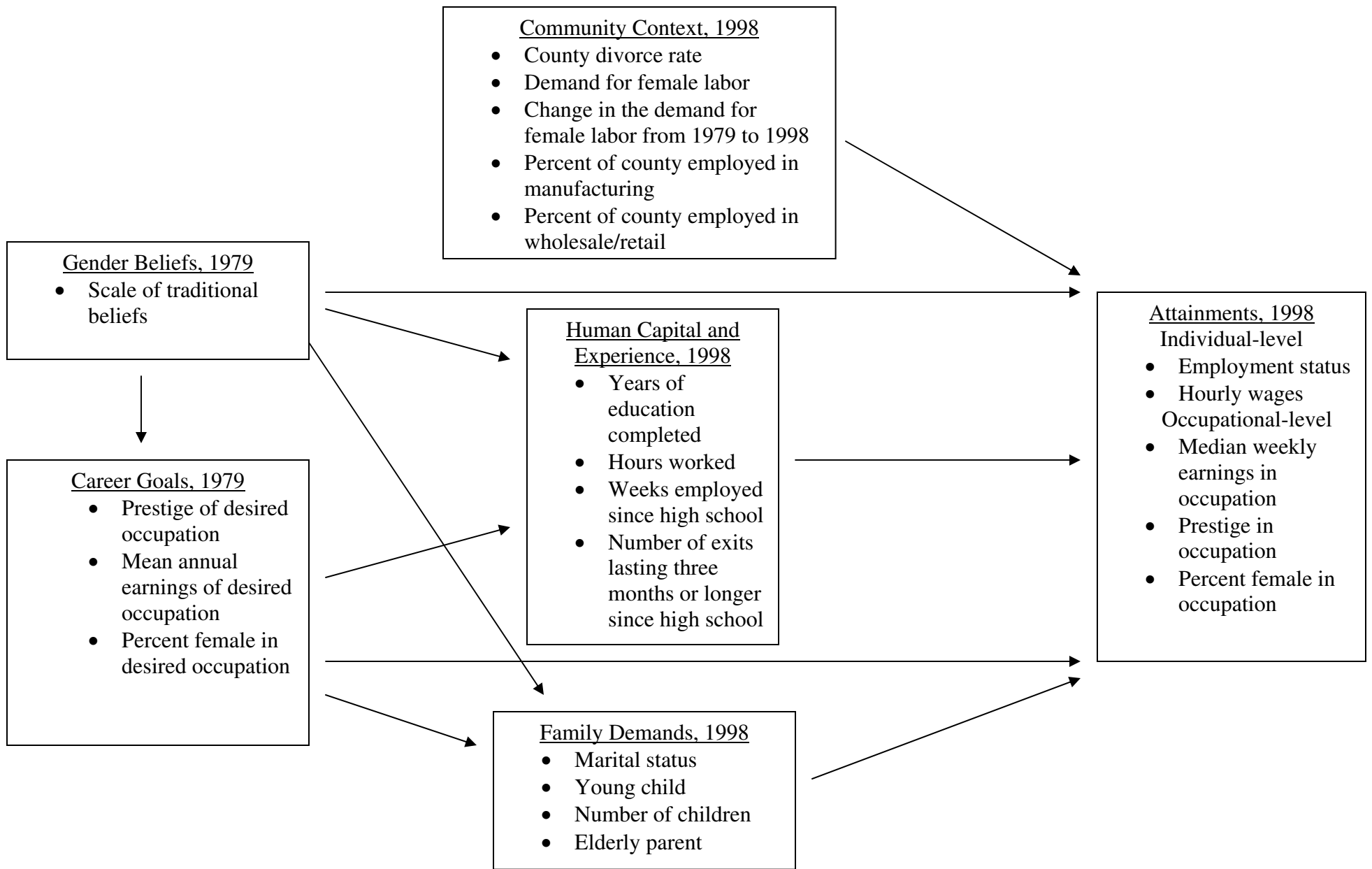


Figure 2.3 Conceptual Model of the Link between 1979 Occupational Career Goals when Young Women are 14 to 22 Years of Age and 1998 Occupational Attainments when Women are 33 to 38 Years of Age

CHAPTER 3 HYPOTHESES, DATA, AND METHODS

This chapter describes the secondary data, sample, measures, and analyses I use to test the hypotheses and conceptual models described in Chapter Two. A longitudinal data set is required to test my model of teenage girls' career goal formation and ascertain the relative importance of early career goals and structural barriers to employment in later life. To answer these questions, I use the main National Longitudinal Survey of Youth and its geographical-environmental (geocode) supplement. The geocode data files provide more detail about respondents' communities which I use to analyze both the effects of community context on career goal formation and the effects of the percent female in occupation on the relationship between career goals and attainments. After I describe the data and sample, I review the measures and analyses. I conclude this chapter with a preview of all analyses.

Data

The analyses use data from the 1979 and 1998 panels of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY), a nationally representative sample of 12,686 young men and women who were 14 to 22 years of age in 1979. Data were collected annually from 1979 to 1994 and biennially from 1996 to the present. Three independent probability samples, a cross-sectional sample, supplemental samples, and a military sample were designed to replicate the population of youth aged 14 to 22 years of age as of December 31, 1978 (see Center for Human Resource Research 2001 for more detailed information). In 1985, when the military sample ceased, the total NLSY sample size decreased to 11,607. By 1998, due to attrition and the dropping of various supplemental samples, such as the economically disadvantaged¹, the total sample size was 8,399 with a retention rate of 84.3 percent.² The NLSY did not add new people to

compensate for attrition. Others have demonstrated that attrition in the NLSY does not adversely affect studies of labor market outcomes (MaCurdy, Mroz, and Gritz 1998).

The interviewing technique changed over time. Interviews were primarily face to face in the early years of the survey, except for 1987 when budget constraints determined that the interviews be conducted over the phone. Over the interview period, the number of phone interviews has increased because respondents have become more dispersed across the United States and its territories. Furthermore, respondents have stated they prefer phone interviews. In 1979, 4.4 percent of the interviews were conducted over the phone. In 1998, 24.6 percent of interviews were phone interviews.

Interview mode is not likely to affect the results in my analysis. The major problems found with phone interviews are not present in my data. First, because the NLSY sample was selected based on housing units not phone numbers, the sample is not likely to be biased toward those who can afford phones (Klecka and Tuchfarber 1978). Second, my research is not on sensitive topics, such as drug abuse or health. As a result, there is little concern that the answers will vary by interview mode (Aquilino 1992; Baker and Bradburn 1992; McPhillips et al 1994). One study of the NLSY found few differences in the CPS questions, or questions about employment, for those who were interviewed face-to-face and those who were interviewed over the phone (Baker and Bradburn 1992).

The NLSY is well suited for this study because it was designed to survey the labor market experiences of women and men at multiple points in time. It asks respondents a wide range of work-related questions, including questions about their occupational goals in the base year followed by questions about their work lives. The NLSY also has information about respondents' transitions out of school, out of their family homes, and into parenthood.

In addition to the main NLSY data files, I applied for and was granted access to the NLSY geographic-environmental (geocode) data files for each year. These files provide information on respondents' states, counties, metropolitan areas, schools attended, and data about the county of residence such as unemployment rates, divorce rates, and the demand for female labor. I use the geocode data to test specific hypotheses about the effects of community context on career goals in 1979 and the effects of community context on the link between career goals and attainments in 1998.

Sample

I restrict the sample to female high school-aged students interviewed in 1979 and in 1998. I define high school-aged young women as those younger than 20 years of age reporting in 1979 that their highest grade completed was 8 through 11, $n = 3,059$. The respondents' ages in 1979 range from 14 to 19. To retain consistency across years, I exclude people who were not re-interviewed in 1998 ($n = 698$). Reasons given for non-interview in 1998 are the following: refusal ($n = 183$), unable to locate ($n = 46$), deceased ($n = 47$), difficult case ($n = 34$), other ($n = 26$), military sample dropped ($n = 2$) and supplemental economically disadvantaged sample dropped ($n = 360$). After excluding all missing values that could not be imputed, the 1979 and 1998 sample size is $n = 2,242$.

I limit the sample size by age and education for two reasons. First, the questions about occupational goals ask respondents what they expect to be doing when they are 35 years of age. In order to explore women's attainments when they are near 35 years of age in 1998, I need to look at women who were in at least the ninth grade in 1979. Second, as established by prior research on educational and occupational goals, high school is a time in which occupational goals are likely to be salient. Students are preparing to enter the labor market, continue their education, or work in the home (Johnson and Mortimer 2000; Johnson, Oesterle, and Mortimer 2001; Mortimer, Zimmer-Gembeck, Shanahan and Holmes 2002; Schoon 2001; Shu and Marini 1998; but also see Cook, Church, Ajanaku, Shadish, Kim, and Cohen 1996).

Measurement

Measures of Gender Beliefs, Career Goals, and Community Context

Table 3.1 provides brief variable descriptions of the measures used in the analyses. For the most part, the analyses focus on the occupational characteristics desired by women in 1979 when they are 14 to 19 years of age and obtained when they are 33 to 38 years of age in 1998. Figure 3.1 describes the skip patterns used to create the four dependent variables in 1979. I also discuss each measure in more detail below.

Career Goals, 1979. I use one dichotomous measure of career goals and three measures of career goals at the occupational level: prestige, mean income, and the percent female in

occupation in the U.S. labor force. The dichotomous measure of career goals is whether or not respondents expect to be working when they are 35 years of age. Respondents who answer “present job” or “some occupation” in question 1 in Figure 3.1 are coded 1. All other categories are coded 0.

For the other three measures of career goals I use data attached to the occupational codes corresponding to their desired occupation. The three-digit census occupation codes in 1979 are 1970 codes, so I convert them to 1980 codes and attach measures of prestige (Duncan’s SEI scores), median income, and percent female in occupation (using England and Kilbourne’s data set titled “Occupational Measures from the Dictionary of Occupational Titles for 1980 Census Detailed Occupations”).³

Figure 3.1 shows the NLSY skip patterns used to get the 3-digit census occupation codes for teenage girls’ career goals. To get the census codes, I follow the skip patterns to get the following categories of people:

- (1) Expect to work: Teenage girls who answer “present occupation” or “some occupation” when asked the lead-in question (labeled Q1), “What would you like to be doing at age 35?”
- (2) Expect to work and have a family: Those who answer “married/family” when asked Q1 and answer “yes” when asked the marriage/family follow-up question (labeled Q2) “Would you like to be working in addition to being married?”
- 3) Do not expect to work: Teenage girls who answer “other” when asked Q1, teenage girls who answer “no” when asked the marriage/family follow-up question (Q2), and teenage girls who answer “don’t know” when asked Q1.

Because the members of the last group do not plan to work but are pushed for an answer, their responses may be associated with larger prediction errors. In addition, those who expect to work and have a family (group 2) may also have larger prediction errors because they may have given less consideration to their career goals because their priority is to be married/have a family. To deal with these issues, I include controls for these different groups. I create two dummy variables to compare the career goals of those who expect to work, those who expect to work and have a family, and those who do not expect to work. The reference category is those who expect to be working, response 1 or 2 to Q1 (see the 1979 Control Variables section of Table 3.1).

Gender Beliefs, 1979. I use factor analysis to create a scale of traditional beliefs by averaging the responses to four statements. The response options include strongly agree, agree, don't know, disagree, and strongly disagree. The four statements are the following: (1) a woman's place is in the home, not in the office or shop; (2) a wife who carries out her full family responsibilities doesn't have time for outside employment; (3) it is much better for everyone concerned if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family; and (4) women are much happier if they stay at home and take care of their children. The factor loadings for each of the items are equal. As a result, I take the average of the responses. The scale ranges from 1 to 5 with an alpha reliability of .725, where high values represent more traditional gender beliefs.

The scale items generally deal with the issue of women's employment, but it should be noted that each item is potentially ambiguous. For example, item 3 discusses "everyone concerned" which could be limited to the members of the family of procreation or it could be as broad as society at large. Furthermore, item 3 discusses "family" which may or may not refer to children (Brewster and Padavic 2000).

In addition, the scale does not provide an unambiguous categorization of gender beliefs. For example, women with both traditional and nontraditional gender beliefs could agree with item 4. Women with traditional gender beliefs could agree because they believe in the statement at face value. Women with nontraditional gender beliefs could agree with the statement if they feel that the competing demands of work and family can lead to unhappiness even if they think women working outside the home is an important endeavor. Thus, the likelihood of finding significant influences of gender beliefs on goal sis attenuated in light of these shortcomings.

Community Context, 1979. I measure community context with four continuous variables using the NLSY geocode data. The first measure is the divorce rate in 1975 per 1,000 people in the county of residence. Second, the percent of women working for pay in 1980 in the county of residence is calculated by dividing the number of females in the labor force in the county of residence in 1980 by the total labor force population aged 16 and over in the county of residence in 1980.⁴ The third continuous measure is the percent of the county labor force employed in the manufacturing sector in 1980. The final continuous measure is the percent of the county labor force employed in the wholesale and retail trade sectors in 1980.

Mothers' Attainments, 1979. I use five measures of mothers' attainments: mother's employment status, prestige of mother's occupation, the mean earnings in mother's occupation, the percent female in mother's occupation, and mother's level of education. The measure of mother's employment status is two dummy variables. The first dummy variable is coded one if the mother/stepmother worked for pay for all of the year prior to the date of interview. The second variable is coded one if the respondent's mother/stepmother worked for part of the past year. The reference category for each is women who did not work in the past year. To measure the prestige, median earnings, and percent female in mother's occupation, I convert the 1970 three-digit census occupation codes to 1980 three-digit census occupation codes and attach prestige scores (Duncan's SEI scores) and mean income and the percent female in 1979 as with the respondents' occupational goals. Mother's education is a continuous measure equal to the highest year of education she completed.

Control Variables, 1979. I control for race/ethnicity, immigrant status, age, education, family situation, and expectations for future employment and family. To measure race/ethnicity, I use race-ethnic dummy variables to compare Blacks, Hispanics, Whites, and others. Respondents were asked "What is your origin or descent?" I categorize respondents as Black if they responded that their origin or descent is Black. Respondents are Hispanic if they answered Cuban, Chicano, Mexican, Mexican-American, Puerto-Rican, Other Hispanic, or Other Spanish. I group respondents into the Other category if they answer none, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Indian American or Native American, Asian Indian, Vietnamese, Japanese, Korean, or other. White is the reference category. Immigrant status is measured with a dummy variable coded 1 if respondents report that they were not born in the U.S., its territories, or Puerto Rico. Age is a continuous variable of age at date of interview. Education is a continuous measure equal to the highest grade completed by the respondent.

To measure current family situation, I measure the number of siblings, the net family income, father's education, and father's employment status. Number of siblings is a continuous variable. Respondents count anyone that they consider brothers and sisters when they are asked this question. I use a dummy variable to capture whether the respondent lives with two parents. Two parents consist of the following combinations: a father and a mother, a father and a stepmother, a mother and a stepfather, and a stepmother and a stepfather. A second dummy variable captures whether the respondent lives with her mother without a father or stepfather

living in the home⁵. The reference category is all other family combinations. Net family income is a continuous measure of the income of everyone in the household 14 years and older.⁶ Father's education is a continuous measure of years of education. Father's employment status is measured by two dummy variables. The first is coded 1 if the respondent's father/stepfather worked for pay for all of the year prior to the date of interview. The second is coded 1 if the father/stepfather worked part of the past year. The reference category is fathers who did not work in the past year.

Measures of Attainments and Structural Factors in Later Life

Attainments in Later Life, 1998. I use five measures of attainments in later life two of which are measured at the individual level and three of which are measured at the occupational level. The first individual level measure is a dichotomous measure of employment status in 1998 coded 1 if the respondent is currently employed and 0 if not. Three measures of attainments are occupational level: prestige, median income, and the percent female in the U.S. labor force. I use 1980 three-digit census occupation codes to establish respondents' actual careers in later life and attach those to Duncan's SEI scores, median income, and the percent female. See discussion of the continuous measures of career goals section for the sources of this data and the procedures used to match them to respondents' occupations. The second individual level measure and the final measure of attainments in later life is the respondents' hourly wages in 1998.

Since the NLSY asks respondents information about up to five jobs they have held since the date of last interview, I analyze the primary job. Primary job is a measure I construct using information on up to five jobs the respondent held since the date of last interview. If a respondent currently holds more than one job, I use the job she works in the most hours per week.⁷

Family Demands, 1998. I have four measures of family demands in 1998: marital status, whether there is a young child in the home, the number of children under 18 years of age living in the home, and whether there is an elderly parent in the home. Marital status is measured with four dummy variables to compare divorced, separated, widowed, never married, and married women. Married women make up the reference category. To indicate the presence of a young child in the home, I use a dummy variable coded 1 if there is a child 5 years of age or younger living in the home. The reference category is those with no children in the home and those with children older than 5 years of age.

The number of children in the home is a continuous measure of all the children 18 years of age or younger in the home in 1998, including biological children, step-children, and adopted children. A dummy variable measures whether there is an elderly parent living in the home. My measure of elderly parents include respondents' and partners' parents, foster parents, and grandparents. It also includes respondents' step-parents, but does not include partners' step-parents because the NLSY does not include them in the response category set.

Human Capital and Experience, 1998. I construct four measures of human capital in 1998: education, hours worked, the number of exits from the labor force lasting longer than three months since high school, and the number of weeks spent in the labor force since high school. Education is a continuous measure of the highest grade completed by the respondent. Hours worked is measured with a dummy variable coded 1 if the respondent is working 35 hours or more per week in the labor force.⁸ The reference category is those employed part-time or less than 35 hours per week. The number of weeks they worked in the labor force since high school is a continuous measure. The number of exits from the labor force that lasted longer than three months is also a continuous measure.

Community Context, 1998. I construct five continuous measures of community context. The first measure is the divorce rate in 1984 per the 1,000 people in the county of residence. The demand for female labor is a 1990 measure of the percent female in the current county of residence employed in the labor market. I also include a measure of the change between 1980 and 1990 in the percent female employed in the labor market in the county of residence. The fourth measure is the percent of the labor force in the county of residence who are employed in the manufacturing sector in 1990. The final measure is the percent of the labor force employed in the wholesale and retail trade sectors in the county of residence in 1990. I use data from 1984 and 1990 data instead of data closer to 1998 because the NLSY does not have 1998 or 2000 data.

Control Variables, 1998. Age is a continuous measure of the respondent's age in 1998. Analyses of 1998 outcomes additionally control for race/ethnicity and immigrant status and are measured using the 1979 measures described above.

Analysis

I use logistic and OLS regression to test my hypotheses about the effects of community context, mothers' attainments, and gender beliefs on career goals. The binary measure of career goals is work expectations. Three separate continuous dependent variables measure teenage girls' occupational career goals: prestige, median earnings, and the percent female. Each analysis of career goals will have 6 models that add the sets of measures in the various boxes in figure 2.2 in a progressive fashion to determine the overall and net influences of the factors emphasized by the goals, gender beliefs, and community context hypotheses. Model 1 for each dependent variable will include the control variables. Model 2 will add the two community context measures. The third model adds the scale of gender beliefs to model 2. The fourth model adds measures of mothers' attainments to model 1. Model 5 adds the scale of gender beliefs to model 4. Model 6 is the final model that includes all the measures of community context, mothers' attainments, and gender beliefs.

To estimate the effect of goals and gender beliefs on attainments, I use sample selection models. Sample selection models deal with a form of censoring in which values on a dependent variable are observed or not based on another variable (Breen 1996). In this case, observing the prestige, median earnings, and of the occupations in which respondents are employed in later life are dependent on whether or not they are working in the labor force. As a result, I use a two-stage sample selection model. The binary component consists of those who work in the labor force in 1998 (in the sample) versus those who are not in the labor force (not in the sample). To model the probability of being in the sample, I use the following measures: young children living in the household, marital status, age, education, and weeks spent in the labor force since high school.

There are four continuous measures of occupational attainments: (1) prestige of achieved occupation, controlling for the occupational prestige of desired occupation and gender beliefs in 1979; (2) income of achieved occupation, controlling for occupational income of desired occupation and gender beliefs in 1979; (3) percent female in the achieved occupation, controlling for the percent female in desired occupation and gender beliefs in 1979; and hourly wages. The four regression models for each dependent variable add the sets of measures in the boxes in figure 2.3 to determine the influences of the factors emphasized by the goals, gender beliefs,

family demands, and community context hypotheses. The first model tests the effects of goals and gender beliefs on occupational attainments (income, percent female, prestige, and hourly wages) respectively. The second model adds the measures of family demands and the control variables.⁵ The third model regresses occupational attainments on career goals, gender beliefs, community contexts and the control variables. The final model includes goals, gender beliefs, family demands, community contexts, and control variables.

I weight all descriptive and multivariate analyses using the NLSY sample weights to adjust for over-sampling and non-response.⁹

Endnotes

¹ The supplemental samples were designed to oversample civilian Hispanic, black, and economically disadvantaged, non-Hispanic, non-black youth (n=5,295). In 1990 the non-black/non-Hispanic male and female subsample was dropped due to funding cutbacks.

² The NLSY defines the retention rate as the percentage of base year (1979) respondents remaining eligible who were interviewed in each year.

³ I also convert 1970 three-digit census occupation codes to 1980 codes so there will be consistency in 1979 and 1998. In 1998, the occupation codes are 1980 three-digit census occupation codes.

⁴ In 1998, the geocode data include a measure of the percent of women in the labor force in the county of residence. In 1979, I create this measure by dividing the number of females in the labor force in the county of residence in 1980 by the total labor force population aged 16 and over in the county of residence in 1980.

⁵ Including grandmothers would only add 29 people to this measure, which would have no substantive effect on the results.

⁶ Four hundred people are missing on net family income in 1979. I imputed family income values for these values. The adjusted r-squared is .358.

⁷ Primary job is not a measure of the most desirable job held since the date of last interview. In future research, I will determine whether a respondent meets her 1979 career goals, even if it is in a job that is not her primary job as I defined it above. For example, if in 1979 a teenage girl hoped to be a professional actor and does so in some sort of part-time capacity in 1998, but works as a server full-time in a restaurant, using information on her primary job would indicate that she had not met her career goals in 1998. I use primary job for two reasons. First, it represents the respondent's main job, which is a measure of whether the respondent has been able to meet their career goals in a substantial way. To elaborate on the example above, if this respondent was a professional actor in a full-time capacity, it would provide more evidence that they were actually able to meet their goal. Second, I do not anticipate that tapping into additional jobs will provide much additional information. Only 170 or 8 percent of respondents in the sample hold more than one job.

⁸ In the continuous component for each of the sample selection models, I control for full-time/part-time status with a dummy variable where 1 = women who work 35 hours or more per week and 0 = women who work less than 35 hours per week. I do this because it is likely that part-time workers will have lower attainments than full-time workers in general.

⁹ I weight the descriptive statistics as recommended by the NLSY documentation. There is a debate among methodologists about whether one should use sampling weights or leave regression analyses unweighted (Winship and Radbill 1994). Weighting regression analyses increases the accuracy of slope estimates in multivariate regression but makes standard errors more inaccurate. Not weighting analyses can lead to unbiased standard errors but may lead to biased slopes. In future work, I will use the protocol outlined in Winship and Radbill (1994) to determine if I should weight the analyses.

Table 3.1 Key Variable Definitions

Variable	Definition
1979 Variables	
Dependent Variables, 1979	
Career Goals	
Work Expectations	Binary measure of whether respondents expect to work in the labor force when they are 35 years of age in 1979.
Duncan's SEI in Desired Occupation	Continuous measure of the prestige of an occupation in 1979.
Mean Earnings in Desired Occupation	Continuous measure of the mean earnings in an occupation in 1979.
Percent female in Desired Occupation	Continuous measure of the percentage of women working in this occupation in 1979.
Independent Variables, 1979	
Gender Beliefs	
Traditional Gender Beliefs Scale	Scale calculated by averaging responses to the following questions: (1) a woman's place is in the home, not in the office or shop; (2) a wife who carries out her full family responsibilities doesn't have time for outside employment; (3) it is much better for everyone concerned if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family; and (4) women are much happier if they stay at home and take care of their children. The responses range from 1 to 5 with low scores indicating less traditional gender beliefs and high scores indicating more traditional gender beliefs.
Community Context	
Divorce rate in County of Residence	Continuous measure of the 1975 divorce rate in the respondent's county of residence.
Percent of Employed Women in County of Residence	Continuous measure of the percentage of employed women in the respondent's county of residence, calculated by dividing the 1980 number of females in the civilian labor force in the county by the 1980 total civilian labor force population aged 16 and over in the county.
Percent of Labor Force Employed in Manufacturing in County of Residence	Continuous measure of the percentage of the civilian labor force in the manufacturing sector in the respondent's county of residence. Calculated by dividing the number of people

Table 3.1 continued

	working in the manufacturing sector by the number of people in the civilian labor force in 1980.
Percent of Labor Force Employed in Wholesale and Retail Trade in County of Residence	Continuous measure of the percentage of the civilian labor force working in the wholesale and retail trade sectors in the respondent's county of residence. Calculated by dividing the number of people working in this sector by the number of people in the civilian labor force in 1980.
Mothers' Attainments	
Mothers' Working Full Year Prior to the Date of Interview	Dichotomous variable coded 1 for mother/stepmother was employed for the full year prior to the date of interview (1978). The reference category for this measure and the measure below for mothers' working part of the year prior to the date of interview is female in the household not working at all in the year prior to the date of interview.
Mothers' Working Part of the Year Prior to the Date of Interview	Dichotomous variable coded 1 for mother/stepmother was employed for part of the year prior to the date of interview (1978). The reference category for this measure and the measure above for mothers' working all of the year prior to the date of interview is female in the household not working at all in the year prior to the date of interview.
Duncan's SEI for Mothers' Occupations	Continuous measure of the prestige of the longest occupation held by mother/stepmother in the year prior to the date of interview (1979).
Mean Earnings in Mothers' Occupations	Continuous measure of the mean earnings in the longest occupation held by mother/stepmother in the year prior to the date of interview (1978).
Percent Female in Mothers' Occupations	Continuous measure of the percentage of women employed in the longest occupation held by mother/stepmother in the year prior to the date of interview, (1978).
Mothers' Levels of Education	Years of formal education completed by the mother living in the household.
Control Variables	
Race/Ethnicity	
Black	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent is Black. Reference category is White.
Hispanic	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent is Hispanic. Respondents are Hispanic if they answered Cuban, Chicano, Mexican, Mexican-

Table 3.1 continued

	American, Puerto-Rican, Other Hispanic, or Other Spanish. Reference category is White.
Other	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent is not Black, White, or Hispanic. Reference category is White.
Immigrant	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondents report that they were not born in the U.S., its territories, or Puerto Rico. Reference category is U.S. citizens.
Age	Respondent's age in years.
Education	Years of formal education completed by the respondent.
Family Situation	
Number of siblings	Continuous measure of the number of siblings. Respondents are instructed to count anyone they consider brothers or sisters.
Lives in a female-headed household	Dummy variable coded 1 if living with mother or stepmother and there is no father or stepfather living in the home. Reference category is all other family combinations.
Lives with two parents	Dummy variable coded 1 if living with father and mother, father and stepmother, mother and stepfather, or stepfather and stepmother. Reference category is all other family combinations.
Net family income	Continuous measure created by the NLSY of all income received in household from all members of household related by blood or marriage in 1978.
Father's years of education	Years of formal education completed by male living in the household.
Fathers' Working Full Year Prior to the Date of Interview	Dichotomous variable coded 1 if father/stepfather was employed for the full year prior to the date of interview. Reference category is father/stepfather did not work for pay in the year prior to the date of interview.
Fathers' Working Part of the Year Prior to the Date of Interview	Dichotomous variable coded 1 if father/stepfather was employed for part of the year prior to the date of interview. Reference category is father/stepfather did not work for pay in the year prior to the date of interview.
Expectations about Future Employment and Family	
Expect to be employed and have a family at 35 years of age	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent expects to be employed and have a family at 35 years of age. Reference category is those who expect to

Table 3.1 continued

	be employed when they are 35 years of age.
Expect not to be employed at 35 years of age	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent does not know what expects to be doing at 35, expects to be doing something other than working or being married/having a family at age 35, expects to be married and not be employed at age 35. Reference category is those who expect to be employed when they are 35 years of age.
1998 Variables	
Dependent Variables, 1998	
Attainments in Later Life	
Employment Status	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent is employed in 1998.
Duncan's SEI in Occupation	Continuous measure of the prestige of an occupation in 1980.
Median Weekly Earnings in Occupation	Continuous measure of the median earnings in an occupation in 1998.
Percent Female in Occupation	Continuous measure of the percentage of women working in this occupation in 1998.
Hourly Wages	Continuous measure of the hourly wages in primary job in 1998.
Independent Variables, 1998	
Family Demands	
Divorced	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent reports being divorced. Reference category is married.
Separated	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent reports being separated. Reference category is married.
Widowed	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent reports being widowed. Reference category is married.
Never Married	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent reports being never married. Reference category is married.
Young child in the home	Dummy variable coded 1 if there are any children five years of age and younger living in the home.
Number of young children in the home	Number of children five years of age and younger living in the home.
Number of children in the home	Number of children 18 and younger in the home.
Elderly parent in the home	Dummy variable coded 1 if there is an elderly relative 65 years of age or older living in the home. Elderly relative includes respondent's and their partner's father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, and foster parents. It also includes respondent's stepfather and

Table 3.1 continued

	stepmother. The NLSY does not include a measure of stepfather-in-law or stepmother-in-law.
Human Capital Measures	
Education	Years of formal education completed by the respondent.
Hours worked	Dummy variable where employed 35 hours per week or more equals 1. The reference category is those working 34 hours or less per week equals.
Number of exits from the labor force since high school that lasted three months or longer	Number of exits from the labor force since the respondent was in high school that lasted for three months or longer.
Number of Weeks in labor force since high school	Continuous measure of weeks the respondent worked in the labor force since high school.
Community Context Measures	
Divorce rate in County of Residence	Continuous measure of the 1984 divorce rate in the respondent's county of residence.
Demand for female labor	Continuous measure of the 1990 percent female in the civilian labor force in the county of residence. I use 1990 instead of 2000 because I do not have 2000 data in my data set and would need special permission from NLS to attach it to this data file for confidentiality reasons.
Change in demand for female labor	Continuous measure comparing the 1980 and the 1990 percent female in the civilian labor force in the county of residence. I use 1990 instead of 2000 because I do not have 2000 data in my data set and would need special permission from NLS to attach it to this data file for confidentiality reasons.
Percent in manufacturing	Continuous measure of the 1990 percent of the civilian labor force employed in the manufacturing sector in the county of residence. I use 1990 instead of 2000 because I do not have 2000 data in my data set and would need special permission from NLS to attach it to this data file for confidentiality reasons.
Percent in wholesale/retail trade	Continuous measure of the 1990 percent of the civilian labor force employed in the wholesale/retail sector in the county of residence. I use 1990 instead of 2000 because I do not have 2000 data in my data set and would need special permission from NLS to attach it to this data file for confidentiality reasons.
Control Variables	

Table 3.1 continued

	Age	Continuous measure of respondent's age in 1998.
--	-----	---

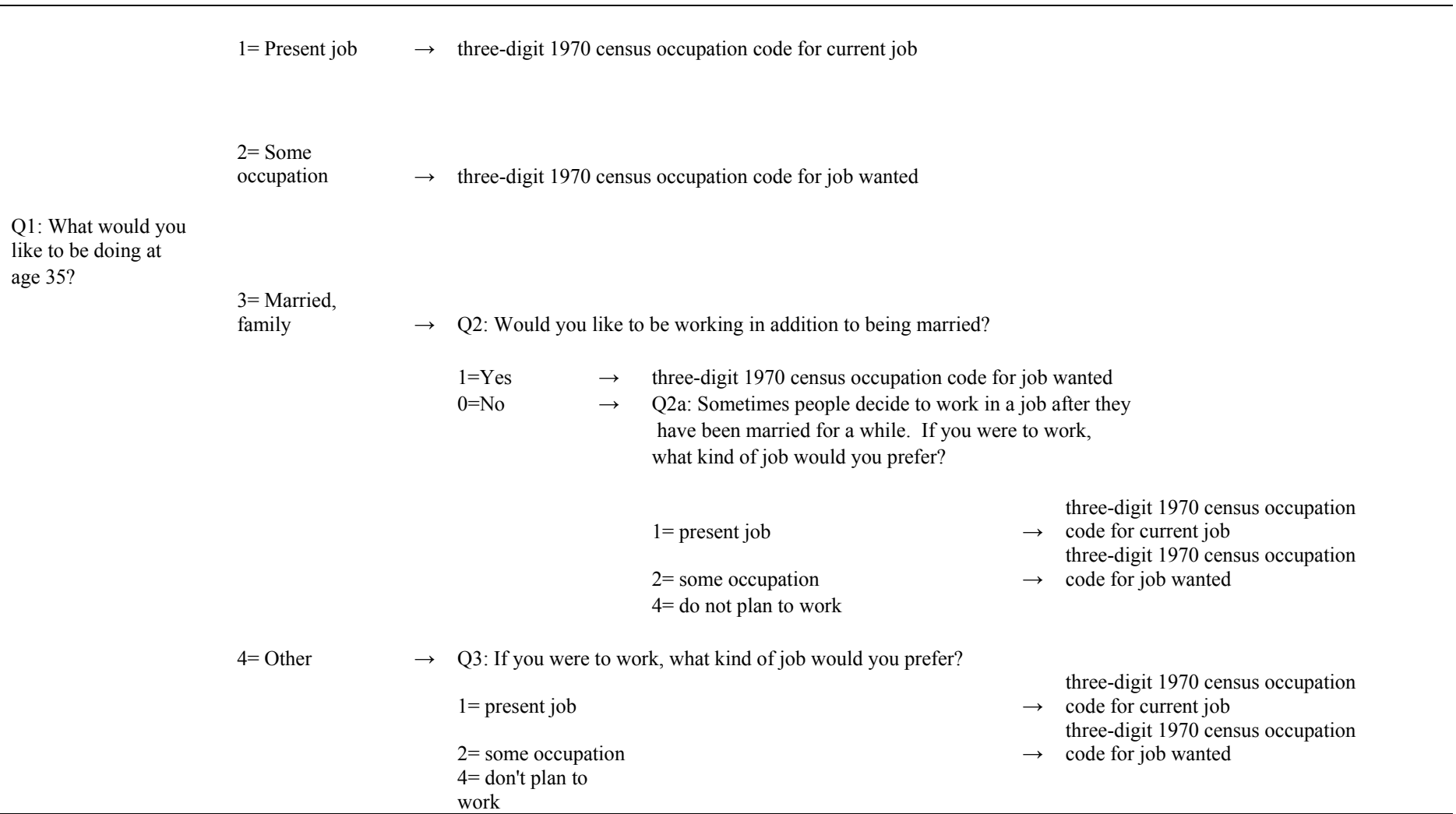


Figure 3.1 NLSY Skip Patterns for Occupational Aspirations Questions

CHAPTER 4 CAREER GOALS ANALYSES

In this chapter I examine four measures of the career goals of young women age 14 to 19: work expectations, average earnings in the occupations to which young women aspire, the prestige of occupations to which young women aspire, and the percent female in the occupations to which young women aspire. I review the analyses and summarize my findings about career goal formation and conclude by describing how these findings support and build on prior research and theory about young women's career goal formation.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 4.1 presents the weighted descriptive statistics for the NLSY young women. The first two columns provide means and percentages for the whole sample. The third and fourth columns compare means and percentages for the independent variables by the first dependent variable, work expectations. The last two columns indicate whether these characteristics differ significantly between young women who expect to work when they are 35 and those who do not. Most of these young women, 85 percent, expect to be employed when they are 35 years of age.

In calculations not shown, I find that young women's career goals are heterogeneous. The earnings in the occupations young women expect to work in when they are thirty-five years of age range from \$4,360 to \$31,637. The prestige of young women's desired occupations ranges from 14 to 90. Finally, young women desire to be working in occupations in which the percent female ranges from 1 to 99 percent. However, young women's career goals are concentrated in few occupations. Thirty-four percent of young women who expect to work when they are 35 years of age plan to work

in the following 5 occupations in descending order: secretaries, registered nurses, elementary school teachers, hairdressers and cosmetologists, and physicians. While the top four occupations are female-dominated occupations, physician is a male-dominated occupation and indicates that women are developing less traditional career goals.

Young women who do and do not expect to work live in similar community contexts in 1979. There is no significant difference in the county divorce rate for these women. The remaining community context measures are significantly different, but the differences are small. Young women who expect and do not expect to work tend to live in counties where the demand for female labor is approximately 42.4 percent and 41.9 percent, respectively. There is also very little difference in the percent of the county employed in the manufacturing sector between those who expect to work and those who do not, 22 percent and 21 percent, respectively. Finally, little difference exists in the percent employed in the wholesale/retail sector.

Gender beliefs differ between those who do and do not expect to work when they are 35. The scale ranges from 1 to 5, with a score of 1 indicating more nontraditional gender beliefs and a score of 5 indicating more traditional beliefs. The average gender beliefs score of 2.22 for those who expect to work is below the mean for the sample. Young women who do not expect to work have more traditional gender beliefs (2.79) than young women who do expect to work (2.22).

There are significant differences in mothers' attainments between young women who do and do not expect to work. Those who expect to work have mothers with slightly more education than do those who do not expect to work, 12 and 11 years, respectively. Almost one-half of young women who expect to work had mothers who worked the entire year in 1978, versus just over one-third of young women who do not expect to work. In addition, women who do not expect to work are more likely to have mothers who did not work outside the home in 1978 (43 percent) than do women who do expect to work (34 percent).

There are few differences in the control variables by work expectations. Women who do not expect to work have a higher percent of fathers who do not live in the household than do those who expect to work. Work expectations are also differently distributed by race/ethnicity and family structure.

Fourteen percent of the people who expect to work expect to work and have a family. Fifteen percent of the sample does not expect to be working when they are 35 years of age.

In general, young women who expect to work live in slightly different community contexts, have less traditional gender beliefs, have mothers who are more likely to work, and have mothers with slightly higher levels of education than young women who do not expect to work.

Table 4.2 shows the means and standard deviations of occupational-level career goals across different gender beliefs values to ascertain how goals vary by gender beliefs among those who expect to work. The nontraditional group consists of those with scores of 1-2 on the gender beliefs scale. The moderate group is those with scores of 2.1 to 3.9 on the gender beliefs scale. The traditional group is those with scores of 4.0 to 5.0 on the gender beliefs scale. The table shows that women with nontraditional gender beliefs have higher goals than women with traditional beliefs. On average, women with traditional beliefs expect to work in occupations that are 69 percent women, have occupational prestige scores of 38, and with mean annual earnings of \$12, 987. In comparison, women with nontraditional beliefs expect to work in occupations that have fewer women, more prestige, and higher earnings. In addition, women with nontraditional beliefs have more variation in their goals than traditional women as evidenced by the larger standard deviations.

Logistic Regression Results

Table 4.3 shows the results of six models predicting whether young women expect to be employed when they are 35 years of age. Model 1, the baseline model, includes only the control variables. Model 2 estimates the influences of community context on the probability of expecting to work at age 35, in order to test hypotheses 1a-1d. Model 3 adds the gender beliefs scale to test hypothesis 1g, that part of the effect of community context on career goals will work through the formation of gender beliefs. Model 4 estimates the influences of mothers' attainments to test hypothesis 1e. I take the community context measures back out of this model in order to focus on the effects of mothers' attainments. Model 5 adds the gender beliefs scale to test hypothesis 1g, that part of the effect of mothers' attainments will work by shaping the formation of gender

beliefs. Model 6, the final model, includes all measures to show how community context, mothers' attainments, and beliefs about gender work together to shape career goals. Models 3, 5, and 6 test hypothesis 1f, that is, whether the relationship between gender beliefs and work expectations is negative.

Model 2 finds some support for hypotheses 1a-1d, that community contexts affect young women's career goals. As the county divorce rate increases, young women are more likely to expect to work. As the percent of employed women in the county increases, young women are more likely to expect to work. The percent of the county employed in the wholesale/retail sector also affects young women's work expectations in the expected direction.

Model 3 provides some support for hypothesis 1g that part of the effects of community context on career goals work through the formation of gender beliefs. When the gender beliefs scale is added to the model, the effects of the percent of employed women in the county and the percent of the workforce employed in wholesale/retail on career goals diminish slightly (from .04 to .03 and -.07 to -.06, respectively). This shows that part of the influence of community context operates through gender beliefs, which in turn shape career goals. However, the effects of county divorce rate and the percent of the county workforce employed in manufacturing actually increase with the addition of the gender beliefs scale.

Model 4 addresses the relationship between mothers' attainments and career goals. I find support for hypothesis 1e. As mothers' education levels increase, daughters are more likely to expect to work.

Hypothesis 1g states that part of the effects of mothers' attainments on daughters' career goals work through the formation of gender beliefs. Model 5 supports this hypothesis. When gender beliefs are added to the model, the effect of mothers' education on daughters' work expectations decreases. This implies that at least part of how mothers' education affects daughters' career goals is by shaping their gender beliefs.

Finally, model 6 shows the combined effects of community context, mothers' attainments, and gender beliefs on career goals in one model. The substantive results do not change when all measures are added to the model. In addition, across all the models, there is support for hypothesis 1f. Across all the models that include gender beliefs

(models 3, 4, 6, and 7), the relationship between gender beliefs and planning to work for pay is negative. The more traditional young women's gender beliefs are, the less likely they are to expect to work at age 35.

OLS Regression Analysis of Mean Earnings in Occupations that Young Women Expect to Work in at Age 35

Table 4.4 shows the results of six models predicting the average annual earnings in the occupations to which the respondent aspires. The dependent variable ranges from \$4,360 to \$31,637 in 1979 dollars. The mean earning level in young women's desired occupations is \$12,988.76.

These models follow the same logic as the regressions on work expectations, but I add two dichotomous measures of work expectations. The first is coded 1 if the respondents expect to work and have a family when they are 35. The second measure is coded 1 if the respondents do not expect to work, do not know what they expect to do, or have some other plans for age 35. Because of the skip patterns in the NLSY questions about work expectations, all the people included in the analyses answer questions about what they would like to be doing at age 35 (see Figure 3.1), even if they say that they do not expect to be working. However, those answers are filtered through plans for work, family, and other. I add these measures because those who expect to work and have a family and those who do not expect to work are likely to be associated with lower career goals or less well-developed career goals than those who expect to be working. In addition, those who expect to work and have a family may have larger prediction errors because they may have given less consideration to their career goals since their marriage and family plans take precedence.

I find some support for the hypotheses about community contexts. In models 2 and 3, there is no support for hypothesis 1a; the county divorce rate has no significant effect on occupational earnings. However, all the other measures of community context significantly affect mean occupational earnings. As the female labor force participation rate increases, so do the mean earnings of the occupation the respondent expects to hold when she is 35. The two measures of the county industrial composition are negatively associated with desired occupational earnings. As the percent of people employed in manufacturing in a county increases, the average earnings of women's desired

occupations decreases. A one point increase in the percent employed in manufacturing is associated with a drop of \$25 in the earnings of the desired occupation. With each percent increase in the people employed in the wholesale/retail industrial sector, the mean earnings in the desired occupation decreases by \$104.

Model 3 provides support for hypotheses 1f and 1g. In line with hypothesis 1f, young women with more traditional beliefs aspire to occupations with lower average earnings. In line with hypothesis 1g, community contexts affect young women's earnings in their desired goal both directly and indirectly through their gender beliefs. The effects of the three community context measures that were significant in model 2, percent of employed women in the county, part of the effects of the percent of the county employed in manufacturing, and part of the effects of the percent of the county employed in wholesale/retail, diminish when I add gender beliefs to the model.

Model 4 addresses the relationship between mothers' attainments and young women's career goals. I find support for hypothesis 1e. Both mothers' education level and the average earnings in their occupations positively affect young women's earnings in their desired occupations. With each additional year of mothers' education, the earnings in daughters' desired occupations increases by \$143. With each additional dollar increase in the average earnings of mother's occupation, the average earnings in the occupation the daughter desires to increases by \$.08.

Model 5 finds some support for hypothesis 1g, that part of the effect of mothers' attainments on daughters' career goals works through gender beliefs. Both mothers' education and average annual earnings in mothers' occupations affect daughters' career goals directly and indirectly through daughters' gender beliefs. When gender beliefs are added to the model, the effect of each additional year of mothers' education on the average earnings in daughters' desired occupation diminishes from \$143 to \$132. In addition, gender beliefs diminish the effect of average annual earnings in mothers' occupation on average annual earnings in daughters' occupations from \$.08 to \$.07. However, these changes are very small.

Model 6 shows in one model the effects of community context, mothers' attainments, and gender beliefs on the mean earnings in young women's desired occupations. The results do not change substantially when community context, mothers'

attainments, gender beliefs, and control variables are all included. In addition, in models 3, 5, and 6 I find support for hypothesis 1f; the relationship between gender beliefs and career goals is negative. Young women with more traditional gender beliefs expect to work in occupations with lower average earnings than young women with more nontraditional gender beliefs.

OLS Regression Analysis of Prestige of Desired Occupations

Table 4.5 shows the results of six models predicting the occupational prestige of the occupation respondents expect to be working in when they are 35 years of age. Values of the dependent variable in the sample range from 13.98 to 89.57, with a mean of 48.57. All the models follow the same logic as the analysis of occupational earnings.

I find some support for the hypotheses about community contexts. In models 2 and 3, there is no support for hypothesis 1a; the county divorce rate has a significant and negative effect on the occupational prestige of the occupation the respondent expects to be working in at age 35. There is support for hypotheses 1b-1d. In models 2 and 3, the percent of women working in the county positively affects the occupational prestige of the desired occupation. In support of hypothesis 1c, models 2 and 3 show that the occupational prestige of the desired occupation decreases as the percent of the county employed in manufacturing increases. In fact, in model 3, a 1 percent increase in the percent of the county employed in manufacturing is associated with a .9 point drop in the occupational prestige of the desired occupation. Living in a county with more people employed in the wholesale/retail industrial sector decreases the occupational prestige of the desired occupation by .3 points.

Model 3 provides support for hypotheses 1f and 1g. In line with hypothesis 1f, young women with more traditional gender beliefs aspire to occupations with lower prestige than young women with more nontraditional gender beliefs. I find mixed support for the idea in hypothesis 1g that community contexts affect the prestige of young women's occupation both directly and indirectly through their gender beliefs. The effects of all the community context measures diminish when I add gender beliefs to the model. However, the effect of the divorce rate on desired occupational prestige is not in the expected direction.

Model 4 addresses the relationship between mothers' attainments and young women's career goals. I find support for hypothesis 1e. Mothers' education level and the prestige in their occupation positively affect the prestige of young women's desired occupations. With each additional year of mothers' education, the occupational prestige of daughters' desired occupations increases by .77 points on Duncan's SEI scale. With each point increase in Duncan's SEI for mothers' occupation, the occupational prestige for daughters' desired occupation increases by .10 points.

Model 5 finds partial support for hypothesis 1g, that part of the effect of mothers' attainments on daughters' career goals works through the formation of gender beliefs. Mothers' education affects daughters' career goals indirectly through daughters' gender beliefs. When gender beliefs are added to the model, the effect of each additional year of mothers' education on the average earnings in daughters' desired occupation diminishes from .77 to .71 points on the Duncan's SEI scale.

Model 6 shows in one model the effects of community context, mothers' attainments, and gender beliefs on the occupational prestige of young women's desired occupations. When all the measures are included in the model, the results do not change considerably. When mothers' attainments are included, the percent employed in wholesale/retail no longer significantly affects the prestige of young women's desired occupation.

In addition, in models 3 and 5, I find support for hypothesis 1f; the relationship between gender beliefs and career goals is negative. Young women with more traditional gender beliefs expect to work in occupations with lower average earnings than young women with less traditional gender beliefs.

OLS Regression Analysis of the Percent Female in Desired Occupations

Table 4.6 shows the results of six models predicting the percent female in the occupations young women expect to be working in when they are 35. The dependent variable ranges from 1 percent to 99 percent with a mean of 57 percent. These analyses follow the same logic as the previous analysis of work expectations, earnings in desired occupations, and prestige in desired occupations.

I find no support for hypotheses 1a-1d or 1g about community contexts. In models 2, 3, and 6, community contexts have no significant effect on the percent female

in young women's desired occupations. Model 3 finds no support for hypothesis 1g, that community contexts affect the percent female in young women's desired occupations indirectly through their gender beliefs. None of the measures of the community context is significantly related to the percent female in desired occupation.

Model 3 provides support for hypothesis 1f. Young women with traditional gender beliefs aspire to occupations with a lower percent female than young women with less traditional gender beliefs.

Models 4-5 address the relationship between mothers' attainments and young women's career goals. In model 4, I find support for hypothesis 1e. Mothers' education level and percent female in mothers' occupations affect the percent female in young women's desired occupations. With each additional year of mothers' education, the percent female in daughters' desired occupation decreases by 1 percent. As the percent female in mothers' occupations become more female dominated so do daughters' desired occupations. Each additional increase in the percent female in mothers' occupations is associated with a 5 percent increase in the percent female in the occupation daughters expect to work in when they are 35.

Model 5 finds support for hypothesis 1g, that part of the effect of mothers' attainments on daughters' career goals works through the formation of gender beliefs. Mothers' education and the percent female in mothers' occupation affect daughters' career goals indirectly through daughters' gender beliefs. When gender beliefs are added to the model, the effect of each additional year of mothers' education on the percent female in daughters' desired occupation diminishes by .1 percent. In addition, gender beliefs diminish the effect of the percent female in mothers' occupations on daughters' career goals from 5.4 percent to 5.2 percent.

Model 6 shows in one model the effects of community context, mothers' attainments, and gender beliefs on the occupational prestige of young women's desired occupations. There are no noteworthy changes to the results in this model.

Summary of Career Goal Results

Table 4.7 summarizes the findings from the analyses of all four dependent variables. In general, I find support for all my hypotheses, but there are some notable exceptions.

In general, community contexts are important influences on young women's career goals. County divorce rates, women's labor force participation, and the percent of the county employed in wholesale and retail affect young women's expectations to work. Women's labor force participation, the percent of the county employed in manufacturing, and the percent of the county employed in the wholesale/retail sector affect the average earnings and prestige in young women's desired occupations.

However, there are also instances where the findings do not support the hypotheses about community context. Community context has no significant effect on the percent female of young women's desired occupations. Also, divorce rates have a significant but negative effect on earnings, contrary to my expectations.

Young women's career goals are shaped by mothers' attainments. Mothers' education positively affects daughters' work expectations. Mothers' education and average earnings in their occupations positively affect the average earnings in young women's occupations. Daughters whose mothers have more education aspire to work in occupations with higher levels of prestige, and the more prestigious mothers' occupations are the more prestigious daughters' occupational goals are. Finally, mothers' education and work situations affect the percent female in daughters' desired occupations. Mothers' education negatively affects the percent female in daughters' desired occupations. The percent female in mothers' occupations positively affects the percent female in daughters' desired occupations.

I find support for the hypothesis that traditional gender beliefs are associated with less ambitious career goals. All the dependent variables had this relationship with gender beliefs.

Finally, I find some support for my multilevel model of the process of career goal formation. For all the dependent variables measuring career goals except percent female

in desired occupation, community contexts shape young women's plans directly and indirectly, through young women's gender beliefs. On the other hand, gender beliefs mediate only a small proportion of these associations.

Further, such mediation is not always observed. For example, the effects of divorce rate on work expectations do not diminish when gender beliefs are added to the model. Also, the effect of the percent of the county employed in manufacturing does not diminish with the addition of gender beliefs.

These findings lend support to my model of career goal formation that builds on gender socialization theory and Risman's multilevel theory. In line with gender socialization theory and Risman's theory, I find that mothers' attainments shape the gender beliefs and career goals of young women. What aspect of mothers' situation affects daughters' gender beliefs and career goals varies by the aspect of the career goal, however. Only one measure of mothers' situations affects all aspects of young women's career goals: education.

My models build on gender socialization theory by incorporating contextual information into the process of career goal formation. My findings suggest that the community in which young women live affects their career goals. It appears that the more women they see working around them, the more ambitious their own career goals become. In addition, these community contexts seem to indirectly shape young women's gender beliefs. The more women they see working, the more likely they are to develop less traditional beliefs about gender, which in turn translates into more ambitious career goals.

Further implications of these findings are discussed in Chapter 6.

Table 4.1 Descriptive Statistics, Adjusted by Sample Weights; NLSY Women, Age 14-19.

Measures	Whole Sample		Expect to work at age 35 (N=1,901)	Do not expect to work at age 35 (N=341)	Diff. in Means	Diff in Distr.
	Mean	Percent				
<u>Dependent Variables in 1979</u>						
Expect to work when 35 years of age		84.8%				
Avg. earnings in desired occupation ^a		\$12,988.76				
Avg. percent female in desired occ. ^a		58.0%				
Avg. occupational prestige in desired occ. ^a		48.57				
<u>Community Context in 1979</u>						
County divorce rate	4.89		4.92	4.76		
Demand for female labor	42.4%		42.4%	41.9%	**	
% of county clf emp in manu	22.2%		22.3%	21.2%	+	
% of county clf emp in whole/retail	20.4%		20.4%	20.7%	*	
<u>Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>						
Gender beliefs scale	2.37		2.22	2.79	***	
<u>Mothers' Attainments in 1979</u>						
Education	11.57		11.66	11.10	***	
Employed all year in 1978		43.4%	44.7%	36.3%		***
Employed part of year in 1978		21.6%	21.8%	20.5%		***
Did not work in 1978		---	33.5%	43.3%		***
<u>Control Variables</u>						
<u>Respondent</u>						
Age	16.06		16.02	16.31	***	
Immigrant		3.7%	3.9%	3.0%		
Black		14.7%	15.4%	11.1%		*
Hispanic		5.5%	5.7%	4.4%		*
Other		10.8%	10.5%	12.9%		*
White		---	68.5%	71.6%		*
Education	9.43		9.43	9.44		
Work/family goal		14.1%				
Do not expect to work		15.2%				
<u>Family</u>						
Fathers' education ^b	11.76		11.79	11.60		
No father in household		5.6%	5.5%	8.4%	*	
Father employed all year in 1978		77.7%	74.9%	76.5%		
Father employed part year in 1978		7.0%	6.9%	7.6%		
Father not employed in 1978		6.1%	5.9%	7.1%		
No father in household		---	9.3%	8.8%		
Number of siblings	3.27		3.26	3.30		
Female-headed household		17.3%	18.1%	12.6%		***
Two parents		70.9%	78.1%	65.9%		*
Other family structure		---	17.3%	25.8%		***
Total net family income in 1978	\$20,590.19		\$20,597.34	\$20,550.23		

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

a- Means based on n=2,018 who have valid answers on the the occupational goals questions in the NLSY.

See figure 3.1.

b- Mean based on n=2,114. The remaining 134 people do not know their father's education level and do not live with him.

Table 4.2 Mean Career Goals in 1979 by Gender Beliefs in 1979, Adjusted by Sample Weights;
NLSY Women, Age 14-19.

Gender Beliefs in 1979	Goals in 1979		
	Average Earnings in Desired Occupations	Average Prestige in Desired Occupations	Average Percent Female in Desired Occupations
Nontraditional	\$13,681.90 (4857.95)	51.67 (20.58)	51% (32.82)
Moderate	\$12,461.43 (4039.14)	46.42 (20.00)	62% (32.44)
Traditional	\$10,892.12 (2973.21)	37.52 (16.27)	69% (32.07)

Table 4.3 Logistic Regression Analysis of Expecting to Work when 35 Years of Age; Adjusted by Sampling Weights; NLSY Women, Age 14-19 (N=2,248).

Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<u>Community Context in 1979</u>			
County divorce rate		.056 *	.072 **
Demand for female labor		.044 *	.028 +
% of county clf emp in manufacturing		.021	.011 +
% of county clf emp in wholesale/retail		-.068 **	-.055 *
<u>Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Gender beliefs scale ^a			-.766 ***
<u>Mothers' Attainments in 1979</u>			
Education			
<u>Control Variables</u>			
<u>Respondent</u>			
Age	-.230 ***	-.238 ***	-.190 **
Immigrant	.278	.230	.450
Black ^b	.515 **	.388 *	.429 *
Hispanic ^b	.415 +	.389	.384
Other ^b	-.072	-.044	-.061
Education	.228 **	.243 **	.171 *
<u>Family</u>			
Fathers' education	.017	.016	-.007
Flag for missing values on father's education ^c	-.445 +	-.467 +	-.539 +
Father employed all year in 1978 ^d	.093	.063	.156
Father employed part of year in 1978 ^d	-.121	-.157	-.186
Number of siblings	.007	.011	.032
Female-headed household ^e	.884 ***	.838 ***	.857 ***
Two parents ^e	.574 **	.554 **	.599 **
Total net family income in 1978	-.007	-.007	-.012 *
Mothers' employed all year in 1978 ^f			
Mothers' employed part of year in 1978 ^f			
Constant	2.560 ***	1.855 +	3.934 **
-2 Log Likelihood	1,853.672	1,839.812	1,723.024
Nagelkerke R-Squared	.046	.056	.142

Notes: *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

a- High scores indicate more traditional attitudes and low scores indicate more egalitarian attitudes.

b- Reference group is whites; n=1,552.

c- Reference group is people who know their father's education level and live with him; n=2,114.

d- Reference groups are (1) fathers who are not working and (2) those who do not know father's employment status and do not live with him; n=357.

e- Reference groups are all other categories of families; n=418.

f- Reference group is mothers who do not work; n=787.

Table 4.3
(cont'd)

Independent Variables	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
<u>Community Context in 1979</u>			
County divorce rate			.073 **
Demand for female labor			.029 +
% of county clf emp in manufacturing			.011 +
% of county clf emp in wholesale/retail			-.055 +
<u>Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Gender beliefs scale ^a		-.728 ***	-.740 ***
<u>Mothers' Attainments in 1979</u>			
Education	.128 ***	.114 ***	.115 ***
<u>Control Variables</u>			
<u>Respondent</u>			
Age	-.199 **	-.158 *	-.167 *
Immigrant	.348	.555 +	.547 +
Black ^b	.548 **	.546 **	.454 *
Hispanic ^b	.747 **	.653 *	.660 *
Other ^b	-.085	-.085	-.061
Education	.192 *	.126 +	.143 +
<u>Family</u>			
Fathers' education	-.027	-.046 *	-.046 *
Flag for missing values on father's education ^c	-.909 **	-.974 **	-.957 **
Father employed all year in 1978 ^d	.025	.140	.119
Father employed part of year in 1978 ^d	-.263	-.249	-.271
Number of siblings	.031	.044 +	.049 +
Female-headed household ^e	.820 ***	.887 ***	.847 ***
Two parents ^e	.654 ***	.689 ***	.661 ***
Total net family income in 1978	-.013 *	-.017 **	-.017 **
Mothers' employed all year in 1978 ^f	.372 ***	.165	.165
Mothers' employed part of year in 1978 ^f	.250 +	.147	.163
Constant	1.306 +	3.438 ***	2.790 *
-2 Log Likelihood	1,827.420	1,722.952	1,708.076
Nagelkerke R-Squared	.066	.142	.152

Notes: *** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05, + p < .10

a- High scores indicate more traditional attitudes and low scores indicate more egalitarian attitudes.

b- Reference group is whites; n=1,552.

c- Reference group is people who know their father's education level and live with him; n=2,114.

d- Reference groups are (1) fathers who are not working and (2) those who do not know father's employment

e- Reference groups are all other categories of families; n=418.

f- Reference group is mothers who do not work; n=787.

Table 4.4 Regression Analysis of Mean Earnings of the Occupation Respondents Desired to be Working in at Age 35; Adjusted by Sample Weights; NLSY Women, Age 14-19 (N=2,081).

Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<u>Community Context in 1979</u>			
County divorce rate		-19.87	-2.08
Demand for female labor		81.98 **	67.03 *
% of county clf emp in manufacturing		-29.61 **	-24.55 *
% of county clf emp in wholesale/retail		-107.54 **	-104.29 **
<u>Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Gender beliefs scale ^a			-771.25 ***
<u>Mothers' Attainments in 1979</u>			
Education			
Average annual earnings in occupation ^b			
<u>Control Variables</u>			
<u>Respondent</u>			
Age	-539.78 ***	-542.13 ***	-497.30 ***
Immigrant	1694.19 ***	1608.45 ***	1739.84 ***
Black ^c	632.09 *	419.46 +	475.38 +
Hispanic ^c	726.80 +	621.70 +	637.46 +
Other ^c	123.42	156.24	191.86
Education	303.70 *	307.68 *	222.12 +
Work/family goal ^d	-1379.26 ***	-1330.17 ***	-1098.41 ***
Do not expect to work ^d	-1714.09 ***	-1662.07 ***	-1039.27 ***
<u>Family</u>			
Fathers' education	165.26 ***	160.04 ***	142.09 ***
Flag for missing values on father's education ^e	1972.81 ***	1792.81 ***	1704.31 **
Father employed all year in 1978 ^f	-260.83	-285.82	-271.19
Father employed part of year in 1978 ^f	406.00	355.93	295.68
Number of siblings	65.74 +	66.27 +	80.70 *
Female-headed household ^g	712.28 *	708.67 *	693.92 *
Two parents ^g	100.06 +	77.75	124.23
Total net family income in 1978	41.44 ***	40.86 ***	35.94 ***
Mothers' Employed all year in 1978 ^h			
Mothers' Employed part of year in 1978 ^h			
Constant	15,904 ***	15,524 ***	17,839 ***
Adjusted R-Squared	.075	.080	.097

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

a- High scores indicate more traditional attitudes and low scores indicate more egalitarian attitudes.

b- This effect is only for mothers who did work; n=1,365.

c- Reference group is whites; n=1,433.

d- Reference group is those who expect to work; n=1,578.

e- Reference group is people who know their father's education level and live with him; n=1,962.

f- Reference groups are (1) fathers who are not working and (2) those who do not know father's employment status and do not live with him; n=311.

g-Reference groups are all other categories of families; n=381.

h- Reference group is mothers who do not work; n=716.

Table 4.4
(cont'd)

Independent Variables	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
<u>Community Context in 1979</u>			
County divorce rate			-.78
Demand for female labor			66.06 *
% of county clf emp in manufacturing			-23.28 *
% of county clf emp in wholesale/retail			-99.42 **
<u>Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Gender beliefs scale ^a		-785.57 ***	-754.68 ***
<u>Mothers' Attainments in 1979</u>			
Education	143.73 **	131.58 **	128.41 **
Average annual earnings in occupation ^b	.08 +	.07 +	.07 +
<u>Control Variables</u>			
<u>Respondent</u>			
Age	-519.09 ***	-476.72 ***	-481.53 ***
Immigrant	1789.90 ***	1915.48 ***	1841.91 ***
Black ^c	637.00 *	658.09 *	479.95 +
Hispanic ^c	1027.40 *	983.53 *	893.35 *
Other ^c	137.63	186.02	211.15
Education	277.11 *	194.34 +	203.16
Work/family goal ^d	-1349.92 ***	-1125.27 ***	-1094.16 ***
Do not expect to work ^d	-1624.85 ***	-1012.54 ***	-985.97 **
<u>Family</u>			
Fathers' education	109.04 **	93.57 **	91.71 **
Flag for missing values on father's education ^e	1399.54 *	1313.06 *	1192.81 *
Father employed all year in 1978 ^f	-280.24	-245.35	-267.90
Father employed part of year in 1978 ^f	353.37	315.83	275.09
Number of siblings	80.29 *	90.10 *	90374 *
Female-headed household ^g	708.86 *	726.76 **	721.01 *
Two parents ^g	209.02 *	233.44	212.85 +
Total net family income in 1978	31.07 ***	26.77 **	26.88 **
Mothers' Employed all year in 1978 ^h	-811.51 +	-940.68 *	-902.55 *
Mothers' Employed part of year in 1978 ^h	-914.25 *	-961.23 *	-893.16 +
Constant	14,939 ***	17,164 ***	16,946 ***
Adjusted R-Squared	.079	.097	.100

Notes: *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

a- High scores indicate more traditional attitudes and low scores indicate more egalitarian attitudes.

b- This effect is only for mothers who did work; n=1,365.

c- Reference group is whites; n=1,433.

d- Reference group is those who expect to work; n=1,578.

e- Reference group is people who know their father's education level and live with him; n=1,962.

f- Reference groups are (1) fathers who are not working and (2) those who do not know father's employment status and do not live with him; n=311.

g-Reference groups are all other categories of families; n=381.

h- Reference group is mothers who do not work; n=716.

Table 4.5 Regression Analysis of Prestige of the Occupations Respondents Desired to be Working in at Age 35; Adjusted by Sample Weights; NLSY Women, Age 14-19 (N=2,081).

Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<u>Community Context in 1979</u>			
County divorce rate		-.39 *	-.32 +
Demand for female labor		.27 *	.21 +
% of county clf emp in manufacturing		-.11 *	-.94 *
% of county clf emp in wholesale/retail		-.31 *	-.30 +
<u>Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Gender beliefs scale ^a			-3.13 ***
<u>Mothers' Attainments in 1979</u>			
Education			
Occupational prestige ^b			
<u>Control Variables- Respondent</u>			
Age	-2.21 ***	-2.22 ***	-2.04 ***
Immigrant	1.12	.80	1.34
Black ^c	1.44	.85	1.08
Hispanic ^c	3.18 +	2.96 +	3.03 +
Other ^c	.56	.71	.86
Education	1.48 *	1.49 *	1.14 *
Work/family goal ^d	-6.76 ***	-6.61 ***	-5.65 ***
Do not expect to work ^d	-8.02 ***	-7.93 ***	-5.36 ***
<u>Family</u>			
Fathers' education	.91 ***	.90 ***	.82 ***
Flag for missing values on father's education ^e	9.00 ***	8.26 ***	7.9 ***
Father employed all year in 1978 ^f	-1.43	-1.52	-1.46
Father employed part of year in 1978 ^f	1.81	1.63	1.38
Number of siblings	-.23	-.24	-.18
Female-headed household ^g	5.66 ***	5.68 ***	5.62 ***
Two parents ^g	2.40 +	2.21 +	2.40 +
Total net family income in 1978	.22 ***	.22 ***	.20 ***
Mothers' Employed all year in 1978 ^h			
Mothers' Employed part of year in 1978 ^h			
Constant	55.12 ***	55.21 ***	64.75 ***
Adjusted R-Squared	.100	.103	.117

Notes: *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

a- High scores indicate more traditional attitudes and low scores indicate more egalitarian attitudes.

b- This effect is only for mothers who did work; n=1,365.

c- Reference group is whites; n=1,433.

d- Reference group is those who expect to work; n=1,578.

e- Reference group is people who know their father's education level and live with him; n=1,962.

f- Reference groups are (1) fathers who are not working and (2) those who do not know father's employment status and do not live with him; n=311.

g-Reference groups are all other categories of families; n=381.

h- Reference group is mothers who do not work; n=716.

Table 4.5
(cont'd)

Independent Variables	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
<u>Community Context in 1979</u>			
County divorce rate			-.34 *
Demand for female labor			.21 +
% of county clf emp in manufacturing			-.08 +
% of county clf emp in wholesale/retail			-.27 +
<u>Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Gender beliefs scale ^a		-3.28 ***	-3.13 ***
<u>Mothers' Attainments in 1979</u>			
Education	.77 ***	.71 **	.69 **
Occupational prestige ^b	.10 **	.10 **	.10 **
<u>Control Variables- Respondent</u>			
Age	-2.06 ***	-1.89 ***	-1.91 ***
Immigrant	2.00	2.52	2.24
Black ^c	1.49	1.58	1.15
Hispanic ^c	4.64 *	4.45 *	4.34 *
Other ^c	.80	1.00	1.14
Education	1.34 *	.99 +	1.02 +
Work/family goal ^d	-6.76 ***	-5.79 ***	-5.72 ***
Do not expect to work ^d	-7.55 ***	-5.00 ***	-5.02 ***
<u>Family</u>			
Fathers' education	.57 ***	.50 **	.50 **
Flag for missing values on father's education ^e	5.52 *	5.16 *	4.68 *
Father employed all year in 1978 ^f	-1.46	-1.31	-1.40
Father employed part of year in 1978 ^f	1.54	1.39	1.26
Number of siblings	-.17 ***	-.13	-.14
Female-headed household ^g	5.97 *	6.05 ***	6.05 ***
Two parents ^g	3.11 ***	3.22 **	3.02 *
Total net family income in 1978	.16 ***	.15 ***	.15 ***
Mothers' Employed all year in 1978 ^h	-4.06 **	-4.72 ***	-4.72 ***
Mothers' Employed part of year in 1978 ^h	-3.76 **	-4.09 **	-4.03 **
Constant	50.19 ***	59.51 ***	59.79 ***
Adjusted R-Squared	.109	.124	.126

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

a- High scores indicate more traditional attitudes and low scores indicate more egalitarian attitudes.

b- This effect is only for mothers who did work; n=1,365.

c- Reference group is whites; n=1,433.

d- Reference group is those who expect to work; n=1,578.

e- Reference group is people who know their father's education level and live with him; n=1,962.

f- Reference groups are (1) fathers who are not working and (2) those who do not know father's employment status and do not live with him; n=311.

g-Reference groups are all other categories of families; n=381.

h- Reference group is mothers who do not work; n=716.

Table 4.6 Regression Analysis of the Percent Female in the Occupation Respondents Desired to be Working in at Age 35; Adjusted by Sample Weights; NLSY Women, Age 14-19 (N=2,081).

Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<u>Community Context in 1979</u>			
County divorce rate		.32	.19
Demand for female labor		-.21	-.19
% of county clf emp in manufacturing		.07	.04
% of county clf emp in wholesale/retail		-.16	-.19
<u>Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Gender beliefs scale ^a			5.48 ***
<u>Mothers' Attainments in 1979</u>			
Education			
Percent female in occupation ^b			
<u>Control Variables- Respondent</u>			
Age	1.88 *	1.84 *	1.52 *
Immigrant	1.00	1.30	.36
Black ^c	1.52	2.04	1.63
Hispanic ^c	-5.35 +	-5.00 +	-5.11 +
Other ^c	5.64 **	5.64 **	-5.90 **
Education	-2.57 **	-2.52 **	-1.90 *
Work/family goal ^d	8.03 ***	8.00 ***	6.33 ***
Do not expect to work ^d	13.91 ***	14.11 ***	9.62 ***
<u>Family</u>			
Fathers' education	-1.29 ***	-1.25 ***	-1.12 ***
Flag for missing values on father's education ^e	-17.83 ***	-17.09 ***	-16.45 ***
Father employed all year in 1978 ^f	2.37	2.47	1.36
Father employed part of year in 1978 ^f	-6.96 *	-6.85 *	-6.42 *
Number of siblings	.52 +	.55 +	.44 +
Female-headed household ^g	-3.14 +	-3.13 +	-3.02
Two parents ^g	1.21	1.35	1.01
Total net family income in 1978	-.35 ***	-.35 ***	-.31 ***
Mothers' Employed all year in 1978 ^h			
Mothers' Employed part of year in 1978 ^h			
Constant	68.34 ***	80.23 ***	63.56 ***
Adjusted R-Squared	.073	.072	.088

Notes: *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

a- High scores indicate more traditional attitudes and low scores indicate more egalitarian attitudes.

b- This effect is only for mothers who did work; n=1,365.

c- Reference group is whites; n=1,433.

d- Reference group is those who expect to work; n=1,578.

e- Reference group is people who know their father's education level and live with him; n=1,962.

f- Reference groups are (1) fathers who are not working and (2) those who do not know father's employment status and do not live with him; n=311.

g-Reference groups are all other categories of families; n=381.

h- Reference group is mothers who do not work; n=716.

Table 4.6
(cont'd)

Independent Variables	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
<u>Community Context in 1979</u>			
County divorce rate			.16
Demand for female labor			-.20
% of county clf emp in manufacturing			.04
% of county clf emp in wholesale/retail			-.18
<u>Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Gender beliefs scale ^a		5.41 ***	5.30 ***
<u>Mothers' Attainments in 1979</u>			
Education	-1.07 **	-.98 **	-.98 **
Percent female in occupation ^b	5.41 *	5.15 *	5.29 *
<u>Control Variables- Respondent</u>			
Age	1.73 *	1.43 *	1.41 +
Immigrant	.43	-.44	-.23
Black ^c	1.26	1.12	1.46
Hispanic ^c	-7.79 *	-7.47 *	-7.19 *
Other ^c	-5.46 *	-5.80 **	-5.77 **
Education	-2.33 *	-1.76 +	-1.73 +
Work/family goal ^d	7.81 ***	6.26 ***	6.29 **
Do not expect to work ^d	13.17 ***	8.95 ***	9.21 ***
<u>Family</u>			
Fathers' education	-.93 ***	-.83 **	-.81 **
Flag for missing values on father's education ^e	-14.07 ***	-13.47 ***	-13.04 **
Father employed all year in 1978 ^f	2.91	2.66	2.73
Father employed part of year in 1978 ^f	-6.04 +	-5.79 *	-5.75 *
Number of siblings	.39	.32	.34
Female-headed household ^g	-2.75 +	-2.87 +	-2.86
Two parents ^g	.79	.61	.69
Total net family income in 1978	-.30 ***	-.27 ***	-.27 ***
Mothers' Employed all year in 1978 ^h	-5.15 *	-3.86 +	-3.93 +
Mothers' Employed part of year in 1978 ^h	-5.69 *	-4.99 *	-5.07 *
Constant	77.41 ***	62.02 ***	72.15 ***
Adjusted R-Squared	.077	.093	.092

Notes: *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

a- High scores indicate more traditional attitudes and low scores indicate more egalitarian attitudes.

b- This effect is only for mothers who did work; n=1,365.

c- Reference group is whites; n=1,433.

d- Reference group is those who expect to work; n=1,578.

e- Reference group is people who know their father's education level and live with him; n=1,962.

f- Reference groups are (1) fathers who are not working and (2) those who do not know father's employment status and do not live with him; n=311.

g-Reference groups are all other categories of families; n=381.

h- Reference group is mothers who do not work; n=716.

Table 4.7 Summary of Results from All Career Goals Dependent Variables.

	Expect to work	Avg. Earnings	Occ. Prestige	Percent Female
Hypothesis 1a: Young women residing in areas with higher divorce rates will have more ambitious career goals.	Support	X	Support	X
Hypothesis 1b: Young women residing in areas with a higher demand for female labor will have more ambitious career goals	Support	Support	Support	X
Hypothesis 1c: Young women residing in areas with a higher percentage of people employed in the manufacturing sector will have less ambitious career goals.	X	Support	Support	X
Hypothesis 1d: Young women residing in areas with a higher percentage of people employed in the wholesale/retail sectors will have less ambitious career goals.	Support	Support	Support	X
Hypothesis 1e: Young women whose mothers have greater attainments in their careers will have less traditional gender beliefs and more ambitious career goals.	Support	Support	Support	Support
Hypothesis 1f: Young women with nontraditional gender beliefs will have more ambitious career goals.	Support	Support	Support	Support
Hypothesis 1g:				
Community Context	Support	Support	Support	X
Mothers' Attainments	Support	Support	Partial	Support
Community contexts and mothers' attainments will indirectly affect career goals through young women's gender beliefs.				

CHAPTER 5 CAREER ATTAINMENTS ANALYSES

In this chapter I assess the influences of career goals and gender beliefs on the probability of working when young women are aged 33 to 38, and if employed, hourly wages, and occupational earnings, prestige, and percent female. Median weekly earnings, prestige, and the percent female are measured at the occupational-level. Employment status and hourly wages are measured at the individual-level. Then, I summarize the findings about attainments and conclude this chapter by describing how my findings support and build on prior research and theory about the link between young women's goals and outcomes.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

The weighted descriptive statistics are presented in Table 5.1. The first two columns provide the means and percentages for the whole sample. The third and fourth columns compare means and percentages for the independent variables by their employment status in 1998. The last two columns on the far right show whether these characteristics differ significantly by employment status in 1998.

The first five rows present the descriptive statistics for the dependent variables of attainments in 1998. Most of the young women in the NLSY, 76 percent, are employed in 1998. On average, women are working in occupations with median weekly earnings of \$382 in 1998 dollars. In addition, the average percent female of the occupations in which women in the sample are employed is 46 percent. Finally, the average prestige of the occupations in which women in the sample are employed is 41. An occupational prestige score of 41 coincides with a job like public transportation attendant or construction

supervisor. Finally, the average hourly wages for those working in 1998 is \$13.88 and the median is \$11.24.

In calculations not shown, I find that women's occupational attainments at midlife are not as limited to a few fields as their career goals in high school. While 34 percent of women who planned to work when they were in high school planned to work in 5 occupations, only 20 percent of women were working in 5 occupations when they were 33 to 35 years of age. Those occupations in order from most to least women are the following: managers and administrators, secretaries, elementary school teachers, nursing aides, and registered nurses.

Women's attainments are more traditional than their plans during high school. Table 5.1 shows that in 1979, on average, young women who expected to work thought they would be working in occupations that were 58 percent women. In 1998, women are working in occupations that are 46 percent women, on average. In addition, while only 14 percent of young women planned not to be employed when they were in high school, 26 percent are not employed in midlife.

Surprisingly, young women's goals in 1979 do not vary significantly by their employment status in 1998. Eighty-five percent of women who are employed in 1998 expected to be working in 1979. Eighty-six percent of women who are not employed in 1998 expected to be working in 1979. Both women who are working and not employed expected to be making approximately \$13,000 per year in their occupations in 1979 on average. In addition, there is no significant difference in the occupational prestige in desired occupation by current employment status. While there is a significant difference in the percent female in desired occupation by current employment status (albeit at $p < .10$), it is only a 2 percent difference.

There is a small but significant difference in gender beliefs between those who are working and those who are not. The average gender beliefs score for young women who are not employed is slightly higher (more traditional) than the score for women who are working.

How do women's average attainments by midlife correspond to their goals as teenagers? In line with prior research, young women in 1979 were unrealistic on average (Schneider and Stevenson 1999). In analyses, not shown, I found that 72 percent of the

sample is working in occupations with lower occupational prestige than they expected, four percent are working in occupations with the same prestige as they expected, and 25 percent are working in occupations with higher occupational prestige than they expected in 1979. On the other hand, women ended up working in occupations with fewer women than they expected in 1979, possibly reflecting declines in occupational sex segregation from the 1970s to 1990s.

Women who work and women who do not work outside the home live in similar community contexts in 1998. There is no significant difference in the percent of the county employed in wholesale/retail. While the remaining community context measures are significantly different, the differences are minimal. Women, regardless of their employment status, tend to live in areas where the women's labor force participation rate is approximately 46 percent. There is also very little difference in the change in the percentage of women employed in the area between 1979 and 1998. Finally, there is little difference in the county percent employed in the manufacturing sector between those who are working inside and outside the home, 18 percent and 17 percent respectively.

There are significant differences in family demands by current employment situation. Women's marital status is differently distributed by employment status. Employed women are more likely to be divorced and never married than those who do not work outside the home. Women who are not employed are more likely to be married, separated, or widowed. Women who are not employed are more likely to have young children, have more children eighteen years of age or younger, and an elderly parent living in the home than employed women. Currently employed women have a longer employment history than do women who are not employed. Employed women have worked 248 weeks since high school versus 193 weeks for those who are not employed. Women who are currently employed have fewer exits lasting 3 months or longer since high school than those who are not currently employed.

In terms of the control variables, those who are employed have slightly more years of education completed than those who are not currently employed.

How do 1998 attainments for employed women vary by 1979 gender beliefs? Table 5.2 shows the means and standard deviations of occupational attainments in 1998

by gender beliefs in 1979. In general, women with nontraditional gender beliefs in 1979 had higher occupational-level attainments than women with traditional gender beliefs. Nontraditional women work in occupations with higher occupational prestige and higher earnings than do more traditional women. However, more traditional women, on average, work with fewer women in 1998 than do nontraditional and moderate women. In addition, nontraditional women tend to have more variation in their attainments than moderate or nontraditional women. Nontraditional women have the most variation in median weekly earnings and prestige in the occupations in which women are employed in 1998. However, traditional women have the most variation in the percent female in occupation. On average, women with nontraditional gender beliefs had higher occupational attainments and the most variation in their attainments in later life.

Sample Selection Analysis of Median Earnings in Occupations in 1998

Table 5.3 shows the results of four models predicting the median weekly earnings of the occupations in which women are employed in 1998 converted into z-scores. I standardize occupational earnings in 1998 and the desired earnings in occupations using z-scores to make interpretations more sensible. Occupational earnings in 1998 are measured as median weekly earnings in occupation. Desired occupational earnings in 1979 are measured as the mean annual earnings in occupation. Converted to z-scores, the interpretation is the following: a one standard deviation change in median weekly earnings is associated with a b change in the independent variable. If the independent variable is also a z-score, as is the case with desired earnings, the interpretation is the following: a one standard deviation change in median weekly earnings is associated with b change in the annual earnings of desired occupations.

The probit model predicts whether women are employed in 1998. Model 1 is the baseline model for all of the analyses. It includes only the gender belief scale and goals measures and tests hypotheses 2a through 2d. Model 2 estimates the influences of career goals, family demands, and the control variables on the mean earnings in women's occupations to test hypotheses 2a through 2i. In model 2, it tests whether hypotheses 2a through 2d hold with the inclusion of family demands in the analyses. Model 3 tests the influences of community context on women's occupational earnings to test hypothesis 2j. I take family demands measures out of this model in order to focus on the effects of

community context on occupational earnings. The final model includes all measures to show how goals, family demands, and community contexts shape women's career outcomes.

The probit model shows that career goals and family demands affect women's attainments in 1998. Women who expected to work when they were teenagers are more likely to be working in their mid-thirties. Divorced women are more likely to be employed in 1998 than married women. Women with young children in the home and with more children are less likely to be employed in 1998. In addition, women who have been employed for longer periods of time since high school are more likely to be employed in 1998. Surprisingly, never married women are less likely to be employed in 1998 than married women. Finally, 1979 gender beliefs have no significant effect on women's employment status in 1998.

I find some support for hypothesis 2a in model 1 of Table 5.3; women with higher occupational earnings goals work in occupations with higher earnings in later life. This relationship does not hold when family demands and community contexts are included in the remaining models.

I find support for hypothesis 2b in model 1 and model 3. The main effect of gender beliefs in both models show that women with more traditional gender beliefs work in less economically rewarding careers in later life.

I find no support for hypotheses 2c and 2d. The effect of gender beliefs on earnings attainments does not vary by goals. Conversely, the effect of goals on earnings attainment does not for across gender beliefs.

In model 2, I find some support for hypothesis 2e, but no support for hypotheses 2f through 2i. In support of hypothesis 2e, I find that women with elderly relatives living in the household in 1998 are working in less economically rewarding occupations in 1998. The probit model results indicate that family demands tend to affect women's employment status rather than their occupational earnings.

I find no support for hypotheses 2f through 2i. Never married women do not work in more economically rewarding careers than married women. Women with more exits from the labor force do not have significantly lower attainments than women with fewer or no exits. Women with more children do not work in less economically

rewarding occupations than women with fewer children or no children. Finally, none of these effects varies by gender beliefs.

In apparent support of hypothesis 2i, when I add family demands to model 1, the effects of gender beliefs on occupational-level earnings attainments completely diminishes. It is important to note that in the control measures, education level and working full-time have large effects on earnings in 1998. This finding suggests that perhaps gender beliefs influence attainments by shaping women's decisions about education and working full versus part-time. Perhaps more traditional women are more likely to pursue less education and are more likely to work part-time. In analyses not shown, I verified that goals indirectly affect median earnings in 1998 by shaping educational attainment and full-time employment not through elderly parents.

Model 3 in Table 5.3 estimates the relationship between community context and career attainments. I find some support for hypothesis 2j. Women who reside in areas with a higher demand for female labor tend to work in more economically rewarding occupations than women who reside in areas with a lower demand for female labor. However, none of the remaining community context measures significantly affects earnings attainments.

Finally, model 4 shows the effects of goals and gender beliefs, family demands, and community context on career attainments in one model. We see that the substantive results do not change much once everything is included in the model.

Sample Selection Analysis of Percent Female in Occupations in 1998

Table 5.4 shows the results of four models predicting the percent female in the occupation for women employed in 1998. These analyses follow the same logic as the previous analysis of occupational earnings. In fact, the results from the probit model are identical, as is to be expected. The only difference is that I use percent female in desired occupation to predict the percent female in actual occupation in 1998 to keep the measurement of goals and attainments consistent. I do not interpret the probit results here or in the remaining models because they are the same as the model of weekly earnings.

I find support for hypothesis 2a, some support for hypothesis 2b, and no support for hypotheses 2c and 2d. In models 1 through 4, goals in 1979 have significant and

positive effects on the percent female in women's occupations in 1998. This relationship holds when family demands and community contexts are included.

Also, as expected, the more traditional young women's gender beliefs, the more women they work with in 1998. However, this effect is not consistent across all the specifications. It only holds in models 2 and 3 and only at $p < .10$ when family demands are included in the models.

Model 2 provides some support for hypothesis 2e and 2h and no support for hypothesis 2f, 2g, and 2i. In support of hypothesis 2e, women with young children tend to work in occupations with a higher percent female in 1998; however this relationship varies by gender beliefs. Hypothesis 2h states that women with more children will work with more women in later life, especially if they have more traditional gender beliefs. Models 2 and 4 show some support for this idea. First, I find that women with more children work in occupations with a greater in 1998. Contrary to my expectations, this relationship is especially important for nontraditional women not traditional women. For women with more nontraditional gender beliefs (scores of 1 and 2 on the gender beliefs scale), the more children they have, the more women they work with in 1998 [Nontraditional: $3.71 - 1.09(1) = 2.62^*$; Less nontraditional: $3.71 - 1.09(2) = 1.53^{**}$]. However, for women with gender beliefs ranging from moderate to traditional (i.e., scores on the gender beliefs scale ranging from 3 to 5), the number of children living in the household does not significantly affect their attainments in 1998 [Moderate: $3.71 - 1.09(3) = .44$; Traditional: $3.71 - 1.09(5) = -1.74$]. The effect of gender beliefs on attainments is significant and positive for women with no children (see the main effect for gender beliefs). However, as the number of children increases, gender beliefs have no significant effect on attainments [1 child: $3.37 - 1.09(1) = 2.28$; 3 children: $3.37 - 1.09(3) = .05$].

I find no support for hypothesis 2f or 2i. Never married women do not have higher attainments in 1998. In addition, never married women with nontraditional gender beliefs do not have especially high attainments; the effect of never married on attainments does not vary by gender beliefs. Finally, there is no evidence that gender beliefs affect attainments by shaping family demands. Gender beliefs only matter when

family demands are included in the model; their effects do not decrease when family demands are included.

Model 3 finds some support for hypothesis 2j that women in certain community contexts will work with more women. As the demand for female labor in a community increases, women work with fewer women. In addition, as the percent of the county employed in manufacturing increases, women work with fewer women. However, the divorce rate in the county, the change in the demand for female labor, and the percent of the county employed in wholesale and retail trade do not affect women's attainments in 1998.

Model 4 shows the effects of goals and beliefs in 1979, family demands, and community contexts on the percent female in women's occupations in one model. The substantive results do not change when all measures are included in the model.

Sample Selection Analysis of Prestige of Occupations in 1998

Table 5.5 shows the results of four models predicting the prestige of the occupations in which women are employed in 1998. The models follow the same logic as the above analyses.

I find some support for hypothesis 2a, full support for hypothesis 2b, and some support for hypotheses 2c and 2d. In model 1, higher goals are associated with higher attainments. This relationship does not hold once family demands or community contexts are specified. I find support for hypothesis 2b. Women with more traditional gender beliefs work in occupations with lower occupational prestige than more nontraditional women. In addition, in models 1 through 3 the effect of gender beliefs on occupational prestige does not vary by goals and the effect of goals on prestige does not vary by gender beliefs.

I find some support for hypothesis 2e. Women with more family demands work in occupations with lower prestige in 1998. Women with elderly relatives living in the home have occupational prestige that is 5 points lower than women with no elderly relatives living in the home. None of the other measures of family demands affects women's occupational prestige in 1998. Family demands affects the employment status of women in 1998 (see probit model).

I find no support for hypotheses 2f through 2h. Never married women do not have higher occupational prestige than married women in 1998. Women with more exits from the labor force do not have lower occupational prestige. Finally, women with more children do not have lower occupational attainments in 1998. In addition, none of these effects varies by gender beliefs.

I find no support for hypothesis 2i. When family demands and control variables are added to model 1, the effect of goals on attainments diminishes. Since education and full-time employment measures are added to the model at the same time as the family demands, it is impossible to ascertain if education, working full-time, or having an elderly parent in the home mediates the relationship between goals and attainments. Analyses not shown indicate that goals indirectly affect occupational prestige in 1998 by shaping educational attainment and working full-time. Women with higher goals may pursue more education and may be more likely to work full-time than women with lower goals.

Model 3 focuses on the relationship between community contexts and women's occupational prestige. The results do not support hypothesis 2j. Women living in areas with a higher divorce rate have lower attainments in 1998. This result is not in the predicted direction. In addition, no other community context measures affect attainments in 1998.

Model 4 shows that the effects of goals and beliefs, family demands, and community context on the occupational prestige of women's occupations change slightly when all independent variables are included in the model. First, I find that the effect of gender beliefs on prestige varies by goals. Women with low prestige goals and more traditional gender beliefs have lower occupational prestige in 1998 [-2.21+.03(13)=-1.82+]. However, in calculations not shown, I verified that gender beliefs do not significantly affect attainments for women with higher goals. Second, I find some support for hypothesis 2j. As the percent employed in manufacturing in women's county of residence increases, women work in occupations with lower occupational prestige. Finally, having young children in the home actually increases women's attainments, at least in terms of occupational prestige. Since the respondents are in their mid-thirties in 1998, this finding is evidence of delaying childbearing to accommodate employment.

Sample Selection Analysis of Actual Hourly Wages of Occupations in 1998

Table 5.6 shows the results of four models predicting the women's hourly wages in 1998. I do this because the lack of findings of the effects of gender beliefs and goals on attainments in 1998 may be due to the fact that occupational level measures have less variation than individual measures. That is, every woman that works in the same occupation gets the same occupational prestige, percent female, and median weekly earnings score. I also convert these measures to z-scores so the goals measure and the attainments measure will be in the same units. The models on hourly wages follow the same logic as the above analyses.

I find some support for hypotheses 2a and 2b. I find no support for hypotheses 2c or 2d in models 1 through 4. In model 1, the higher women's earnings goals, the higher their hourly wages are in 1998. This relationship is explained away when family demands and community contexts are included in the model. In addition, throughout all the models, women with traditional gender beliefs have lower hourly wages in 1998 than women with less traditional gender beliefs. The effect of goals on attainments does not vary by gender beliefs and the effect of gender beliefs on attainments does not vary by goals in models 1 through 4.

I find some support for hypothesis 2e that women with more family demands will have lower hourly pay in 1998. In model 2, women with young children in the home have higher earnings. While this result initially seems to be going in the opposite direction than expected, we need to consider that these women are in their mid-thirties. Having a young child at this point is evidence of delaying childbearing to accommodate work outside the home. In addition, women with more children have lower hourly wages in later life. Finally, having elderly relatives in the home lowers women's hourly pay.

I find no support for hypothesis 2f or 2g in model 2. Never married women do not have higher wages than married women and this result does not vary by their gender beliefs. In addition, women with more exits from the labor force do not have significantly lower hourly wages than women with fewer exits. This result does not vary by gender beliefs.

I do not find support for the notion in hypothesis 2i that gender beliefs shape family demands which in turn shape attainments in later life. While the effect of gender

beliefs on attainments diminishes as family demands and the control variables are included in the model, one of the control variables, education is also important predictor of hourly wages and may be a mediator between gender beliefs and attainments. Perhaps women with nontraditional gender beliefs are more likely to obtain more education which translates into higher pay in later life. In analyses not shown I find that goals affect hourly wages through educational attainment and that gender beliefs affect hourly wages through working full-time.

I find some support for hypothesis 2j. Community contexts affect women's hourly wages. Women who live in areas in 1998 with more people employed in wholesale and retail earn lower hourly wages. Conversely, women who live in places with a higher demand for female labor in 1998 than in 1979 have lower hourly wages in 1998. None of the other community context measures affects attainments in 1998.

Model 4 includes all the measures in one model and there are some substantive changes in the results. First, divorced women now have higher hourly pay than married women. In addition, the effect of gender beliefs on hourly pay varies by never married status. For married women, traditional gender beliefs are associated with lower hourly wages (see main effect of gender beliefs). Furthermore, never married women with traditional gender beliefs have higher hourly wages than married women with traditional gender beliefs [-.21+.10(5)=.29+]. In calculations not shown I verified that there is no significant difference between married women and never married women with other gender beliefs, such as nontraditional and moderate. This finding is different than I expected. I expected that nontraditional women who were never married would have the highest hourly wages in later life.

Education and Hours Worked as Mediators between Gender Beliefs and Occupational Attainments

For several reasons that arose from the preceding analyses, next I explore education and working full-time as mediators of the effects of gender beliefs and goals on attainments. The effects of education and working full-time were significant and large throughout the analyses of attainments. It is likely that they mediate some portion of the influences of gender beliefs and goals on attainments. Table 5.7 presents the results of an OLS regression of education level in 1998 on gender beliefs, goals, and other predictors

known to be associated with educational attainment. Table 5.8 presents the results of logistic regression of working full-time in 1998 on gender beliefs, goals, and other predictors of employment.

The first column of table 5.7 presents the results of an OLS regression of gender beliefs and earnings goals on educational attainment controlling for other factors associated with educational attainment. The second column presents the results of gender beliefs and percent female in desired occupation on educational attainment in 1998. The final column changes the goal measure to occupational prestige.

The results consistently show that young women with traditional gender beliefs have less education in 1998 and young women who have higher goals have more years of completed education. For example in the first model women with traditional gender beliefs are predicted to complete two fewer years of education than women with nontraditional beliefs [nontraditional - traditional: $-.46(1) - -.46(5) = 1.84$]. This relationship between gender beliefs and education level holds across the other two measures of occupational goals.

Table 5.8 shows the results of the logistic regression of working full-time versus part-time in 1998 on gender beliefs and goals in 1979 controlling for other factors likely to affect hours worked in 1998. The table layout is the same as Table 5.7.

The results in table 5.8 show that gender beliefs are significantly and negatively associated with the likelihood that a woman is working full-time in 1998. Women with more traditional beliefs are less likely to work full-time in 1998. The results also consistently show that goals are not related to hours worked in 1998.

Summary of Career Attainments Results

Table 5.9 summarizes the findings in relation to all hypotheses.

In general, I find support for synthesizing the predictions of gender socialization theory, multi-level models, structural theories, and cumulative advantage and disadvantage theory (see Figure 2.3). Gender beliefs do have direct and indirect effects on career attainments. Nontraditional women tend to have higher occupational prestige and hourly wages in later life than traditional women. On the other hand, gender beliefs

and goals do not directly affect occupational earnings or percent female in occupation in the expected directions. It appears that gender beliefs also affect women's career attainments by influencing their educational attainment and hours worked in later life. While goals may not directly effect attainments in later life, they do appear to influence attainments indirectly by shaping women's decisions about their educational attainment and employment status. Young women's goals shape their investment in education which in turn affects their attainments. Young women with high goals tend to obtain more education and have higher attainments in 1998. Young women with low goals tend to obtain less education and have lower attainments in 1998.

The analyses also support prior research about the effects of family demands on women's career attainments. First, women with elderly relatives living in their home have lower occupational earnings than women with no elderly relatives in their homes. In addition, women with more children work with more women in 1998, especially women with nontraditional gender beliefs. Third, women who have young children in their mid-thirties have higher occupational prestige and hourly wages than women with no young children. Fourth, as women have more children, their hourly wages decline. Finally, women with elderly relatives living in the home have lower hourly wages than women with no elderly relatives living in their home.

Community contexts directly affect women's career attainments in these analyses. As the demand for female labor in a community increases, occupational earnings increase and the percent female in women's occupations decreases. As the percent of the county employed in manufacturing increases, women's occupational prestige decreases. Finally, hourly wages decline as the percent of the county employed in wholesale increases.

In general, these analyses indicate support for a multilevel model of the link between career goals and gender beliefs in early life, community contexts in later life, and family demands in later life to women's career attainments. Gender beliefs shape women's career attainments both directly and indirectly by shaping educational attainment and work hours. Career goals directly affect women's employment status and indirectly affect women's career outcomes through their educational attainment. In addition, community contexts and family demands directly affect women's career attainments.

Table 5.1 Descriptive Statistics, Adjusted by Sample Weights; NLSY Women, Age 33-38.

Measures	Whole Sample (N=2,119)		Work in 1998 (N=1,537)	Do not work in 1998 (N=582)	Diff. in Means	Diff in Distr.
	Mean	Percent				
<u>Dependent Variables in 1998</u>						
Individual-level						
Working in the labor force		75.7%				
Hourly wages ^a	\$13.98					
Occupational-level						
Avg. median weekly earnings in occupation ^b	\$381.96					
Avg. percent female in occupation ^b	46.41%					
Avg. occupational prestige in occupation ^b	40.78					
<u>Goals in 1979</u>						
Expect to work when 35 years of age		84.8%	84.6%	85.6%		
Avg. earnings in desired occ. ^c	\$12,988.76		\$12,975.61	\$13,030.53		
Avg. percent female in desired occ. ^c	58.0%		57.5%	55.2%	+	
Avg. occ. prestige in desired occ. ^c	48.57		48.75	48.04		
<u>Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>						
Gender beliefs scale	2.37		2.28	2.40	**	
<u>Community Context in 1998</u>						
County divorce rate	4.92		4.90	4.98		
Demand for female labor	45.72		45.78	45.54	**	
Change in demand for female labor, '79 & '98	3.37		3.43	3.18	*	
Percent of county clf emp in manu	18.03		18.25	17.34	**	
Percent of county clf emp in whole/retail	21.33		21.32	21.37		
<u>Family Demands in 1998</u>						
Divorced		15.5%	17.1%	10.6%		***
Separated or widowed		5.3%	5.0%	6.4%		***
Never married		14.5%	14.6%	14.1%		***
Married		---	63.3%	68.8%		***
Young children in the home		34.8%	30.6%	47.7%	***	
Number of young children in home	.47		.39	.72	***	
Number of children 18 and younger	1.57		1.44	1.95	***	
Elderly relatives living in home		3.1%	3.0%	3.3%		
<u>Human Capital and Experience in 1998</u>						
Education	13.51		13.65	13.05	***	
Hours worked ^a		75.5%				
Weeks in the lf since high school	234.76		248.30	192.59	***	
No. of exits out of lf > 3 mo. since hs	.21		.19	.27	+	
<u>Control Variables</u>						
Age	35.30		35.28	35.36		
Immigrant		3.7%	3.6%	4.2%		
Black		14.7%	16.3%	14.2%		
Hispanic		5.5%	6.1%	5.3%		
Other		10.9%	10.5%	11.0%		
White		---	67.2%	69.6%		

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

a- Means based on n=1,505 who are in the labor force in 1998 and have valid data on hourly wages.

b- Means and percentages based on n=1,537 who are in the labor force in 1998.

c- Means based on n=2,075 who have valid answers on the the occupational goals questions. See Figure 3.1

Table 5.2 Respondents' Average Occupational-level Attainments in 1998 by Gender Beliefs in 1979; Adjusted by Sample Weights; NLSY Women, Age 33-38.

Gender Beliefs in 1979	Occupational-level Attainments in 1998		
	Median Weekly Earnings	Prestige	Percent Female
Nontraditional	\$529.94 (229.90)	43 (19.01)	60% (26.40)
Moderate	\$479.93 (218.24)	39 (17.73)	63% (26.98)
Traditional	\$460.02 (233.37)	35 (18.10)	52% (28.40)

Table 5.3 Sample Selection Analysis of the Median Weekly Earnings of the Occupations in which Respondents are Employed in 1998; NLSY Women, Age 33-38.

Independent Variables	Probit	Model 1	Model 2
<u>Goals and Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Expect to work when 35 years of age	.31 ***		
Avg. earnings in desired occupation		.11 *	.03
Avg. percent female in desired occupation			
Avg. occ. prestige in desired occupation			
Gender beliefs scale	-.01	-.11 ***	-.06
Gender beliefs*expected earnings		-.01	.01
<u>Community Context in 1998</u>			
County divorce rate			
Demand for female labor			
Change in demand for female labor, 79 & 98			
Percent of county clf emp in manu			
Percent of county clf emp in whole/retail			
<u>Family Demands in 1998</u>			
Divorced	.18 *		.01
Separated or widowed	-.07		.06
Never married	-.22 **		-.12
Young children in the home	-.61 ***		.04
Number of children 18 and younger			-.05
Elderly relatives living in home			-.20 *
Gender beliefs*never married			.03
Gender beliefs*number of children 18 and younger			.01
<u>Human Capital and Experience in 1998</u>			
Education	.07 ***		.12 ***
Hours worked			.38 ***
Weeks in the lf since high school	.01 ***		.01
No of exits out of lf > 3 mo. since hs			-.05
Gender beliefs*exits out of lf			.01
<u>Control Variables</u>			
Age	-.06 **		-.05 *
Immigrant	.01		.16 +
Black	.20 **		-.32 ***
Hispanic	.14 +		.10 +
Other	-.03		.09
Lambda		-.66 ***	.15
Constant	1.19 +	.39 ***	-.35
McFadden R-squared	.11		
Rho		-.63	.17

Notes: *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

Table 5.3
(cont'd)

Independent Variables	Model 3	Model 4
<u>Goals and Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>		
Expect to work when 35 years of age		
Avg. earnings in desired occupation	.02	.02
Avg. percent female in desired occupation		
Avg. occ. prestige in desired occupation		
Gender beliefs scale	-.05 *	-.06
Gender beliefs*expected earnings	.01	.02
<u>Community Context in 1998</u>		
County divorce rate	-.01	-.01
Demand for female labor	.03 *	.02 *
Change in demand for female labor, 79 & 98	-.01	-.01
Percent of county clf emp in manu	.01	.01
Percent of county clf emp in whole/retail	-.01	-.01
<u>Family Demands in 1998</u>		
Divorced		.01
Separated or widowed		.05
Never married		-.12
Young children in the home		.03
Number of children 18 and younger		-.05
Elderly relatives living in home		-.19 +
Gender beliefs*never married		.02
Gender beliefs*number of children 18 and younger		.01
<u>Human Capital and Experience in 1998</u>		
Education	.13 ***	.13 ***
Hours worked	.39 ***	.38 ***
Weeks in the lf since high school		.01
No of exits out of lf > 3 mo. since hs		-.05
Gender beliefs*exits out of lf		.01
<u>Control Variables</u>		
Age	-.04 *	-.05 *
Immigrant	.17 *	.16 +
Black	-.42 ***	-.35 ***
Hispanic	-.12 +	-.08
Other	.10	.10
Lambda	-.155 +	.164
Constant	-1.44 +	-1.14
McFadden R-squared	.11	
Rho	-.18	.19

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

Table 5.4 Sample Selection Analysis of the Demand for Female Labor of the Occupations in which Respondents are Employed in 1998; NLSY Women, Age 33-38.

Independent Variables	Probit	Model 1	Model 2
<u>Goals and Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Expect to work when 35 years of age	.31 ***		
Avg. earnings in desired occupation			
Avg. percent female in desired occupation		.10 *	.11 *
Avg. occ. prestige in desired occupation			
Gender beliefs scale	-.01	.98	3.37 +
Gender beliefs*expected earnings		-.01	-.01
<u>Community Context in 1998</u>			
County divorce rate			
Demand for female labor			
Change in demand for female labor, 79 & 98			
Percent of county clf emp in manu			
Percent of county clf emp in whole/retail			
<u>Family Demands in 1998</u>			
Divorced	.18 *		-1.13
Separated or widowed	-.07		-2.78
Never married	-.22 **		4.84
Young children in the home	-.61 ***		.24
Number of children 18 and younger			3.71 *
Elderly relatives living in home			2.79
Gender beliefs*never married			-1.18
Gender beliefs*number of children 18 and younger			-1.09 +
<u>Human Capital and Experience in 1998</u>			
Education	.07 ***		.95 *
Hours worked			-4.87 **
Weeks in the lf since high school	.01 ***		-.01
No of exits out of lf > 3 mo. since hs			-.63
Gender beliefs*exits out of lf			.28
<u>Control Variables</u>			
Age	-.06 **		.73
Immigrant	.01		-.38
Black	.20 **		3.22 +
Hispanic	.14 +		7.10 ***
Other	-.03		-2.29
Lambda		-8.79 **	-11.34
Constant	1.19 +	59.46 ***	17.33
McFadden R-squared	.11		
Rho		-.33	-.42

Notes: *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

Table 5.4
(cont'd)

Independent Variables	Model 3	Model 4
<u>Goals and Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>		
Expect to work when 35 years of age		
Avg. earnings in desired occupation		
Avg. percent female in desired occupation	.13 *	.12 *
Avg. occ. prestige in desired occupation		
Gender beliefs scale	1.57	3.45 +
Gender beliefs*expected earnings	-.02	-.01
<u>Community Context in 1998</u>		
County divorce rate	.09	.12
Demand for female labor	-1.00 **	-1.00 **
Change in demand for female labor, 79 & 98	.28	.32
Percent of county clf emp in manu	-.18 *	-.18 *
Percent of county clf emp in whole/retail	.17	.17
<u>Family Demands in 1998</u>		
Divorced		-1.43
Separated or widowed		-2.75
Never married		4.94
Young children in the home		.58
Number of children 18 and younger		3.72 *
Elderly relatives living in home		2.15
Gender beliefs*never married		-1.72
Gender beliefs*number of children 18 and younger		-1.09 *
<u>Human Capital and Experience in 1998</u>		
Education	.93 **	.81 +
Hours worked	-5.36 ***	-4.93 **
Weeks in the lf since high school		-.01
No of exits out of lf > 3 mo. since hs		-.29
Gender beliefs*exits out of lf		.11
<u>Control Variables</u>		
Age	.69 +	.69
Immigrant	-.73	-.16
Black	5.07 **	4.64 *
Hispanic	6.54 ***	5.89 **
Other	-2.53	-2.61
Lambda	-7.67 *	-11.70
Constant	65.82 **	63.41 *
McFadden R-squared	.11	
Rho	-.29	-.43

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

Table 5.5 Sample Selection Analysis of the Prestige of the Occupations in which Respondents are Employed in 1998; NLSY Women, Age 33-38.

Independent Variables	Probit	Model 1	Model 2
<u>Goals and Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Expect to work when 35 years of age	.31 ***		
Avg. earnings in desired occupation			
Avg. percent female in desired occupation			
Avg. occ. prestige in desired occupation		.20 ***	.02
Gender beliefs scale	-.01	-2.15 +	-2.08 +
Gender beliefs*expected earnings		.01	.03
<u>Community Context in 1998</u>			
County divorce rate			
Demand for female labor			
Change in demand for female labor, 79 & 98			
Percent of county clf emp in manu			
Percent of county clf emp in whole/retail			
<u>Family Demands in 1998</u>			
Divorced	.18 *		-1.14
Separated or widowed	-.07		.52
Never married	-.22 **		.14
Young children in the home	-.61 ***		2.73
Number of children 18 and younger			-.69
Elderly relatives living in home			-5.18 **
Gender beliefs*never married			-.54
Gender beliefs*number of children 18 and younger			-.01
<u>Human Capital and Experience in 1998</u>			
Education	.07 ***		3.32 ***
Hours worked			4.94 ***
Weeks in the lf since high school	.01 ***		.01
No of exits out of lf > 3 mo. since hs			-.09
Gender beliefs*exits out of lf			-.16
<u>Control Variables</u>			
Age	-.06 **		-.04
Immigrant	.01		2.51 +
Black	.20 **		-4.90 ***
Hispanic	.14 +		.51
Other	-.03		.84
Lambda		-12.24 ***	-.78
Constant	1.19 +	39.48 ***	-5.65
McFadden R-squared	.11		
Rho		-.64	-.05

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

Table 5.5
(cont'd)

Independent Variables	Model 3	Model 4
<u>Goals and Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>		
Expect to work when 35 years of age		
Avg. earnings in desired occupation		
Avg. percent female in desired occupation		
Avg. occ. prestige in desired occupation	.01	.01
Gender beliefs scale	-2.33 *	-2.21 +
Gender beliefs*expected earnings	.03	.03 +
<u>Community Context in 1998</u>		
County divorce rate	-.34 +	-.37 *
Demand for female labor	.28	.18
Change in demand for female labor, 79 & 98	.03	.07
Percent of county clf emp in manu	-.07	-.08 +
Percent of county clf emp in whole/retail	.05	.10
<u>Family Demands in 1998</u>		
Divorced		-1.31
Separated or widowed		.40
Never married		.08
Young children in the home		2.82 +
Number of children 18 and younger		-.70
Elderly relatives living in home		-5.36 **
Gender beliefs*never married		-.53
Gender beliefs*number of children 18 and younger		.01
<u>Human Capital and Experience in 1998</u>		
Education	3.51 ***	3.28 ***
Hours worked	4.80 ***	4.90 ***
Weeks in the lf since high school		.01
No of exits out of lf > 3 mo. since hs		-.02
Gender beliefs*exits out of lf		-.18
<u>Control Variables</u>		
Age	-.08	-.06
Immigrant	2.74 +	2.63 +
Black	-6.05 ***	-5.11 ***
Hispanic	-.08	.40
Other	.84	.90
Lambda	-.97	-1.31
Constant	-16.39	-10.69
McFadden R-squared		
Rho	-.06	-.08

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

Table 5.6 Sample Selection Analysis of Respondents' Hourly Wages; NLSY Women, Age 33-38.

Independent Variables	Probit	Model 1	Model 2
<u>Goals and Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Expect to work when 35 years of age	.29 **		
Avg. earnings in desired occupation		.13 *	.03
Avg. percent female in desired occupation			
Avg. occ. prestige in desired occupation			
Gender beliefs scale	-.01	-.12 ***	-.10 *
Gender beliefs*expected earnings		-.01	.01
<u>Community Context in 1998</u>			
County divorce rate			
Demand for female labor			
Change in demand for female labor, 79 & 98			
Percent of county clf emp in manu			
Percent of county clf emp in whole/retail			
<u>Family Demands in 1998</u>			
Divorced	.19 *		.07
Separated or widowed	-.08		.04
Never married	-.21 **		-.21
Young children in the home	-.61 ***		.22 *
Number of children 18 and younger			-.09 *
Elderly relatives living in home			-0.16 +
Gender beliefs*never married			.11
Gender beliefs*number of children 18 and younger			.01
<u>Human Capital and Experience in 1998</u>			
Education	.07 ***		.12 ***
Hours worked			-.01
Weeks in the lf since high school	.01 ***		.01
No of exits out of lf > 3 mo. since hs			-.04
Gender beliefs*exits out of lf			.01
<u>Control Variables</u>			
Age	-.07 **		-.01
Immigrant	.03		.05
Black	.21 **		-.18 **
Hispanic	.14 +		.02
Other	-.02 +		.04
Lambda		-.60 ***	-.09
Constant	1.39 +	.43 ***	-.96 +
McFadden R-squared	.11		
Rho		-.63	-.12

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

Table 5.6
(cont'd)

Independent Variables	Model 3	Model 4
<u>Goals and Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>		
Expect to work when 35 years of age		
Avg. earnings in desired occupation		
Avg. percent female in desired occupation	.03	.03
Avg. occ. prestige in desired occupation		
Gender beliefs scale	-.07 **	-.10 *
Gender beliefs*expected earnings	.01	.01
<u>Community Context in 1998</u>		
County divorce rate	.01	.01
Demand for female labor	.01	.01
Change in demand for female labor, 79 & 98	-.02 *	-.01 +
Percent of county clf emp in manu	-.01	-.01
Percent of county clf emp in whole/retail	-.02 **	-.02 *
<u>Family Demands in 1998</u>		
Divorced		.09 +
Separated or widowed		.03
Never married		-.21
Young children in the home		.20 *
Number of children 18 and younger		-.09 *
Elderly relatives living in home		-.17 +
Gender beliefs*never married		.10 +
Gender beliefs*number of children 18 and younger		.01
<u>Human Capital and Experience in 1998</u>		
Education	.14 ***	.12 ***
Hours worked	.01	-.10
Weeks in the lf since high school		.01
No of exits out of lf > 3 mo. since hs		-.04
Gender beliefs*exits out of lf		.01
<u>Control Variables</u>		
Age	-.01	-.01
Immigrant	.05	.03
Black	-.26 ***	-.20 ***
Hispanic	-.03	.02
Other	.04	.05
Lambda	-.18	-.05
Constant	-1.04	-.60
McFadden R-squared		
Rho	-.22	-.07

Notes: *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

Table 5.7 OLS Regression of Respondents' Years of Completed Education in 1998;
NLSY Women, Age 33-38.

Independent Variables	Education, 1998		
<u>Goals and Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Avg. earnings in desired occupation	.01 ***		
Avg. percent female in desired occupation		-.01 ***	
Avg. occ. prestige in desired occupation			.04 ***
Gender beliefs scale	-.46 ***	-.47 ***	-.39 ***
<u>Family Demands in 1998</u>			
Divorced	-.71 ***	-.77 ***	-.63 ***
Separated or widowed	-.99 ***	-1.06 ***	-.98 ***
Never married	-.28 *	-.37 **	-.30 *
Number of children 18 and younger	-.27 ***	-.25 ***	-.25 ***
<u>Control Variables</u>			
Age	-.19 ***	-.21 ***	-.16 ***
Immigrant	.30	.46 *	.35 +
Black	-.19 +	-.04	-.15
Hispanic	-.48 ***	-.47 **	-.43 **
Other	.01	-.06	.01
Constant	20.67 ***	23.57 ***	18.89 ***
Adjusted R-Squared	.17	.16	.22

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

Table 5.8 Logistic Regression on Working Full-Time in 1998; NLSY Women, Age 33-38.

Independent Variables	Employed Fulltime (vs. Not), 1998		
<u>Goals and Gender Beliefs in 1979</u>			
Avg. earnings in desired occupation	.01		
Avg. percent female in desired occupation		.01	
Avg. occ. prestige in desired occupation			.01
Gender beliefs scale	-.13 *	-.14 *	-.14 *
<u>Family Demands in 1998</u>			
Divorced	.71 ***	.71 ***	.71 ***
Separated or widowed	.16	.16	.16
Never married	.09	.09	.09
Young children in the home	-.31 *	-.30 *	-.30 *
Number of children 18 and younger	-.27 ***	-.27 ***	-.27 ***
Elderly relatives living in home	.42	.43	.43
<u>Human Capital and Experience in 1998</u>			
Weeks in the lf since high school	.01 **	.01 **	.01 **
No of exits out of lf > 3 mo. since hs	-.03	-.03	-.04
<u>Control Variables</u>			
Age	.12	-.01	-.01
Immigrant	-.37 +	-.37 +	-.37 +
Black	.88 ***	.88 ***	.88 ***
Hispanic	.59 **	.59 ***	.59 ***
Other	.40 +	.40 +	.40 +
Constant	1.73	1.82	1.83
Adjusted R-Squared	.10	.10	.10

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

Table 5.9 Summary of Results from All Career Attainment Dependent Variables.

	Occupational			Individual
	Avg. Earnings	Percent Female in Occupation	Occ. Prestige	Hourly Wages
Hypothesis 2a: Young women with higher career goals (higher earnings, lower percent female, and higher prestige) are more likely to have higher attainments in later life (occupational: higher earnings, lower percent female, and higher prestige; individual: higher wages) than young women with less ambitious career goals.	X	Support	Partial	Partial
Hypothesis 2b: Young women with more traditional gender beliefs will have lower attainments in later life (occupational: lower earnings, higher percent female, and lower prestige; individual: lower wages) than young women with nontraditional gender beliefs.	Partial	Partial	X	Partial
Hypothesis 2c: The effect of goals on attainments will vary by gender beliefs.	X	X	X	X
Hypothesis 2d: The effect of gender beliefs on attainments will vary by gender beliefs.	X	X	Partial	X
Hypothesis 2e: Women with more family demands (married, more children, and elderly relatives living in home) will have lower attainments (occupational: lower earnings, higher percent female, and lower prestige; individual: lower wages) than women with fewer family demands (divorced, never married, young children, fewer children or no children, and no elderly relatives living in the home).	Partial	Partial	Partial	Partial
Hypothesis 2f: Never married women will have higher attainments (occupational: higher earnings, lower percent female, and higher prestige; individual: higher wages), especially women with nontraditional gender beliefs.	X	X	X	X
Hypothesis 2g: Women with more exits from paid work will have lower attainments (occupational: lower earnings, higher percent female, and lower prestige; individual: lower wages), especially women with traditional gender beliefs.	X	X	X	X
Hypothesis 2h: Women with more children will have lower attainments (occupational: lower earnings, higher percent female, and lower prestige; individual: lower wages), especially women with traditional gender beliefs.	X	Partial	X	X

Table 5.9
(cont'd)

	Occupational			Individual
	Avg. Earnings	Percent Female in Occupation	Occ. Prestige	Hourly Wages
Hypothesis 2i: The effects of gender beliefs and goals on attainments will work indirectly through family demands.	X	X	X	X
Hypothesis 2j: Women living in community contexts with lower divorce rates, lower demand for female labor, lower demand for female labor in 1998 than 1979, higher percent employed in manufacturing, and higher percent employed in wholesale/retail will have lower attainments (occupational: lower earnings, higher percent female, and lower prestige; individual: lower wages) than women living in areas with higher divorce rates, higher demand for female labor, higher demand for female labor in 1998 than in 1979, lower percent employed in manufacturing, and lower percent employed in wholesale/retail.	Partial	Partial	Partial	Partial

CHAPTER 6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The motivation for this dissertation is to better understand how women form their occupational plans and how those plans translate into attainments in later life. According to life course literature and recent research by Correll (2004) a focus on women's plans and gender beliefs in early life is important for understanding women's disadvantaged positions in the labor market more generally. To the extent that young women develop their plans and gender beliefs in contexts that encourage traditional career paths, women's disadvantaged positions in the labor market will persist even if employer discrimination ceases.

Prior research on career goals is extended in two main ways. First, in contrast to some prior research that assumes all women have career plans that are secondary to their family roles, these analyses explore the heterogeneity in women's career plans. Mothers' attainments, community contexts, and gender beliefs are examined as factors that are likely to be responsible for some of that heterogeneity. Second, I synthesize prior research on career goals to develop a multilevel model of the process of career goal formation.

This research also makes two primary contributions to research on women's career attainments. First, I synthesize research that tends to focus on either the early or later life factors that influence women's career outcomes to examine how women's careers are shaped by both. I examine how women's heterogeneous career goals and gender beliefs affect their decisions about family, their educational attainment, and the hours they work. Second, the synthesized model of the process of the link between goals and gender beliefs and outcomes is multilevel. Goals in early life, gender beliefs in early

life, community contexts in later life, and family demands in later life are explored as influences on women's career outcomes.

Major Findings

This dissertation has two sets of analyses. In the first set, I ask how community contexts, mothers' attainments, and gender beliefs shape young women's occupational plans. The second set asks how early factors, such as career goals and gender beliefs, affect young women's attainments in later life. The next section summarizes the three major findings about career goal formation. Next, I summarize the major findings from the analyses on career outcomes.

Major Findings from Analyses on Career Goal Formation

The findings on career goals support that notion that young women's plans are somewhat heterogeneous. Young women in 1979 expected a variety of career paths. Fifteen percent of young women did not expect to be employed when they were 35 years of age. Among the women who expected to be employed, fourteen percent expected to be working and have a family. Young women's occupational level plans were also varied. Young women's expected earnings ranged from \$4,360 to \$31,637. Young women's desired occupational prestige ranges from 13.98 to 89.57. Finally, the percent female in the occupations in which young women desired to work ranges from 1 to 99 percent. Thus, women's goals are not homogeneous, they vary both in terms of family and work priorities and the type of paid work young plan to pursue. However, women's goals are still concentrated in a relatively small number of occupations. Approximately one-third (34 percent) of the young women who planned to work planned to do so in just five occupations. In addition, young women in the sample expect to be working in 150 occupations (or 38 percent) out of the approximately 400 occupations listed by the Census Bureau.

Figure 6.1 provides a summary of the significant predictors of young women's occupational-level career goals and shows that one source of heterogeneity in young women's career plans is mothers' attainments. Young women whose mothers have less educational attainment and work in traditional jobs tend to have lower career goals.

Conversely, young women whose mothers have completed more years of education and who work in less traditional jobs tend to have higher career goals.

Community context is another source of the heterogeneity in young women's plans. For example, women living in areas with a lower demand for female labor tend to have lower occupational goals. In addition, women living in areas with a lower divorce rate tend to have lower goals. Figure 6.1 also shows that the percent of the county employed in manufacturing and the percent of the county employed in wholesale/retail significantly affect young women's career goals as well.

Second, I find some support for the model of career goal formation that synthesizes prior research on career goals. Synthesizing gender socialization theory, Risman's multilevel model of gender inequality, Correll and Ridgeway's work on cultural gender beliefs, and research on career goals, I argue that mothers' attainments and community contexts directly influence young women's career goals. In addition, these factors indirectly influence young women's career goals by influencing their gender beliefs. The analyses find some support for this model. Figure 6.1 shows that mothers' attainments and community contexts shape young women's career goals both directly and indirectly. The findings indicate that one of the mechanisms through which mothers influence their daughters' plans is by shaping their gender beliefs. Mothers with more education and who work in less traditional jobs tend to have daughters with less traditional gender beliefs, which in turn are associated with more ambitious career plans. However, it is important to note that these mediating effects seem small. For example, each additional year of mothers' education increases daughters' expected annual earnings by \$144. When gender beliefs are included in the model, the effect declines by only \$12 to \$132.

Third, the findings indicate that community contexts influence young women's career goals. Community contexts shape women's plans both directly and indirectly by helping to shape young women's beliefs about gender. Women living in areas with a lower demand for female labor, a lower divorce rate, more people employed in the manufacturing sector, and more people employed in the wholesale and retail industrial sector tend to have lower occupational goals. In addition, these community contexts influence young women's beliefs about gender. Women living in areas with a lower

demand for female labor, a lower divorce rate, more people employed in the manufacturing sector, and more people employed in the wholesale and retail industrial sector tend to have more traditional gender beliefs. The mediating effect of gender beliefs on the relationship between community context and career goals seems modest. For instance, each percent increase in the demand for female labor in the community increases young women's expected annual earnings by \$82. With the addition of gender beliefs to the regression model, the effect of the demand for female labor decreases by a mere \$15 to \$67.

Major Findings from Analyses on the Link between Goals, Gender Beliefs, and Outcomes

The analyses of the link between early and later factors affecting women's career attainments offers four main findings. First, women's occupational-level career attainments are more widely distributed but more traditional than their occupational-level career plans when they were in high school. Second, career goals and gender beliefs affect women's career attainments. Women's career goals and gender beliefs appear to shape their educational attainment and the hours they work, which in turn shape the earnings, gender composition, and prestige in their occupation and their hourly wages. Third, gender beliefs are an important influence on women's career outcomes. Finally, I find support that community contexts influence women's career outcomes, showing support for a multi-level model that synthesizes prior research on the influences of career goals, gender beliefs, community contexts, and family demands as influences on women's career outcomes.

Women's 1998 career attainments when they are 33 to 38 years of age are more traditional than their career plans when they were 14 to 19 years of age in 1979. In 1979 only 15 percent of young women did not expect to be employed when they were 35 years of age. By the time they were 33 to 38 years of age, 26 percent of women were not employed. In addition, the top 5 occupations in which young women planned to work when they were in high school included one nontraditional occupation: physician. By 1998, all of the top five jobs were traditional. It is important to note, however, that the distribution of occupations in which women were employed in 1998 was more widely distributed than the distribution of occupations in which women desired to work in when

they were in high school. In 1979, over one-third of young women who desired to work planned to work in just 5 occupations. By 1998, 20 percent of employed women were working in just five occupations.

In support of the theory of cumulative advantage and Correll and Ridgeway's work on career-relevant decisions, women's career goals and beliefs about gender have an effect on their career attainments. Figure 6.2 provides a summary of the significant predictors of the link between career goals and outcomes and shows that primarily career goals and gender beliefs affect career attainments indirectly by affecting women's decisions about family, educational attainment, and hours worked. Women with less traditional gender beliefs are more likely to delay childbearing, which is associated with higher occupational attainments in later life. In addition, gender beliefs and goals influence young women's investment in education and hours worked. Net of other factors known to affect educational attainment, the more traditional young women's gender beliefs, the fewer years of education they have completed by 1998 and the less likely they are to be working full-time. Women with less ambitious occupational goals have lower educational attainment than women with more ambitious occupational goals.

Gender beliefs have more of an influence on women's outcomes than found in prior research. Prior research on the link between gender beliefs and women's attainments placed early life explanations and later life explanations for women's disadvantaged position in the labor market in one model. It is not surprising that this research found a weak to moderate relationship between gender beliefs and outcomes because including both sets of measures in one model implies that gender beliefs in early life directly influence outcomes in later life. Rather, this dissertation's findings show that gender beliefs are important for women's career outcomes. First, they indirectly influence women's educational attainments by affecting women's career goals in early life. Young women with traditional gender beliefs have less ambitious career goals, which lower their occupational attainments in later life. Second, gender beliefs influence women's educational attainments and work hours in later life, which affects their occupational attainments in later life. Women with traditional gender beliefs in high school complete fewer years of education and are more likely to work part-time in later life than women with nontraditional gender beliefs.

The fourth major finding from the analyses on the link between goals and outcomes is that community contexts have a moderate influence on career attainments. Often prior research refers to societal-level influences, such as gender wage gap and occupational sex segregation, as outcomes of career attainments. Perhaps the communities in which women live and work in later life are more direct influences on women's career outcomes. Figure 6.2 shows the community context measures that are significant related to women's career attainments. For example, the higher the county demand for female labor is the higher women's occupational earnings are. Further, women living in counties with more people employed in the manufacturing sector have lower occupational prestige.

Implications for Theoretical Framework

The theories I used to develop a model of the process of career goal formation and its link to women's career outcomes did not adequately capture these processes. The findings of the importance of mothers' attainments for career goal formation lends some support to gender socialization theory's contention that families are important for influencing young women's gender beliefs and career goals. However, young women's career goals and gender beliefs are not homogenous. A number of young women hold nontraditional beliefs about gender. In addition, some young women expect nontraditional careers.

While a multilevel theory of gender inequality proved useful as a broad interpretive framework for synthesizing literature that focused on the various factors at multiple levels that influence career goals, it is difficult to test because it is broad and ambiguous. Since the multilevel theory is an explanation of gender inequality in general it is difficult to apply to specific aspects of that story: how women form their career goals and how those goals link to outcomes. In addition, sorting factors into the individual, interactional, and institutional levels proved difficult because the theory does not clearly define each level. For example, the process of socialization is cited as an example of processes that occur at the individual level. However, socialization occurs in interactions.

As a result, some of my original framing of the process of career goal formation was incorrect. Figures 6.1 and 6.2 summarize the predictors that proved to be significant

influences on goals and attainments. By comparing them to Figures 2.2 and 2.3 it shows where my previous framing was lacking. Figure 6.1 shows that the measures I used to operationalize community context, mothers' attainments, gender beliefs, and career goals influence young women's career goals. In addition, community contexts and mothers' attainments affect young women's career goals directly and indirectly by affecting young women's gender beliefs. However, the influence of community contexts on career goals was weak. Furthermore, the indirect effects of community context and mother's attainments through gender beliefs on career goals were moderate.

The original framing of the link between goals and gender beliefs was also flawed. First, gender beliefs and career goals had a minimal influence on women's family demands. One potential reason for this may be that the measures of family demands are not good proxies for women's family demands. Perhaps measures that captured the type and amount of domestic labor would have been more accurate although they were unavailable in the NLSY. Second, I expected that gender beliefs and career goals would have a direct effect on women's career attainments. Rather, gender beliefs and career goals primarily affect women's attainments by influencing their educational attainment and work hours. Finally, community context had a weak impact on attainments.

Most prior research on the link between goals and outcomes is under-theorized. This research challenges gender socialization theory's claim that gender beliefs and career goals in early life are important influences on attainments. However, researcher on the link underestimates the effects of career goals and gender beliefs in early life because it only tests the direct effects of early life factors on attainments in later life. The story of the link between career goals, gender beliefs, and attainments is better characterized by the theory of cumulative advantage and disadvantage in terms of the educational attainment process and sequencing than prior research's examination of the link. The effects of goals and beliefs on the educational attainment process need to be further unpacked to better understand their effects over time.

Limitations & Suggestions for Future Research

In this section, I discuss the limits of this research and make suggestions for future research that could address these limits and build on these findings.

This research uses a two time point model to study the link between goals and attainments, but the process that Correll and Ridgeway and the theory of cumulative advantage/disadvantage suggest is more subtle and gradual. A two time point model 19 years apart is likely to miss the timing and diversity of events and transitions that connect women's early goals and midlife accomplishments.

Future research needs to attend to two issues to more thoroughly address the various pathways to career attainments. First, future research using the NLSY could take a more longitudinal approach. One way to do this is to build on Correll's (2004) work that finds one of the first steps in the accumulation of advantages for working in the labor force is high school and college coursework. Jacobs' (1987) and Levine and Zimmerman's (1995) two time point models estimating the relationship between goals and outcomes overlook the potential for goals and gender beliefs to shape career achievements indirectly. Future research could connect young women's gender beliefs and goals to completed course work in high school and choice of college major.

Second, future research should also attend to the issue of disorder in the life course for the link between goals and outcomes. Evidence suggests that the sequencing of most people's lives, especially women's lives, do not stick to the following "normal" pathway: go to school, start first job, get married, and then have children (Rindfuss, Swicegood, and Rosenfeld 1987; Shanahan and Portfelli 2002). For example, a study of high school seniors in 1972 found that over half did not experience this "normal" pattern (Rindfuss, Swicegood, and Rosenfeld 1987). The majority of women (60%) experienced a different pathway to parenthood (Rindfuss, Swicegood, and Rosenfeld 1987). Perhaps goals and gender beliefs affect the sequencing of women's lives. Do young women with nontraditional goals and gender beliefs take different life pathways than women with more traditional goals and beliefs? Are certain life pathways associated with a closer link between goals and outcomes?

Another limitation of this research is the potential for beliefs to change in response to behavior rather than to shape behavior. Research on work values (Johnson 2002) and work orientations (Charles and James 2003) suggest that attitudes about work tend to follow life circumstances, not shape life circumstances. In this case, gender beliefs are likely to vary over time and change in later life to fit current circumstances. The NLSY asks respondents questions about their gender beliefs in 1979, 1982, and 1987. Gender beliefs at any two time points are correlated as follows: 1979 & 1982=.45; 1979 & 1987= .34; 1982 & 1987= .46). Future research should further explore the stability and instability of gender beliefs over time and the relationship between those changes and career-relevant decisions and decisions over the life course.

A third limitation of this research is that the community context measures in the NLSY are limited in number and are at the county level. County level data may not be the best reflection of the communities that affect women's goals, gender beliefs, and outcomes because counties can be so large. It is likely that most women have little to no contact with many of the areas that make up their counties. Future research should operationalize communities as the areas in which women really work, shop, and live. Census tract or neighborhood level data might yield better measures of the community influences on women's goals and outcomes.

The NLSY measures of gender beliefs lack correspondence with Correll and Ridgeway's concept of cultural gender beliefs. The gender beliefs measures in the NLSY are about whether women should prioritize family over paid work. Correll and Ridgeway recognize an additional important aspect of women's beliefs: women's understanding of other people's expectations about gender. One way to have better correspondence between the NLSY measures and Correll and Ridgeway's conceptualization would be to include an additional question that follows-up on each belief question. For example, for the question in the NLSY that asks, "A women's place is in the home not in the office or shop," an additional statement such as "Most people think that women are happier if they remain in the home" would better reflect Correll and Ridgeway's concept of cultural gender beliefs.

Future research should also further explore the mental health consequences of meeting, exceeding, or failing to meet ones goals in early life (see Carr 1997). It is

important to investigate the consequences of realized and unrealized occupational goals on factors such as general well-being, relationship satisfaction, and job satisfaction, because of how much the worlds of work and family overlap for women. One strategy women employ is to delay marriage and childbirth if they want a career (Johnson, Oesterle, and Mortimer 2001; Johnson and Mortimer 2002). Furthermore, women emphasize their family roles when they are planning a career (Herzog 1982; Rexroat and Shehan 1984; Schoon 2001; Johnson, Oesterle and Mortimer 2001; Johnson and Mortimer 2002). Women also tend to feel that in order to be a “good woman/wife/mother” they are responsible for and must be available to care for their husband and children (Simon 1995). Given the link between work inside and outside the home for women, it is likely that there will be consequences for their mental well-being, relationship satisfaction, and job satisfaction based on their ability to do what they planned to do.

Finally, future research should examine how gender beliefs and goals shape women’s employment status (working outside the home or not) in 1998. An important part of the sorting process resulting in women’s career outcomes is whether women are even employed. This portion of the analysis was of secondary importance to exploring the variation in employed women’s occupations in this dissertation. However, the probit models for employment status yielded some interesting findings that should be further explored. First, I did not find a significant relationship between gender beliefs and employment in 1998. However, I did find that family situations were much more predictive of employment status than they were of occupational attainment and wages. Perhaps educational attainment mediates the effect of gender beliefs and goals on women’s employment status in 1998.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Many scholars of gender and work have recently focused attention on the social psychological and cognitive dynamics that shape the process of employees’ career goal formation and preferences and women’s workplace accomplishments (Reskin 2003; Mortimer, Zimmer-Gembeck, Holmes, and Shanahan 2002; Correll 2004; Ridgeway and

Correll 2000, 2004; Schwalbe 2000). Previous research tends to focus on the effects of various isolated factors on career goals. This research finds that gender beliefs affect career goals, mothers' attainments affect career goals, and community contexts affect goals, but none of this research puts these factors together to understand how they work together to shape career goal formation. This study highlights the importance of early career goals and gender beliefs for career outcomes and frames women's careers as a multi-stage, multi-level process. Social-psychological and structural factors work together to shape women's career goals and gender beliefs. Early goals and beliefs affect women's position in the labor market in later life by influencing their family situations, educational attainment, and work effort.

Researchers who focus on the importance of employer's intentional and unintentional discrimination against women in the labor market make recommendations for improving women's position that focus on rectifying women's situation in paid work. The implication of this focus for career goals is that if women's employment situations improve, then young women will be more likely to strive for better positions in the labor market because they will become a viable option. This study and the most recent research on work values and cultural gender beliefs suggest that this is only a partial view of the importance of goals. However, gender differences in beliefs about gender, career goals, and work values still persist. Therefore, one practical implication of these findings is the importance of developing programs that expose young women to alternative life options, especially for young women with traditional mothers. One example would be series of classes designed to introduce girls to women who are employed in nontraditional careers.

Conclusion

This dissertation research sought to understand how young women form their career goals and how those goals affect their career outcomes. This is an important endeavor because prior research has focused almost exclusively on later life factors affecting women's attainments. When career goals and preferences are examined, research seems to assume that individuals' career goals just appear at birth (Hakim 1991;

Mincer and Polachek 1974; Polachek 1978). However, career goals develop and are linked to occupational sex segregation, ghettoization, and the gender wage gap in their own right. This dissertation indicates that young women develop their career goals in relationship to their community contexts, mothers' attainments, and gender beliefs. While some heterogeneity existed in young women's 1979 career plans, young women's plans were concentrated around a fairly small number of occupations with relatively low earnings, low prestige, and a high percent female. My study further suggests that lower career goals and more traditional gender beliefs tend to lead to career-relevant decisions that lead to lower career attainments. If women and men's career goals and career-relevant decisions continue to lead to different jobs, then women's disadvantaged positions in the paid work will persist.

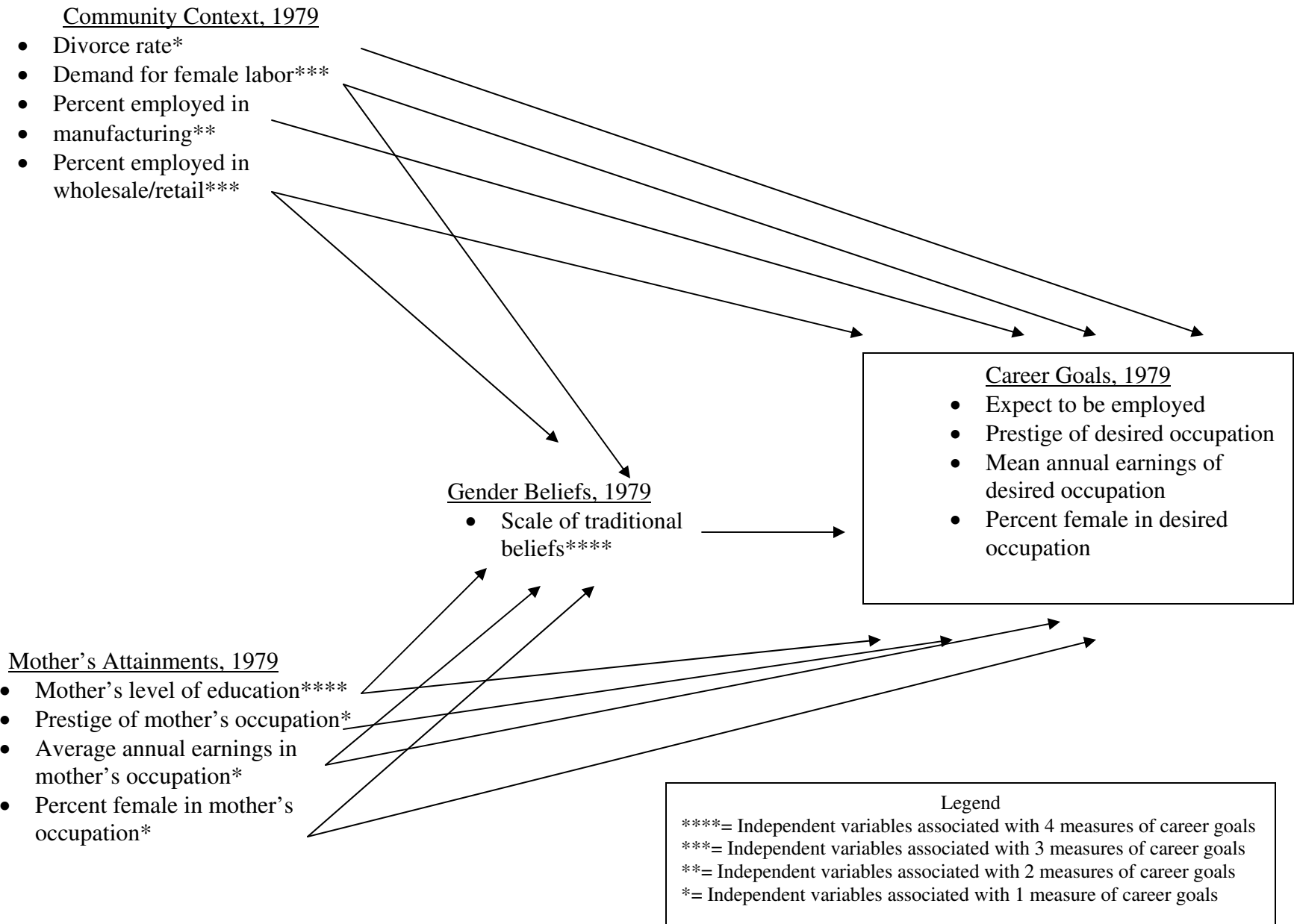


Figure 6.1 Summary of the Significant Predictors of Young Women's Occupational-Level Career Goal Formation at Age 14 to 19

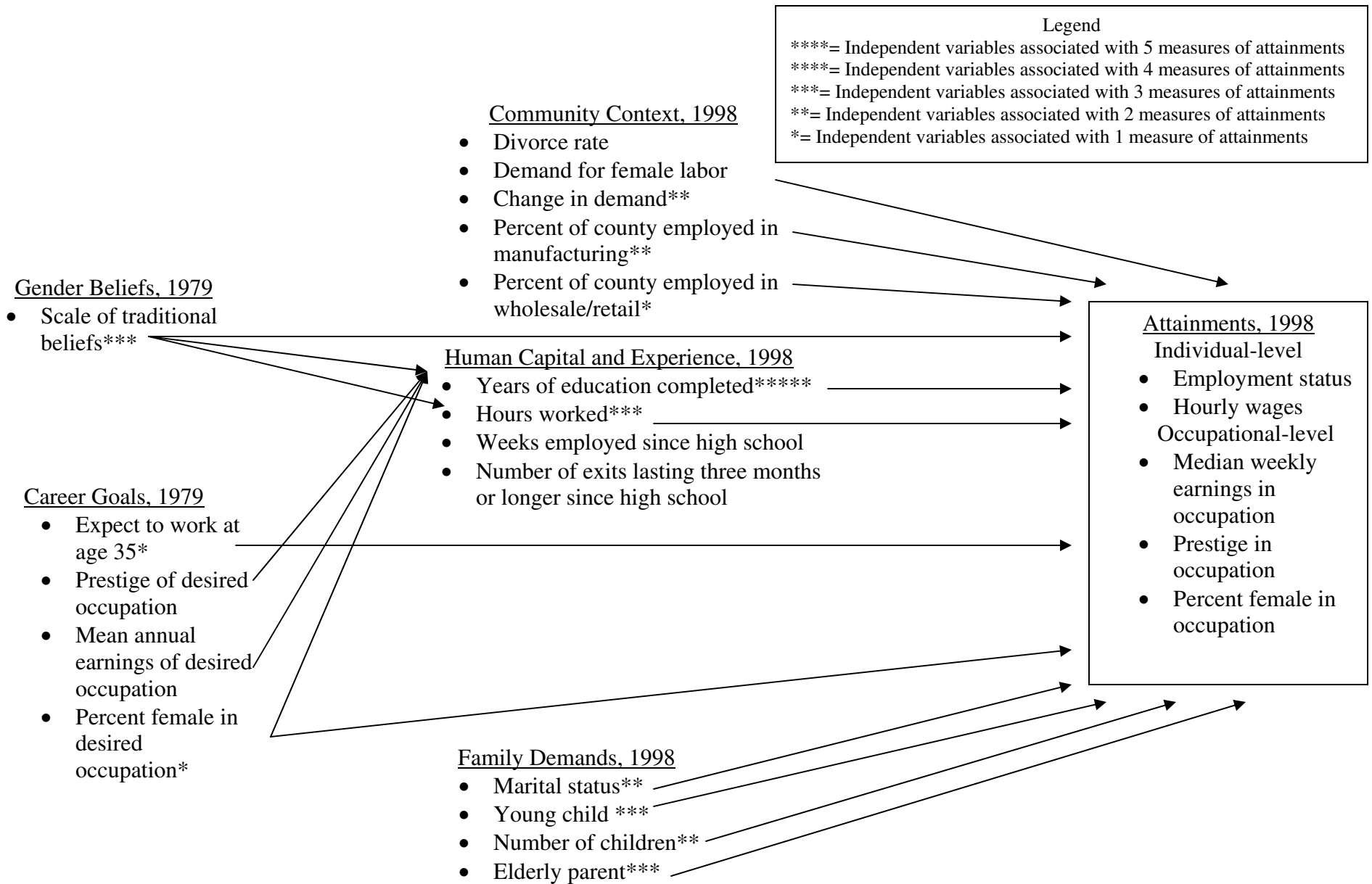


Figure 6.2 Summary of the Significant Predictors of the Link between 1979 Occupational Career Goals when Young Women are 14 to 22 Years of Age and 1998 Occupational Attainments when Women are 33 to 38 Years of Age

APPENDIX A
Correlation Matrix for Community Context, Gender Beliefs, and Goals Measures

Dependent Variables	Dependent Variables					Gender Beliefs			
	Expect to work		Avg. Earnings	Percent Female		Avg. Prestige		Scale	
Expect to work when 35 years of age	1								
Avg. earnings in desired occupation ^a	.099	***	1						
Avg. percent female in desired occupation ^a	-.092	***	-.522	***	1				
Avg. occupational prestige in desired occup. ^a	.106	***	.777	***	-.569	***	1		
<u>Gender Beliefs</u>									
Gender beliefs scale	-.214	***	-.201	***	.220	***	-.230	***	1
<u>Community Context</u>									
County divorce rate	.040	*	.009		-.008		-.009		.034 +
Demand for female labor	.056	**	.072	***	-.022		.054	**	-.059 **
% of county clf emp in manu	.013		-.038	*	.016		-.027		.044 *
% of county clf emp in whole/retail	-.037	*	-.010		-.024		-.001		-.006

Notes: *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

a- Correlations based on n=2,018 who have valid answers on the the occupational goals questions in the NLSY.
See figure 3.1.

	Community Context						
	<u>Divorce rate</u>	<u>Demand for Female Labor</u>		<u>Pct. in Manufacturing</u>	<u>Pct. in Wholesale/retail</u>		
<u>Dependent Variables</u>							
Expect to work when 35 years of age							
Avg. earnings in desired occupation ^a							
Avg. percent female in desired occupation ^a							
Avg. occupational prestige in desired occup. ^a							
<u>Gender Beliefs</u>							
Gender beliefs scale							
<u>Community Context</u>							
County divorce rate	1						
Demand for female labor	-.007	1					
% of county clf emp in manu	-.282	***	-.033	+	1		
% of county clf emp in whole/retail	.369	***	.040	*	-.434	***	1

Notes: *** p< .001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10

a- Correlations based on n=2,018 who have valid answers on the the occupational goals questions in the NLSY.

See figure 3.1.

REFERENCES

- Allison, Paul D. and J. S. Long. 1990. "Departmental Effects on Scientific Productivity." *American Sociological Review* 55(469-478).
- Allison, Paul D., J. S. Long, and Tad K. Krauze. 1982. "Cumulative Advantage and Inequality in Science." *American Sociological Review* 47(5):615-25.
- Almquist, Elizabeth M. and Shirley Angrist. 1970. "Career Saliency and Atypicality of Occupational Choice among College Women." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 32:242-9.
- Almquist, Elizabeth M., Shirley S. Angrist, and Richard Mickelsen. 1980. "Women's Career Aspirations and Achievements: College and Seven Years After." *Sociology of Work and Occupations* 7(3):367-84.
- Aquilino, WS. 1992. "Telephone versus Face-to-Face Interviewing for Household Drug-Use Surveys." *International Journal of Addictions* 27(1):71-97.
- Armstrong, H. and J. Taylor. 1993. *Regional Economics*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Astin, Helen, Nancy Suniewick, and Susan Dweck. 1971. *Women: A Bibliography on Their Education and Careers*. Washington, D.C.: Human Service Press.
- Baker, Reginald P. and Norman M. Bradburn. 1992. "CAPI: Impacts on Data Quality and Survey Costs." Pp. 459-64 in *1991 Public Health Conference on Records and Statistics*. Washington DC: U.S. National Center for Health Statistics.
- Barnett, R. C. 1997. *Toward a Review and Reconceptualization of the Work/Family Literature*. Washington, DC: Heldref.
- Bartik, T. J. 1996. "The Distributional Effects of Local Labor Demand and Industrial Mix: Estimates Using Individual Panel Data." *Journal of Urban Economics* 40:150-78.
- Baruch, Grace K. 1974. "Maternal Career-Orientedness as Related to Parental Identification in College Women." *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 4:173-80.
- Becker, P. E. and P. Moen. 1999. "Scaling Back: Dual-Career Couples' Work-Family Strategies." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 61:995-1007.
- Beller, Andrea H. 1984. "Trends in Occupational Segregation by Sex and Race, 1960-1981." Pp. 11-26 in *Sex Segregation in the Workplace: Trends, Explanations, Remedies*, Editor Barbara F. Reskin. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.
- Bianchi, Suzanne M., Melissa A. Milkie, Liana C. Sayer, and John P. Robinson. 2000. "Is Anyone Doing the Housework? Trends in the Gender Division of Household Labor." *Social Forces* 79(1):2-39.

- Bianchi, Suzanne M. and Nancy Rytina. 1986. "The Decline in Occupational Sex Segregation during the 1970s: Census and CPS Comparisons." *Demography* 23(1):79-86.
- Bielby, Denise D. and William T. Bielby. 1984. "Work Commitment and Sex-Role Attitudes." *American Sociological Review* 49:234-47.
- Blackburn, Robert M. and Michael Mann. 1979. *The Working Class in the Labour Market*. London: MacMillan.
- Blau, Peter. 1977. *Inequality and Heterogeneity*. New York: Free Press.
- Blau, Peter M. and Otis D. Duncan. 1967. *The American Occupational Structure*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Blee, K. M. and A. R. Tickamyer. 1995. "Racial Differences in Men's Attitudes about Gender Roles." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 57:21-30.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Breen, Richard. 1996. "Regression Models: Censored, Sample Selected, or Truncated Data." Pp. 07-111 in *Sage University Paper Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Brueckner, Jan K., Jacques-Francois Thisse, and Yves Zenou. 2002. "Local Labor Markets, Job Matching, and Urban Location." *International Economic Review* 43(1):155-71.
- Buchmueller, T. C., J. Dominitz, and W. L. Hansen. 1999. "Graduate Training and the Early Career Productivity of PhD Economists." *Economics of Education Review* 18(1):65-77.
- Burkhauser, R. V., G. J. Duncan, R. Hauser, and R. Bernsten. 1990. "Economic Burdens of Marital Disruptions: A Comparison of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany." *Review of Income and Wealth* 36(December):425-36.
- Burt, Ronald. 1982. *Toward a Structural Theory of Action*. New York: Academic Press.
- Carr, Deborah. 1997. "The Fulfillment of Career Dreams at Midlife: Does it Matter for Women's Mental Health?" *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 38(4): 331-344.
- Cartwright, Bliss and Ronald Edwards. 2002. "Sex Segregation Measured by Job Groups and Industry. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, August."
- Center for Human Resource Research. 1992. *National Longitudinal Survey Handbook*. Columbus: The Ohio State University.
- Charles, Nickie and Emma James. 2003. "Gender and Work Orientations in Conditions of Job Insecurity." *British Journal of Sociology* 54(2):239-57.

- Cherlin, Andrew. 1992. *Marriage, Divorce, and Remarriage*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Clark, S. C. 1995. "Advance Report of Final Divorce Statistics, 1989 and 1990." *Monthly Vital Statistics Report*. Hyattsville, Md.: National Center for Health Statistics.
- Cole, Jonathan R. and Stephen Cole. 1973. *Social Stratification in Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Connell, Robert W. 1987. *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Conway, Michael M., Teresa Pizzamiglio, and Lauren Mount. 1996. "Status, Communitary and Agency: Implications for Stereotypes of Gender and Other Groups." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 71:25-38.
- Correll, Shelley J. 2001. "Gender and the Career Choice Process: The Role of Biased Self-Assessments." *American Journal of Sociology* 106(6):1691-730.
- Correll, Shelley J. 2004. "Constraints into Preferences: Gender, Status, and Emerging Career Aspirations." *American Sociological Review* 69(1):93-113.
- Cotter, David A., Joan M. Hermsen, and Reeve Vanneman. 2002. "Gendered Opportunities for Work: Effects on Employment in Later Life." *Research on Aging* 24(6):600-629.
- Covaleski, M. A., M. W. Dirsmith, J. B. Heian, and S. Samuel. 1998. "The Calculated and the Avowed: Techniques of Discipline and Struggles over Identity in Big Six Public Accounting Firms." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 43:293-327.
- Crosby, F. J. 1991. *Juggling*. New York: Free Press.
- Crystal, S. and D. Shea. 1990. "Cumulative Advantage, Cumulative Disadvantage, and Inequality among Elderly People." *The Gerontologist* 30:437-43.
- Deaux, K. and A. Stewart. 2001. "Framing Gender Identity." *Handbook of the Psychology of Women and Gender*, Editor R. Unger. New York: John Wiley.
- Dryler, Helen. 1998. "Parental Role Models, Gender and Educational Choice." *The British Journal of Sociology* 49(3):375-98.
- Duncan, Greg and Saul Hoffman. 1985. "A Reconsideration of the Economic Consequences of Marital Dissolution." *Demography* 22(4):485-98.
- Eagly, Alice H., Wendy Wood, and Amanda B. Diekmann. 2000. "Social Role Theory of Sex Differences and Similarities: A Current Appraisal." *The Developmental Psychology of Gender*, editors T. Eckes and H. M. Trautner. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Eccles (Parsons), J., T. F. Adler, R. Futterman, S. B. Goff, C. M. Kaczala, J. L. Meece, and C.

- Midgley. 1983. "Expectations, Values, and Academic Behaviors." Pp. 75-146 in *Perspective on Achievement and Achievement Motivation*, J.T. Spence (Ed.). San Francisco: W.H. Freeman.
- England, Paula and Barbara Kilbourne. 1988. *Occupational Measures from the Dictionary of Occupational Titles for 1980 Census Detailed Occupations [Computer File]* [. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor].
- Farmer, H. S. 1985. "Model of Career and Achievement Motivation for Women and Men." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 32:363-90.
- Featherman, David L. and Robert M. Hauser. 1978. *Opportunity and Change*. New York: Academic.
- Fiske, Susan T., Amy J. Cuddy, Peter Glick, and Jun Xu. 2002. "A Model of (Often Mixed) Stereotype Content: Competence and Warmth Respectively Follow From Perceived Status and Competence." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 82:878-902.
- Gerson, Kathleen. 1985. *Hard Choices*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gerson, Kathleen. 1993. *No Man's Land*. New York: Basic Books.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goldin, Claudia. 1990. *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gonzalez, A. 1982. "Sex Roles of the Traditional Mexican Family." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 13(3):330-9.
- Gooley, R. 1989. "The Role of Black Women in Social Change." *Western Journal of Black Studies* 13(4):165-72.
- Greif, G. L., A. DeMaris, and J. C. Hood. 1993. "Balancing Work and Single Fatherhood." Pp. 176-94 in *Men, Work, and Family*, Editor J. C. Hood. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.
- Gupta, Sanjiv. 1999. "The Effects of Transitions in Marital Status on Men's Performance of Housework." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 61:700-711.
- Hakim, Catherine. 1991. "Grateful Slaves and Self-Made Women: Fact and Fantasy in Women's Work Orientations." *European Sociological Review* 7(101-121).
- Hanson, Sandra L. 1994. "Lost Talent: Unrealized Educational Aspirations and Expectations Among U.S. Youths." *Sociology of Education* 67:159-83.
- Harren, V. A., R. A. Kass, E. A. Tinsley, and J. R. Moreland. 1978. "Influence of Sex Role

- Attitudes and Cognitive Styles on Career Decision Making." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 25:390-398.
- Harris, Richard J. and Juanita M. Firestone. 1998. "Changes in Predictors of Gender Role Ideologies among Women: A Multivariate Analysis." *Sex Roles* 38(3/4):239-52.
- Herzog, A. R. and J. G. Bachman. 1982. *Sex Role Attitudes among High School Seniors*. Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research.
- Herzog, A. R. 1982. "High School Seniors' Occupational Plans and Values: Trends in Sex Differences 1976 through 1980." *Sociology of Education* 55:1-13.
- Hochschild, Arlie R. 1997. *The Time Bind*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Hochschild, Arlie R. w. A. M. 1989. *The Second Shift*. New York: Avon Books.
- Hoffman, Emily P. 1987. "Determinants of Youths' Educational and Occupational Goals: Sex and Race Differences." *Economics of Education Review* 6(1):41-48.
- Holstrom, Lynda L. 1973. *The Two-Career Family*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.
- Hout, Michael. 1988. "More Universalism, Less Structural Mobility: The American Occupational Structure in the 1980s." *American Journal of Sociology* 93:1358-400.
- Hughes, G. and B. McCormick. 1994. "Did Migration in the 1980's Narrow the North-South Divide?" *Economica* 61:509-27.
- Jacobs, Jerry. 1987. "The Sex Typing of Aspirations and Occupations: Instability During the Careers of Young Women." *Social Science Quarterly* 68(122-137).
- Jacobs, Jerry A. 1989. "Long-Term Trends in Occupational Segregation by Sex." *American Journal of Sociology* 95:160-73.
- Jacobs, Jerry A. 1995. "Trends in Occupational and Industrial Sex Segregation in 56 Countries, 1960-1980." Pp. 259-93 in *Gender Inequality at Work*, Editor Jerry A. Jacobs. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Jacobs, Jerry A., David Karen, and Katherine McClelland. 1991. "The Dynamics of Young Men's Career Aspirations." *Sociological Forum* 6(4):609-39.
- Jacobsen, Joyce P. 1994. "Trends in Work Force Segregation, 1960-1990." *Social Science Quarterly* 75(1):204-11.
- Jodl, Kathleen M., Alice Micahel, Oksana Malanchuk, Jacquelynne S. Eccles, and Arnold Sameroff. 2001. "Parents' Roles in Shaping Early Adolescents' Occupational Aspirations." *Child Development* 72(4):1247.
- Johnson, Monica K. 2002. "Social Origins, Adolescent Experiences, and Work Value Trajectories during the Transition to Adulthood." *Social Forces* 80(4):1307-40.

- Johnson, Monica K. and Jeylan T. Mortimer. 2000. "Work-Family Orientations and Attainments in the Early Life Course." *Work and Family: Research Informing Policy*, Editors Toby L. Parcel and Daniel B. Cornfield. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Johnson, Monica K., Sabrina Oesterle, and Jeylan T. Mortimer. 2001. "Adolescents' Anticipations of Work-Family Conflict in a Changing Societal Context." Pp. 223-61 in *Children at the Millennium: Where Have We Come From, Where Are We Going?*
- Jones, Jacqueline. 1985. *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*. New York: Basic Books.
- Jones, Jo A. and Rachel A. Rosenfeld. 1989. "Women's Occupations and Local Labor Markets 1950 to 1980." *Social Forces* 67(3):666-92.
- Judge, T. A., J. Kammeyer-Mueller, and R. D. Bretz. 2004. "A Longitudinal Model of Sponsorship and Career Success: A Study of Industrial-Organizational Psychologists." *Personnel Psychology* 57(2):271-303.
- Kalmijn, Matthijs. 1994. "Mother's Occupational Status and Children's Schooling." *American Sociological Review* 59(2):257-76.
- Keene, Jennifer R. and John R. Reynolds. 2005. "The Job Costs of Family Demands: Gender Differences in Negative Family-to-Work Spillover." *Journal of Family Issues* 26(3):275-99.
- Kennedy, D. 1993. *Sexy Dressing, Etc.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kidd, J. M. 1984. "Young People's Perceptions of Their Occupational Decision-Making." *British Journal of Guidance and Counseling* 12:15-38.
- Klecka, William R. and Alfred J. Tuchfarber. 1978. "Random Digit Dialing: A Comparison to Personal Survey." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 42(1):105-14.
- Kondo, D. K. 1990. *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- LaRossa, R. 1988. "Fatherhood and Social Change." *Family Relations* 37:451-57.
- Levine, Phillip B. and David J. Zimmerman. 1995. "A Comparison of the Sex-Type of Occupational Aspirations and Subsequent Achievement." *Work and Occupations* 22(1):73-84.
- Long, J. S. 1978. "Productivity and Academic Position in the Scientific Career." *American Sociological Review* 43:889-908.
- Lorber, Judith. 1994. *Paradoxes of Gender*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lorence, Jon. 1992. "Service Sector Growth and Metropolitan Occupational Sex Segregation." *Work and Occupations* 19:128-56.

- Lugaila, Terry. 1997. *Marital Status and Living Arrangements*. Update. Series P20-506. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- MaCurdy, Thomas, Thomas Mroz, and R. M. Gritz. 1998. "An Evaluation of the National Longitudinal Survey on Youth." *Journal of Human Resources* 33(2):345-436.
- Markham, William, P. O. Macken, C. M. Bonjean, and J. Corder. 1983. "A Note on Sex, Geographic Mobility, and Career Advancement." *Social Forces* 61:1138-46.
- Markham, William and Joseph Pleck. 1986. "Sex and Willingness to Move for Occupational Advancement." *Sociological Quarterly* 27:121-43.
- Marsden, Paeter V., Arne L. Kalleberg, and Cynthia R. Cook. 1993. "Gender Differences in Organizational Commitment: Influences of Work Positions and Family Roles." *Work and Occupations* 20:368-90.
- Martin, Patricia Y. 2001. "'Mobilizing Masculinities': Women's Experiences of Men at Work." *Organization* 8(4):587-618.
- Martin, Patricia Y. 2003. "Said and Done" Versus "Saying and Doing:" Gendering Practices, Practicing Gender at Work." *Gender and Society* 17(3):342-66.
- Martin, Patricia Y. 2004. "Gender as Social Institution." *Gender and Society* 28(4):1249-73.
- McManus, Patricia A. and Thomas A. DiPrete. 2001. "Losers and Winners: The Financial Consequences of Separation and Divorce for Men." *American Sociological Review* 66(2):246-68.
- McPhillips, JB, TM Lasater, JL McKenney, RA Carleton, RC Lefebvre, S McKinlay, AR Assaf, and SW Banspack. 1994. "Characteristics of Respondents to Telephone and Household Cardiovascular-Disease Risk Factor Surveys." *Health Education Research* 9(4):535-43.
- Mennino, Sue F. and April Brayfield. 2002. "Job-Family Trade-Offs: The Multidimensional Effects of Gender." *Work and Occupations* 29(2):226-56.
- Milkie, Melissa A. and Pia Peltola. 1999. "Playing All the Roles: Gender and the Work-Family Balancing Act." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 61(2):476-90.
- Mincer, Jacob and Solomon Polachek. 1974. "Family Investments in Human Capital: Earnings of Women." *Journal of Political Economy* 82:S76-108.
- Mishel, Lawrence, Jared Bernstein, and John Schmitt. 2001. *The State of Working America, 2000/2001*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Moen, P. 1992. *Women's Two Roles: a Contemporary Dilemma*. New York: Auburn House.
- Moen, Phyllis, Mary A. Erickson, and Donna Dempster-McClain. 1997. "Their Mother's Daughters? The Intergenerational Transmission of Gender Attitudes in a World of

- Changing Roles." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 59:281-93.
- Mortimer, Jeylan T., Melanie J. Zimmer-Gembeck, Mikki Holmes, and Michael J. Shanahan. 2002. "The Process of Occupational Decision Making: Patterns during the Transition to Adulthood." *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 61(3):439-65.
- Oppenheimer, Valerie. 1970. *The Female Labor Force in the United States: Demographic and Economic Factors Governing Its Growth and Changing Composition*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Otto, Luther B., Vaughn R. A. Call, and Kenneth Spenner. 1981. *Design for a Study of Entry into Careers*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.
- Padavic, Irene and Barbara F. Reskin. 2002. *Women and Men at Work*. California: Pine Forge Press.
- Pavalko, Eliza K. and Glen H. Elder. 1990. "World War II and Divorce: A Life-Course Perspective." *American Journal of Sociology* 95 (5):1213-34.
- Peterson, Trond and Laurie Morgan. 1995. "Separate and Unequal: Occupation-Establishment Sex Segregation and the Sex Wage Gap." *American Journal of Sociology* 101:329-65.
- Polachek, Solomon W. 1978. "Sex Differences in College Major." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 31(4):498-508.
- Reskin, Barbara. 1993. "Sex Segregation in the Workplace." *Annual Review of Sociology* 19:241-70.
- Reskin, Barbara F. 2003. "Including Mechanisms in Our Models of Ascriptive Inequality." *American Sociological Review* 68(1):1-21.
- Reskin, Barbara F. and Patricia A. Roos. 1990. *Job Queues, Gender Queues: Explaining Women's Inroads into Male Occupations*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Rexroate, Cynthia and Constance Shehan. 1984. "Expected Versus Actual Work Roles of Women." *American Sociological Review* 49:349-58.
- Reynolds, John, Emily Boyd, Stephanie Burge, Brandy Harris, and Cheryl Robbins. Working Paper. "Does Being Planful Always Pay Off? Agency, Economics, and Achievements by Midlife."
- Rice, T. W. and D. L. Coates. 1995. "Gender Role Attitudes in the Southern United States." *Gender and Society* 9(6):744-56.
- Ridgeway, Cecilia L. and Shelley J. Correll. 2000. "Limiting Inequality through Interaction: The End(s) of Gender." *Contemporary Sociology* 29(1):110-20. Special symposium on utopian visions.

- Ridgeway, Cecilia L. and Shelley J. Correll. 2004. "Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations." *Gender & Society* 18:510-531.
- Ridgeway, Cecilia L. and Lynn Smith-Lovin. 1999. "The Gender System and Interaction." *Annual Review of Sociology* 25:191-216.
- Rindfuss, Ronald, C. G. Swicegood, and Rachel A. Rosenfeld. 1987. "Disorder in the Life Course: How Common and Does It Matter?" *American Sociological Review* 52:785-801.
- Risman, Barbara. 1987. "Intimate Relationships from a Microstructural Perspective: Mothering Men." *Gender and Society* 1:6-32.
- Risman, Barbara, Maxine P. Atkinson, and Stephen P. Blackwelder. 1999. "Understanding the Juggling Act: Gendered Preferences and Social Structural Constraints." *Sociological Forum* 14(2):319-44.
- Risman, Barbara J. 1998. *Gender Vertigo: American Families in Transition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Rosenbaum, James E. 1984. *Career Mobility in a Corporate Hierarchy*. Orlando: Academic Press, Inc.
- Rosenfeld, Rachel. 1978. "Women's Intergenerational Occupational Mobility." *American Sociological Review* 43(1):36-46.
- Ross, K. and C.L. Wu. 1996. "Education, Age, and the Cumulative Advantage in Health." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 37(1):104-20.
- Schneider, Barbara and David Stevenson. 1999. *The Ambitious Generation: America's Teenagers, Motivated by Directionless*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Schoon, Ingrid. 2001. "Teenage Job Aspirations and Career Attainment in Adulthood: A 17-Year Follow-Up Study of Teenagers Who Aspired to Become Scientists, Health Professionals, or Engineers." *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 25(2):124-32.
- Schwalbe, Michael. 2000. "The Elements of Inequality." *Contemporary Sociology* 29(6):775-81.
- Scott, Joan W. 1982. "The Mechanization of Women's Work." *Scientific American* 247:169-87.
- Shanahan, Michael, Glen Elder Jr., and Richard A. Miech. 1997. "History and Agency in Men's Lives: Pathways to Achievement in Cohort Perspective." *Sociology of Education* 70:54-67.
- Shanahan, Michael J., Richard A. Miech, and Glen Elder Jr. 1998. "Changing Pathways to Attainment in Men's Lives: Historical Patterns of School, Work, and Social Class." *Social Forces* 77:231-56.

- Shanahan, Michael J. a. E. P. 2002. "Integrating the Life Course and Life-Span: Formulating Research Questions with Dual Points of Entry." *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 61(3):398-406.
- Shih, Margaret, Todd L. Pittinsky, and Nalini Ambady. 1999. "Stereotype Susceptibility: Identity, Salience and Shifts in Quantitative Performance." *Psychological Science* 10:80-3.
- Shu, Xiaoling and Margaret M. Marini. 1998. "Gender-Related Change in Occupational Aspirations." *Sociology of Education* 71:44-68.
- Siegel, Alberta E. and Elizabeth A. Curtis. 1963. "Familial Correlates of Orientation toward Future Employment among College Women." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 54:33-7.
- Simon, Robin. 1995. "Gender, Multiple Roles, Role Meaning, and Mental Health." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 36(2):182-94.
- Spain, Daphne and Suzanne M. Bianchi. 1996. *Balancing Act: Motherhood, Marriage, and Employment Among American Women*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Starr, Paul. 1982. *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*. New York: Basic Books.
- Steele, Claude M. 1997. "A Threat Is in the Air: How Stereotypes Shape Intellectual Identity and Performance." *American Psychologist* 52:613-29.
- Steele, Claude M. and J. Aronson. 1995. "Stereotype Threat and Intellectual Task Performance of African Americans." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 69:797-811.
- Stevens, G. 1986. "Sex Differentiated Patterns of Intergenerational Occupational Mobility." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 48:153-63.
- Strom, Sharon H. 1987. "Machines Instead of Clerks': Technology and the Feminization of Bookkeeping, 1910-1950." Pp. 63-97 in *Computer Chips and Paper Clips: Technology and Women's Employment*, ed. Heidi I. Hartmann. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.
- Tangri, Sandra S. 1974. *Effects of Background, Personality, College and Post-College Experience on Women's Post-Graduate Employment*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration.
- Thurow, Lester. 1972. "Education and Economic Equality." *Public Interest* 28(Summer):66-81.
- Thurow, Lester. 1969. *Poverty and Discrimination*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Thurow, Lester. 1975. *Generating Inequality*. New York: Basic Books.
- Tomaskovic-Devey, Donald, Catherine Zimmer, Corre Robinson, Tiffany Taylor, Tricia

- McTague, Kevin Stainback, and Jamie Wolf. Working Paper. "Documenting Desegregation: Estimate of U.S. Workplace Sex and Ethnic Segregation 1966-2000."
- Topel, R. H. 1986. "Local Labor Markets." *Journal of Political Economy* 94:S111-S143.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1995. *Statistical Abstracts of the United States*. Washington, DC: GPO.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1998. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Washington, DC: GPO.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2003. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Washington, DC: GPO.
- U.S. Department of Labor, Women's B. 1929. *Negro Women in Industry in 15 States. Bulletin 70*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Villemez, Wayne, John J. Beggs, and L. Susan Williams. 1995. "Running in Place: Mobility across Labor Market Areas." *Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Demographic Association*: Richmond, VA.
- Waite, Linda and Frances K. Goldscheider. 1992. "Work in the Home: The Productive Context of Family Relationships." *The Changing American Family*, Editors Scott J. South and Steward E. Tolnay. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Weeden, Kim and Jesper B. Sorensen. 2004. "A Framework for Analyzing Industrial and Occupational Sex Segregation in the United States." Pp. 245-96 in *Occupational Ghettos: The Worldwide Segregation of Women and Men*, Maria Charles and David B. Grusky. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Weeks, M. O., G. W. Wise, and C. Duncan. 1984. "The Relationship between Sex-Role Attitudes and Career Orientations of High School Females and Their Mothers." *Adolescence* 75:595-607.
- West, Candace and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender and Society* 1(2):125-51.
- Wilkie, J. R. 1993. "Changes in U.S. Men's Attitudes toward the Family Provider Role, 1972-1989." *Gender and Society* 7(2):261-79.
- Williams, Christine L. 1993. *Doing "Women's Work": Men in Nontraditional Occupations*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Williams, L. S. 2002. "The Prophecy of Place: A Labor Market Study of Young Women and Education." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 61(3):681-712.
- Winship, Christopher and Larry Radbill. 1994. "Sampling Weights and Regression Analysis." *Sociological Methods and Research* 23(2):230-257.

Xie, Yu and Kimberlee A. Shauman. 1997. "Modeling the Sex-Typing of Occupational Choice."
Sociological Methods and Research 26(2):233-61.

Zuckerman, Harriet. 1977. *Scientific Elite*. New York: Free Press.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Chardie L. Baird

Education

- Expected, Summer, 2005 Ph.D. in Sociology from Florida State University
Dissertation: "Women's Early Career Goals and
Achievements at Midlife"
Committee: Professors John Reynolds (chair), Irene Padavic,
Patricia Yancey Martin, and Mary Ellen Guy (outside
member)
- Fall, 2000 M.S. in Sociology from Florida State University
Thesis: "Gender Differences in Knowledge of Parental
Leave Benefits"
Committee: Professors John Reynolds (chair), Irene Padavic,
and Patricia Yancey Martin
- Spring, 1996 B.S. College of Charleston (South Carolina); Sociology
major, English minor. Graduated cum laude.

Honors and Awards

- Phi Kappa Phi (2002)
Allen/Klar Foundation Best Graduate Student Research Award (2000-2001)
ICPSR Summer Program Scholarship (2000)
Omicron Delta Kappa (1995)
Rho Lambda (1995)
Alpha Kappa Delta (1994)

Research Interests

Gender Stratification, Work and Family, Health and Aging

Peer-Reviewed Publications

- Baird, Chardie L. and John Reynolds. 2004. "Employee Awareness of Family Leave Benefits: The Effects of Family, Work, and Gender." *The Sociological Quarterly* 45(2): 325-353.

Publications

- Hardy, Melissa and Chardie L. Baird. 2004. "Effect Coding." In Lewis-Beck, Michael, Alan Bryman, and Tim Futing Liao (Eds.) The Sage Encyclopedia of Research Methods for the Social Sciences. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hardy, Melissa and Chardie L. Baird. 2004. "Contrast Coding." In Lewis-Beck, Michael, Alan Bryman, and Tim Futing Liao (Eds.) The Sage Encyclopedia of Research Methods for the Social Sciences. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hardy, Melissa and Chardie L. Baird. 2004. "Multiple Classification Analysis." In Lewis-Beck, Michael, Alan Bryman, and Tim Futing Liao (Eds.) The Sage Encyclopedia of Research Methods for the Social Sciences. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hardy, Melissa and Chardie L. Baird. 2003. "Is it all about Age? Placing Technology and Aging in a Social Context." In Charness, Neil and K. Warner Schaie (eds.) Impact of Technology on Successful Aging. New York: Springer Publishing.

Papers Under Review

- Baird, Chardie L. and Melissa Hardy. "The Gendered Structure of Career Goals: Influences of Role Models, Gender Ideology, and Agency."

Professional Presentations

- Baird, Chardie. 2005. "Structural Constraints on Career Goals." Annual meetings of the SSS, Charlotte, NC.
- Baird, Chardie and Melissa Hardy. 2004. "The Gendered Structure of Career Goals: Influences of Role Models, Gender Ideology, and Agency." Annual meetings of the ASA, San Francisco, CA.
- Baird, Chardie and Melissa Hardy. 2003. "The Gendered Structure of Aspirations: How Agency and Culture Shape Career Goals." Annual meetings of the GSA, San Diego, CA.
- Baird, Chardie. 2003. "Mothers Matter: The Importance of Mothers' Employment." Annual meetings of the SSS, New Orleans, LA.
- Hardy, Melissa, Lawrence E. Hazelrigg, and Chardie L. Baird. 2002. "Participation in 403B Pension Plans: Privatized Retirement Saving for Public-Sector Employees." Annual meetings of the GSA, Boston, MA.

Baird, Chardie L. 2002. "The 1993 Family and Medical Leave Act: Employee Awareness of Family Leave Benefits." Annual meetings of the SSS, Baltimore, MD.

Baird, Chardie L. 2000. "Gender Differences in Knowledge about Parental Leave Benefits." Annual meetings of the ASA, Washington DC.

Research Experience

Book Manuscript. Handbook of Data Analysis. Professor Melissa Hardy, Florida State University, Summer 2002. Duties: organized incoming chapter manuscripts, created figures for one chapter, and created contact lists for authors and reviewers.

Pepper Foundation Grant. Professor Melissa Hardy, Florida State University, Summer 2001-Fall 2001. Duties: developed a report for Florida legislators detailing issues affecting the elderly in Florida.

Childcare Project. Professors Karin Brewster and Irene Padavic, Florida State University, Summer 2000 through Spring 2001. Duties: developed codebooks and managed data files using the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP).

TIAA-Cref Grant. Professors Melissa Hardy, David MacPherson, and Larry Hazelrigg, Florida State University, Spring 1998 through Spring 1999. Duties: developed telephone survey questionnaires (pre-tested, revised, and finalized), conducted telephone interviews, supervised telephone interviewers, entered data, managed data files, developed codebook, and analyzed data in a project on predicting pension savings behavior.

Book Manuscript. Rape Politics in Organizations and Communities: Feminist Perspectives on Rape Processing Work. Professor Patricia Yancey Martin, Florida State University, Fall 1998. Duties: consolidated reference lists for, outlined chapters in, and edited book manuscript.

Teaching Interests

Gender, Family, Aging and the Life Course, Inequality, Research Methods, Quantitative Analysis

Graduate Teaching Experience

Policy Analysis & Program Evaluation, Instructor, University of Las Vegas, Summer 2001.

Advanced Quantitative Techniques, TA for Professor Melissa Hardy, Spring 2003.
Duties: instructor for lab component of the course familiarizing students with

syntax and output for OLS regression, linear probability models, logit, probit, ordered probit, multinomial logit, tobit, event history and selection models using Limdep and EQS5.

Advanced Quantitative Techniques, TA for Professor Melissa Hardy, Spring 2002.
Duties: instructor for lab component of the course (same duties as Spring 2003), guest lectured on calculating predicted probabilities for ordered probit and multinomial logit models, wrote make-up assignments, and learned and taught EQS5 statistical software for structural equation modeling.

Social Statistics and Data Analysis, TA for Professor Melissa Hardy, Spring 2001.
Duties: instructor for lab component of course introducing students to SPSS statistical package, syntax, and output for loading data, computing, transforming, and recoding variables, generating descriptive statistics, one sample means and proportions tests, differences in means and proportions tests, ANOVA, crosstabulations, regression models, and dummy variables.

Advanced Quantitative Techniques, TA for Professor Melissa Hardy, Spring 2001.
Duties: co-instructor for the lab component of class introducing students to Limdep statistical package, syntax, and output for OLS regressions, linear probability models, probit, and logit.

Multivariate Analysis, TA for Professor John Reynolds, Fall 2000. Duties: assisted students with data management using SPSS, wrote multiple-choice questions for the mid-term and final, and graded assignments and exams.

Social Statistics and Data Analysis, TA for Professor Melissa Hardy, Spring 2000.
Duties: co-instructor for lab component of class (same as Spring 2001).

Undergraduate Teaching Experience

Introduction to Sociology, Instructor, Florida State University, Fall 2002.

Professional Service

Presidential Aide for Patricia Yancey Martin, President of the Southern Sociological Society, April 2002 – April 2003.

Southern Sociological Society Committee on the Status of Students, April 2002-April 2007. Duties: co-facilitated donation collection from universities for a graduate student reception April 2002-2003.

Awards Committee, 2002. Duties: responsible for deciding the recipients of the Allen/Klar Best Graduate Student Research Award, Best Undergraduate Student Paper, Faculty Teaching Award, and Graduate Student Teaching Award.

Admissions and Aid Committee, Department of Sociology, Florida State University,
September 2000 – August 2001. Duties: reviewed student files and recommended
students for admission to our graduate program.

Departmental Program Committee, Department of Sociology, Florida State University,
September 1999 – August 2000.

Large Dataset Experience

National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1979
General Social Survey
Survey of Income and Program Participation

Statistical Software

Limdep, SAS, SPSS, EQS5, STATA

Reviewer for Professional Journals

Journal of Family Issues
Work and Occupations

Professional Organizations and Affiliations

Sloan Work and Family Research Network, Affiliate
American Sociological Association, Member
Southern Sociological Society, Member
Sociologists for Women in Society, Member