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Educational & Family Status Constraints on Female Income Operating Through the Labor Market

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Educational and Family Status Constraints on Female Income Operating Through The Labor Market

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Anthropology, and Social Work

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Master of Arts

by
Donald Bradley Burton
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by

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This Masters Thesis is dedicated to my parents, my wife, and to all those who helped me complete it. Also, my thanks go to Dr. John R. Faine without whose help this thesis would not have been completed.

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ABSTRACT

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on Female Income Operating Through
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The earnings gap between men and women has long been a problem of interest to sociologists. Using data provided by the General Social Survey, this thesis addresses this problem by utilizing a causal model that conceptualizes the labor market sector as intervening in the relationships between education and income, and between the absence or presence of children and income among women. The impact of age on these relationships is also considered.

Women who have children and a lower educational level do not, it was found, make as much money and work more in the secondary sector than childless, better-educated women. The labor market sector was found be an important variable in terms of its impact on the relationships

between educational level, the presence of children, and income. However, the labor market sector did not entirely mediate the relationship between the presence of children and income or educational level and income. Direct associations were found between the presence of children and income and educational level and income, but these relationships varied by sector and age. The presence of children did not affect the income of older women in the secondary sector, but did in the primary sector. Educational level did not affect income for either younger or older women in the secondary sector, but did in the primary. The relationship between educational level and income remained strong in the primary sector regardless of age group.

An additional difference was found due to age. Younger women were found to have fewer children than older women.

Previous research that has been conducted on women and the labor force was reviewed and critiqued and may be useful in more clearly explaining issues related to women's success in the job market.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Women have always participated in work in one way or another. They may have maintained the family, which is a job in itself, or have actually joined the labor force. Women have always had some degree of impact on the labor market. In recent years, women's labor force participation has increased dramatically compared to what it was a few years ago. For instance, in the 1940's about 30 percent of the entire female population was employed compared to the 1985 figure of 63 percent for women age 18 to 64 (England and Farkas, 1986).

Women have different employment patterns than men. For example, women suffer from a higher unemployment rate and do not make as much money as men. The current unemployment rate (1982) for women is about 7.5 percent compared to 6.6 percent for men. On the average, the median income of women is about $7,222 annually compared to $15,061 for men (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1983).

Two theoretical approaches traditionally have been used to explain why women and men have different employment experiences. One approach (Hudis, 1976) emphasizes a woman's family responsibilities and how they

may keep her out of the labor force. The other approach (Snyder, Hayward, and Hudis, 1978) emphasizes the structural characteristics of the labor market that affect how workers are channeled into certain jobs. Most theorists view family responsibilities as the prime factor for keeping women out of the labor force or at least contributing to a lower level of participation, since women do not have time for both family and work. The second approach emphasizes traits of labor markets that are related to the structure of the labor force and are thought to be predictive of income (Bibb and Form, 1977). These influences are said to arise from women being placed in certain types of occupations because of their own personal characteristics or because of the expectations of the employers who hire them.

The family status approach, that women who assume family roles are not likely to participate in the labor force, has been called into question (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986). Younger women with family roles appear to be entering the labor force in increasing numbers, creating a labor force with a high percentage of women who are married and have children (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986). Fifty-five percent of all the employed women are married, and of married women, 51 percent are in the labor force. Fifty-nine percent of all women who are mothers work and 18.7 million of these have children

aged 18 years and under; 7.4 million have children who are under six years of age. Of women with children six and under, 50 percent are in the labor force, and for women whose children are between the ages of six and 17, 66 percent are in the labor force (U.S.Dept. of Labor, 1983). As a matter of fact, the labor force participation rate of married women with children has increased more than any other group of women (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986).

Even though women who have familial roles are entering the labor force at an increasing rate, they still do not seem to make as much money as men. The labor force influences mentioned earlier related to the structural constraints of the labor market have traditionally been cited to account for this earnings gap. The idea is that women may, either of their own volition or because of an employer's decision, be chosen for certain types of occupations. Women may, as a group, work in a different set of occupations than do men, and these occupations may offer a lower salary. If true, these differences in labor force involvement and reward would serve to explain the continuation of the earnings gap.

Why are women concentrated in these specific occupations? The answer traditionally has been found in the family status approach. A woman who has a family role may not be restricted completely from the labor force,

but this family role may be related to the type of occupation she holds, which in turn affects her income. This idea is nothing new and has been researched quite extensively (Snyder, Hayward, and Hudis, 1978). However, since this research has been done, the nature of women's employment experiences may have changed dramatically. Recent history indicates that women's employment patterns change so quickly that more recent research is needed to measure this change.

Younger women who are currently entering the labor force may have different social attitudes, better educations, and may not consider the family in deciding to join the labor force. Moreover, they may put off family roles because their careers may be more important to them. Or, these younger women may hardly be restricted at all by their family roles, since their husbands may be taking on more responsibility. Also, social institutions such as day care centers may be taking over for the mothers who work. In any event, age is an important factor to consider and investigate with regard to how the two approaches (the family-related approach and the labor force related approach) work together to affect women's labor force participation patterns. The traditional causal model emphasizes the idea that family roles tend to place women in certain types of female jobs, which in turn provide a lower income compared to the

average income of males. This thesis will explore how applicable the traditional causal model is for older and younger women.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

One of the answers to the question of why women make less money than men is that women may have to make their labor force decisions based upon the degree of impact their family responsibilities have on their time (England and Farkas, 1986). Men, on the other hand, are free from such a constraint and appear to make their labor force decisions in terms of their educational levels and labor force experiences (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986).

The Effect of Family Roles

The first link in the causal model examined by this thesis deals with the impact of family roles on women's employment. Apparently, there may be a direct linkage between the type of family role a woman has and the type of job she has.

> The status attainment process of women may be influenced by their marital and family roles to a much greater degree than among men.... Among wives, greater labor force commitment and fewer family responsibilities clearly are associated with higher earnings.... The often incompatible demands of the family and the labor market may lead to criteria for job

> selection which differ from those of men and a reduction in earnings among women who simultaneously or serially occupy both familial and occupational roles (Hudis, 1976: 268).

A study that clearly supports the idea that women make their employment decisions relative to their family responsibilities was conducted by Hudis (1976). He believed that women may choose or be forced to choose, jobs that do not conflict with their family and child maintenance responsibilities. According to Hudis, these are low wage jobs that may attract women because of short working hours, time of day of working hours, and short commuting distances. Hudis hypothesized that currently married women would display lower incomes than ever-married (women who have been married) and never-married women. Single women, however, would receive the highest incomes, due to the fact that they are free from family responsibilities and can take advantage of maximum mobility in the labor force.

Hudis concluded that married women with family maintenance responsibilities display a decreased amount of time committed to labor force involvement. These women considered the characteristics of jobs (other than income) as more important in determining whether or not they would enter a job. Furthermore, the author concluded that married women considered family

responsibilities as taking precedence over labor force participation. Therefore, family responsibilities appeared to have an impact on women's occupational choices.

The fact that a woman's employment and family responsibilities are causally tied has been supported from many different viewpoints. Also, the specifics of a female's family responsibilities has been operationalized in several different ways. Felmlee (1984) looked at the occupational mobility of young white women as measured by full-time employment, income, and shifts in and out of part-time employment. Felmlee hypothesized that being married and having young children can affect all of the above variables. According to Felmlee, one of the most common and fruitful ways of increasing income and achievement status is through occupational mobility, i.e., changing jobs. Compared to the mobility of males, women's job mobility is often inconsistent since there are usually times when women are out of the labor force. Felmlee (1984) found that being married limited a woman's occupational mobility. Moreover, children, especially young children, tended to increase the observed number of women who shifted to part-time employment. Therefore, the author concluded that being married and having young children constrained occupational mobility for women more so than had they not been married and/or had young

children to care for. This movement into part-time jobs by family-orientated women would tend to place them in lower income-producing labor markets.

Obviously, working women may have to deal with the competing time demands of the family (marriage, homemaking, childbearing, child-rearing) and occupational involvement. A study by Corder and Stephen (1984) which seems to illustrate this point looked at the occupational choices that women make as being a product of sex-role variables. The authors proposed that most women would evaluate family roles as taking precedence over occupational roles. Women must choose an occupation that fits in with the priorities that they decide to follow, whether that is family roles or occupational roles. Their hypothesis was that the values that women acquired through traditional or non-traditional socialization would affect how women choose to proportion their time between work roles and family roles.

Seventy percent of the women, in the study by Corder and Stephen (1984), said they would try to combine family and occupational roles rather than picking one over the other. Combining roles for these women generally involved leaving the labor force to bear children and staying out while their children were in preschool. More than likely, women who choose to combine family and work roles will need flexible jobs in order to do so.

These flexible jobs will probably offer women a lower income than jobs that require a greater commitment.

One question frequently asked is, why don't the husbands help? Husbands do help somewhat, but it has been demonstrated that the family and child maintenance responsibilities usually fall primarily on the shoulders of the wife (Hoffman, 1963; Erickson, Et al., 1979; Ritzer and Walczak, 1986) and, for obvious reasons, this affects women's employment. The study by Martin and Hanson (1985), which attempted to uncover what job-related characteristics tended to attract women once they entered the labor force, seems to substantiate the idea that the wives, regardless of their husbands, are still mostly responsible for the family. Moreover, when making a decision about the work role, they must take the family into consideration. Martin and Hanson suggest that the factors that cause people to consider jobs as satisfying may be different for women than for men. In other words, women have different requirements for job satisfaction than men because of their family responsibilities.

Martin and Hanson proposed that job satisfaction may vary according to the worker's family status, age, sex, and race. These family responsibilities may be represented by the age of the children and the number of children. The authors stated that women may be more likely to accept and be satisfied with jobs that do not

conflict with their family roles. Women would tend to emphasize scheduling convenience and lack of excessive demands when locking for a job. These types of jobs may be the traditional female occupations such as waitress, retail sales, clerical work, etc., and may tend to offer a lower economic reward in return for the flexibility.

> In the face of conventional normative standards that continue to ascribe the traditional family roles of housekeeping and child care to these women, those who also seek to take on a secondary occupational role respond more favorably than primary wage earners to jobs that are flexible enough to allow for effective performance in both domains (Martin and Hanson, 1985:104).

Quite a few of the studies on this topic deal with the relationship between work and home in terms of role conflicts. The idea is that women who have a great degree of family responsibility and choose to enter the labor force will probably work in a job that lessens the conflict between their career responsibilities and their home responsibilities. Gaertner (1984) examined the factors that may be associated with labor force involvement and factors which may constrain labor force involvement. Gaertner's contention is that:

> Employment patterns for women represent the result of a role conflict situation in which attraction to work is offset by attraction to child-rearing and domestic responsibilities; ultimately these two

> types of forces interact at different stages in life to encourage discontinuities in employment patterns (Gaertner, 1984:440).

Gaertner believed that women with young children were less likely to work outside the home and would seek to minimize the conflict between work and family roles. Therefore, these women would tend to look for jobs that would not conflict with their traditional gender-role orientations. These types of jobs would tend to be more flexible in terms of scheduling and would fall in the same employment sector as do most traditional female occupations. Those women with family responsibilities who had jobs that tended to conflict with their traditional gender roles would tend to leave the labor force.

Gaertner (1984) found that in the conflict between family and career roles, family roles would take precedence. Furthermore, women with such family roles seemed more concerned with flexibility of scheduling than any other aspects of their job. Women tended to stay in jobs that supported their family roles.

A study by Shaw (1985) attempted to discover what the most important factors were in predicting whether a female would become strongly attached to a work role. The study supported the idea of a link between work and the family from the role-conflict viewpoint. Shaw hypothesized that factors such as childrens' ages, husbands' incomes, and labor market characteristics would

influence whether women were more attached to a work role or more attached to a family role. The author suggested that for women with family constraints, intermittent work patterns may be the norm. These intermittent work patterns may be associated with a certain sector of the labor market. Further, Shaw hypothesized that women who have completed their family obligations would be more committed to the labor force and would opt for continuous employment. Furthermore, continuous employment and a greater commitment to work may be associated with different types of jobs than normally held by women and may offer them greater rewards.

Shaw's (1985) findings indicate that it is becoming more common for women to work during child bearing years. However, during these child-rearing years, women may work more sporadically. With decreasing family responsibilities, women tend to form a greater work force attachment and may work more consistently, since consistent labor force participation is associated with an orientation toward a work role. Women with lessening family responsibilities may be more involved in the labor force, and thus, reap a greater reward for their involvement.

The Effect of Employment

The direction of causality appears to be that women's family duties affect the type jobs they hold. Furthermore, the types of jobs women hold appear to influence their incomes. A study by Treiman and Terrel (1975) points the way to the supposed effects of marriage and children on the labor market and income experiences of women. Specifically, they looked at the association among women between marital status and occupational attainment.

Treiman and Terrel (1975) hypothesized that women would earn lower incomes because homemaking and child rearing activities would get in the way of career advancement. According to the authors, married women would tend to center on what the authors termed secondary sector type jobs.

> The principal question here is whether the payoff for education and occupational achievement varies as a function of marital status. Do married women, for example, trade off income advantage for other forms of advantage, relative to other women or, alternatively put, are they forced to accept a lower return on their investment in education and a lower reward for their occupational achievement (Treiman and Terrel, 1975: 186)?

The results indicated that marriage does constrain the incomes of women. Single women were found to earn

much more money than women who had ever been married. Also, single women were found to be better educated, have higher occupational prestige, greater work experience, increased involvement in the labor force, and fewer children. The authors attributed the income differences to education level, occupational prestige, the number of children, and the time spent in the labor force rather than as a direct consequence of marriage. In other words, among women labor characteristics seem to be associated with marriage rather than direct consequences of marriage. This study seems to point the way to the causal link that is being examined in this thesis. That is, a woman's family role affects the type of job she holds which, in turn, affects her income.

A study by Van Velsor and O'Rand (1984) considered married women's wages relative to family and work schedules, arguing that the labor force experiences of women were affected by family events such as childbirth, sick children, etc. Early employment entry for women was hypothesized to be associated with greater income, while later entry into the employment market was thought to be associated with lower income.

The results supported the researchers' hypotheses, showing that inconsistent labor force participation patterns yielded low wage rates when compared to consistent labor force participators.

Delayed entry labor force participators displayed the lowest wage levels:

> Early career entry, continuous employment throughout early family stages, orderly job sequences, and favorable industrial locations yield higher wages at midlife. However, most wives do not fit this pattern of family-work linkage (Van Velsor and O'Rand, 1984: 372).

Van Velsor and O'Rand (1984) concluded that the role conflict for women between labor force participation and having and maintaining children was causing some women to earn lower income levels and hold part-time jobs. Part-time employment is characteristic of what is called the secondary employment sector. The ages of women at first marriage and the degrees of child care responsibilities necessitated are factors that display significant effects on women's incomes. Early labor force entry and/or delayed marriage appears to help women achieve higher income levels than women who marry early, even if the first group later leaves the labor force to have and rear children (Van Velsor and O'Rand, 1984).

The idea of employment sectors and sector placement affecting income came out of a dual labor market theory (Piore, 1970). According to the dual labor market theory, the U.S. labor force is divided into two distinct sectors: the primary and secondary markets

(Piore, 1970). These two sectors are differentiated by specific work conditions and certain personal characteristics displayed by the people who work in these jobs. The primary market offers higher wages, greater occupational prestige, greater chance for career advancement, and better working conditions. Secondary market jobs require little educational preparation for entry, have low wages, usually have high turnover rates, and low occupational prestige (Piore, 1970; Snyder, Hayward, and Hudis, 1978). Apparently, women with family responsibilities are better able to work in the secondary market. This may affect their incomes and also result in what is known as a sex-segregated labor force. Rosenfeld and Sorensen (1979) contended that workers obtained a specific occupational niche by either moving or not moving from one occupational niche to another over time. Sex, which was considered an ascribed characteristic, was thought to not be a significant factor in occupational attainment. However, differences by sex do exist in current occupational distributions.

Rosenfeld and Sorensen (1979) believed that the observed differences in occupational mobility between male and female workers were, in part, a result of the occupational segregation of the work force by sex. The authors hypothesized that differences in the

occupational origin of women, compared to men, accounted for differing income levels. It is the types of jobs that women traditionally have held as a group which affect their income levels not the fact that they are women or that they have children. Having children indirectly affects income by channeling women into the secondary sector.

Rosenfeld and Sorensen (1979) demonstrated that the occupational distribution did vary by sex. In the professional classification, men tended to be centered in the category of other professionals, while women seem to be centered in the categories of nurse, dietician, therapist, and school teacher. Also, many women fell within the clerical occupational classification. In terms of occupational mobility, women had a higher probability than men of moving from any category to another category as long as the other category was a so-called "woman's traditional job." The authors found only small differences by sex in the types of occupations held. These differences were purported to represent an opportunity to take advantage of mobility that varied by gender.

Snyder, Hayward, and Hudis (1978), who also believed that women are placed within certain types of jobs which, in turn, affect their incomes, investigated the proposition that inequalities of occupational

achievement between males and females arise out of the occupational distribution that is currently occurring in the U.S. labor force. Female concentration in certain types of occupations, they argued, may influence income differences and differences in labor force participation rates.

The authors found that the secondary sector displayed greater variability in gender composition. They concluded that the primary sector maintains a stable gender composition, i.e., predominantly male. Further, they found that the percentage of females was positively associated with characteristics related to secondary sector inclusion: unstable employment patterns, high turnover rates, less full-time labor force participation, and lower incomes. Also, traditional female-labeled occupations, all of which were in the secondary sector, were equally likely to employ males as well as females.

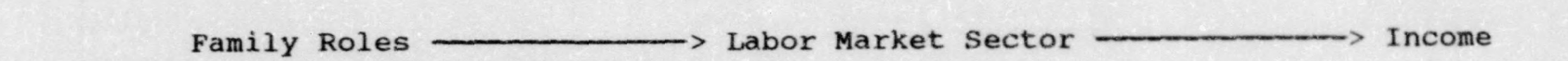
The authors concluded that occupational segregation by sex was a consequence of the primary and secondary sector boundaries. High turnover rates, low incomes, less full-time participation, and histories of unstable employment patterns, that theoretically were defined as being associated with the secondary labor market, were empirically found to be represented within the secondary market. Also, men were preferred by

employers for secondary, traditional female jobs over women (Snyder, Hayward, and Hudis, 1978). Women, as a group, were found not to be primary sector employees. Further, since women as a group fell in the secondary sector, they displayed those characteristics associated with the secondary sector, i.e., lower income, less than full-time employment, and less occupational success overall.

Family Roles, Work Roles, and Income

Because the labor force is sex-segregated, the employment opportunities of women have been limited and this limitation appears to vary by gender roles (England and Farkas, 1986; Bielby and Baron, 1986). Most women who work appear to be assigned to certain types of jobs either through the gender-based expectations of the employers (Bielby and Baron, 1986) or because these jobs may not conflict with traditional gender roles (Gaertner, 1984; England and Farkas, 1986). The structural characteristics of these jobs directly affect women's incomes. The fact that they are women or the fact that they have families serve only to predict the types of jobs they will hold. While having a family may tend to place them in these types of jobs, it has no direct effect on their income. Theoretically, the causal model is as diagramed in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Basic Causal Linkage



This conclusion is supported by the findings of Ward and Mueller (1985) who looked at the structural factors that may affect men's and women's incomes. The authors hypothesized that the earning differential between women and men was partially due to the influence of authority relations and industrial sectors. Women appear in the secondary sector more than men, and this tends to cause the earning gap between the sexes. Ward and Mueller (1985) found that women received lower incomes as a result of secondary sector placement and that these particular jobs were flexible and had easy access characteristics which were attractive to women. Also, they found that the greatest influences on job patterns came from family-type causes.

Another study by Beck, Horan, and Tolbert (1978), who tried to determine whether industrial sectors were important in determining income, illustrates the causal link between the family and income, with the type of employment sector acting as an intervening variable. They believed that obvious sector differences in income could not be accounted for completely by differences in work force composition. The authors assumed that labor market competition is not uninhibited, but occurs within distinct sectors. Based upon the sector that a given worker is in, predictions can be made as to the type of

job each worker will hold and how much they will be rewarded for it. The authors hypothesized that in the secondary or peripheral sector, wages and opportunities will be a consequence of sector placement, regardless of education level or work experience.

Beck, Horan, and Tolbert (1978) found that the two labor market sectors differed significantly by income and the characteristics of the workers who worked in them. Women who made low incomes were found in great numbers in the secondary or peripheral sector. The low incomes of the secondary sector were attributed to the structural characteristics of the sector itself rather than to the characteristics of the workers who work there. This finding implies that sector placement can predict income level regardless of sex and race. Also, any direct effect of sex and race on income will be due to the effects of a third variable: employment sector.

In a similar vein, Bibb and Form (1977) tried to support the contention that structural explanations are a more powerful predictor of income levels than traditional approaches utilizing education level or work experience. The authors believed that sector location and the characteristics associated with a particular sector were more powerful in predicting income because sector location seemed to affect income regardless of

human capital investment.

The authors found that if women were assigned the same sector locations as men, then they could expect an increase in their overall incomes. They found that women were usually in the lowest income producing positions which were generally found in a different sector from men, who as a whole make more money. Bibb and Form found that women were located in the lower paying, less desirable type jobs because the labor force's structure tended to select them for these types of jobs based upon their gender roles. Thus, from these findings, it can be surmised that sector placement, which may vary by gender role, is a great predictor of income levels regardless of human capital differences or other personal characteristics. The causal linkage was that gender role affected labor market sector which in turn affected income.

The Effect of Age and Education

Age and educational level are two very important factors that must be discussed. Recently, younger, better-educated women are entering the labor force, regardless of family responsibility (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986). This observation has implications for the current theories about the causal chain between women's

family roles, the types of jobs they hold, and income. Educational level is probably associated with family role constraints, labor sector, and income. Education, if left unexamined in the analysis, could confound the conclusions of this thesis (Sorensen, 1983). Younger women may be less affected by family responsibilities in terms of the market sector that they work in. Because they are better educated and possibly more motivated, younger women may possess the ability to attain higher incomes. Also, younger women may be making their decisions about the kinds of jobs they will hold more in terms of their educational levels than in terms of their family responsibilities.

Lyson (1984) tried to sort out the role-related factors that may channel women into traditionally female type jobs and how these factors came about. Lyson's goal was to indicate the factors that may serve to perpetuate the sex segregation of the labor force, i.e., employed women being concentrated in a specific sector of the job market. The author believed that these factors began in the educational system which served to focus females toward sex-typical or atypical roles. Women with sex-typical roles would tend to hold sex-typical jobs and probably have sex-typical educational histories that would not conflict with women's traditional gender roles. By holding jobs that would

not conflict with traditional female gender roles, these women would tend to be concentrated in a few so-called women's jobs.

Lyson (1984) found that sex-role socialization affected work values, and work values affected labor force participation. Women tended to be more concerned with intrinsic job features such as helping people. Men seemed to be more concerned with extrinsic job features such as earning money. Women tended to be attracted to jobs which reflected intrinsic features more so than extrinsic features. These differences in work values between men and women may serve to perpetuate the concentration of most working women in only a few occupations. The question is, are these work values changing? If so, age would be an important factor to measure to see if younger women have different attitudes towards work that may affect the strength of the causal model measured by this thesis.

There are several indicators pointing toward the change in women's roles. Variations in labor market inclusion and income level have been found to vary by age, race, and educational level (Duncan, Et al., 1972; Sorensen, 1983). For instance, older women may have married earlier, had less of an education, and worked in the secondary sector in greater numbers, whereas younger women appear to be more involved in the labor force and

better educated. Also, older women probably make their labor force decisions relative to their family roles and not in terms of their educational credentials. This contention seems to be supported by the fact that younger women who have children and are married are entering the labor force in great numbers (England and Farkas, 1986). Recent statistics suggest that women between the ages of 20 and 24 have the highest labor force participation rate (70 percent) than any other age group (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1983). Also, in 1960 only about 30 percent of the individuals in college were females; in 1980, 50.6 percent of the people enrolled in college were women (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986).

Younger women are less affected by family constraints, probably because of a myriad of differences in their socialization and the opportunities available to them relative to older women. This is not to say that younger women are any better off in terms of income or employment sector relative to older women, but that these younger women may be more immune to the effects that having a family can have on their labor force experiences. There may be several different reasons why younger women are less affected. Younger women may marry later and may be more concerned with having a career. Younger women, because of a change in social institutions, may be better able to balance the

competing demands of family and child care with a fulltime job.

It has been clearly documented that women who are career-orientated marry later than women who are not. The study by Allen and Kalish (1984), which looked at the phenomenon of delayed marriage in a cohort of highly educated professional women, may illustrate clearly the effect of a greater commitment to the labor force. The objective of their study was to measure the motivations women may have for marrying later. Their study followed a model which assumes that the decision to marry later is determined through a consideration of the costs and benefits associated with the outcome of the decision:

> We follow the model proposed by Elder (1972) in which he suggests that timing of first marriage is a partial consequence of the interaction between anticipated relative rewards and costs associated with marriage and other roles and the role priorities developed through socialization (Allen and Kalish, 1984:375).

Allen and Kalish (1984) hypothesized that women who may marry later will view career goals as having a higher priority than marriage, assuming the two are in some way mutually exclusive. The hypothesis was confirmed, indicating that getting married early in some way conflicts with the career advancement of women compared to getting married later. Women obviously must choose between a career and early marriage.

While younger, better educated women may indeed have to choose between a work and a family role, it may be easier for them to have both. Childcare facilities may be more available to younger women and, because of a change in attitude, they are more accepted in the role of working mother. Also, younger women may appear less affected by familial type constraints because they fulfill an economic need by working. It is in the family's best interest to ease the family burden on women, allowing them to work. Or their investments in education may make it very costly for them to remain out of the labor force. Also, a higher educational level may be indicative of a greater career commitment. Whatever the reason, age and educational appear to be two very important factors in the relationship between family status variables, structural labor market characteristics, and women's labor force experiences.

Summary

Working women who are involved in traditional female roles will work in jobs that do not conflict with these roles. Family roles affect work roles. These family roles have traditionally been operationalized using marital status, age at first marriage, number of children, and age of children. According to the literature,

this is a popular and successful way of indicating variations in a female's family responsibilities. In this analysis, number of children will be used to indicate a female's level of family responsibility.

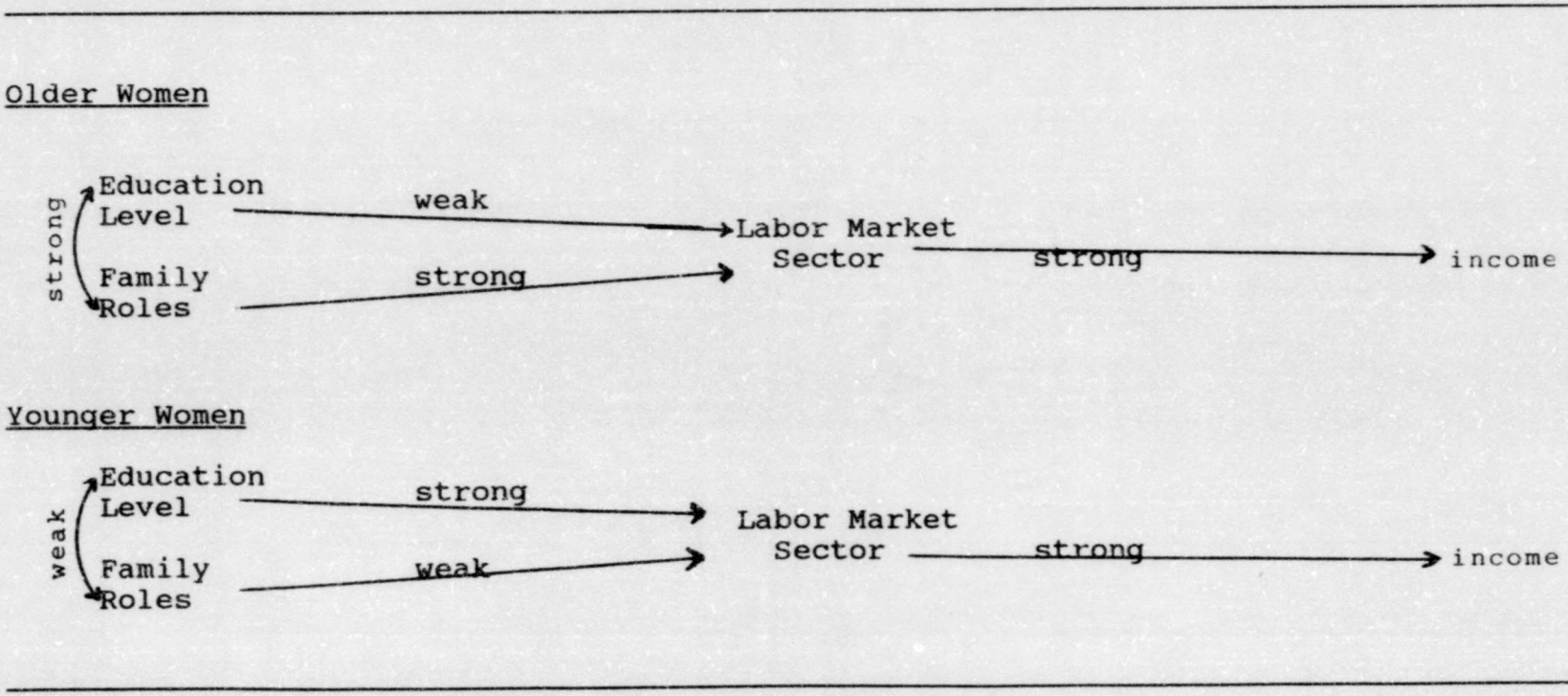
The types of jobs that women with children have are usually found in the secondary sector. Because of the fact that most women are involved in family roles and, therefore, work in the secondary sector, women as a group make less money than men: family roles affect work roles, which affects income. Women apparently make less money not because they are less qualified or because they are women, but because they work in a different market segment than most men.

The effect of family role constraints on labor market sector and income may vary by age. For younger women, the conflict between family and work roles may not be as great compared to older women. Younger women, because of a variety of reasons, may be better able to combine a greater commitment to a career with their family roles or may choose to put off their family roles in favor of their careers. Age may specify the strength of the causal relationship between family roles and work roles, which affects income. Younger women may give family responsibilities less weight in making the decision to enter the labor force or as to what types of job they will accept.

Education, which may be reciprocally related to women's family roles, is another important factor which may affect labor sector and income and vary by age. Younger women may make their labor force decisions more in terms of their educational levels and less in terms of their family roles. Older women may do just the opposite. The association between educational level, labor sector, and income will be stronger for younger women. This association for younger women will be greater because they are better educated than older women. Younger women will lose more in terms of their educational levels if they opt for secondary sector employment. These relationships may be causally diagramed as in figure 2.

This thesis will attempt to either refute or support the idea that employed women who take an active family role are more likely to work in the secondary sector. It will be demonstrated that the causal linkage between family roles and income is not a direct one, but that family roles affect sector placement which affects income. It will be determined whether or not younger women are less affected in terms of the types of jobs they hold and by their family roles compared to older women. Also, it will be demonstrated that younger women make their labor force decisions more in terms of their education and less in terms of their family roles.

Figure 2: Complete Causal Model by Age



In essence, the conclusions of this thesis will support the idea that females employing a traditional gender role will not, in all likelihood, make a lower income because of the gender role itself. On the contrary, the gender role will tend to place women in traditional female occupations which are within the secondary sector; this in itself results in lower income. Furthermore, for younger women the causal relationship between type of family role and labor sector will be weaker while the association between education and labor sector will be stronger. Thus, this causal model will be less predictive of younger women's labor force experiences.

CHAPTER THREE

HYPOTHESES AND METHODOLOGY

This study utilizes data drawn from the General Social Surveys 1980, 1982, 1983, and 1984 (Davis and Smith: General Social Surveys, 1972-1984). The General Social Survey came from an independently drawn sample of English speaking Americans age 18 and over. Full probability sampling was utilized to form the cumulative data set. The General Social Survey is collected on an annual basis so as to provide social scientists with a cumulative data set for secondary analysis. The General Social Survey utilizes a forced choice questionnaire. The General Social Survey data were deemed appropriate for this thesis because the phenomenon under study could not be directly observed by the researcher. The sample used for the present analysis was broken down from an original sample of 1480 white women aged 18 to 65 and consisted of 1,093 white women age 18 to 45 currently employed in the U.S. labor force. This age designation was used in order to provide a more equal and theoretically sound age division for the purposes of analysis.

Hypotheses

Proposition 1: For women, the relationship

between their family roles and their educational levels may be reciprocal. Women with family roles may be less able to attain a higher educational level than women who do not have family roles. On the other hand, women who have attained a higher educational level are more likely to put off family roles than women who have a low educational level. Also, this effect may vary by age. Younger women may be better able to combine getting an education with family roles than older women. If proposition 1 is correct, we would expect to find the following:

Hypothesis 1A: There will be a strong negative association between educational level and the presence or absence of children. The percentage of women who have a high educational level and no children will be greater than that for women who have a low educational level.

Hypothesis 1B: The association between educational level and the presence or absence of children will be weaker for women in the 18 to 30 age group than it will be for women aged 31 to 45.

Proposition 2: Younger women will be better able to combine a family role with a career. Younger women will be affected more by their educational level and affected

less by their family responsibilities in terms of the types of jobs they hold. If proposition 2 is correct, we should expect to find the following:

Hypothesis 2A: The relationship between the presence or absence of children and labor market sector will be weaker for women in the 18 to 30 age group than for women aged to 31 to 45.

Hypothesis 2B: The relationship between educational level and labor market sector will be stronger for women in the 18 to 30 age group than for women aged 31 to 45.

Proposition 3: Women's income is affected by the type of work they do. Women, because they work as a group in a certain sector of the labor market, make less money than other groups of workers. This relationship will be consistent across age groups. Therefore, if proposition 3 is correct, we should expect to find the following:

Hypothesis 3: The percentage of women who work in the secondary sector and have lower incomes will be higher than for women who work in the primary sector, regardless of age.

Proposition 4: The labor market sector in which women work directly affects their income. All

other effects on income from women's personal characteristics are felt through the impact of the labor market. This intervening effect should be consistent across both age groups. If proposition 4 is correct, we should expect to find the following:

Hypothesis 4A: Labor sector intervenes in the relationship between the presence or absence of children and income. When labor market sector is held constant, the association between income and the presence or absence of children will disappear, regardless of age.

Hypothesis 4B: Labor market sector intervenes in the relationship between educational level and income. When labor market sector is held constant, the association between income and educational level will disappear, regardless of age.

The Independent and Dependent Variables

Numbers of Children

Family role constraints was operationally defined using the number of children in the family. The degree of family role constraint that white women age 18 to 45 had was divided into two categories: no children and children. The category "no children" represented 41 percent of the sample and the category "children"

represented 59 percent. These designations were utilized to provide clear cut examples of women who had family responsibilities and of women who did not. It has been empirically demonstrated that women who have family responsibilities, such as child care, were less successful financially (Becker, 1981; Van Velsor and O'Rand 1984). Therefore, children and no children were the categories used. In order to see clearly how the variable family role constraints was divided, a frequency distribution was conducted without utilizing the recode as represented in Table 1.

Income

The respondent's income was used to represent the degree of financial reward that she received from her participation in the labor force. Income was broken down into dichotomous categories: low (under $1,000 - $9,999), which represented 52 percent of the sample, and high ($10,000 +), which represented 49 percent of the sample. Income was divided in this way in order to provide a relatively equal sample size for each cell. The total percentage distribution before the recode may be viewed in Table 2.

Labor Market Sector

Labor market sector was defined as either primary

Table 1: Number of Children for White Women Aged 18 to 45 Currently Employed in the U.S. Labor Force.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Eight or More	1	0.1%
Seven	2	0.2%
Six	4	0.4%
Five	15	1.4%
Four	35	3.2%
Three	124	11.4%
Two	265	24.3%
One	192	17.6%
None	451	41.4%
Total	1089	100.0%

Table 2: Income for White Women Aged 18 to 45 Currently Employed in the U.S. Labor Force.

INCOME	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
$25,000 or Over	37	3.7%
$20,000 to 24,999	85	8.6%
$15,000 to 19,999	127	13.0%
$10,000 to 14,999	230	23.2%
$ 8,000 to 9,999	123	12.4%
$ 7,000 to 7,999	48	4.8%
$ 6,000 to 6,999	50	5.1%
$ 5,000 to 5,999	51	5.2%
$ 4,000 to 4,999	45	4.5%
$ 3,000 to 3,999	52	5.3%
$ 1,000 to 2,999	76	7.7%
Under $1,000	64	6.5%
Total	988	100.0%

or secondary based on Davis' (1982) system. The variable occupational classification was used to measure the concept labor market sector.

The General Social Survey utilized the U.S. Census three digit Occupational classification code. The primary market included professional, technical, and kindred (e.g., teachers, scientists, engineers, lawyers, and other technical professionals), managers and administrators (e.g., bank officers, financial managers, institutional administrators, salesman, and buyers), and sales workers (e.g., advertising agents, demonstrators, brokers, underwriters, stock and bond salesman). The primary market represented 38 percent of the sample.

The secondary market included clerical and kindred (e.g., bank tellers, cashiers, secretaries, and file clerks), craftsmen and kindred (e.g., mechanics, blacksmiths, bookbinders, carpenters, and machinists), operatives, laborers, and service occupations (e.g., assemblers, checkers, boatman, deliveryman, miscellaneous laborers, and private household workers). The secondary market represented 62 percent of the sample. Table 3 shows the full occupational distribution before the variable was dichotomized.

Education

Educational attainment was operationalized to

Table 3: Census Occupational Classification for White Women Aged 18 to 45 Currently Employed in the U.S. Labor Force.

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	241	22.1%
Managers and Administrators, Except Farm	115	10.5%
Sales Workers	55	5.0%
Clerical and Kindred Workers	384	35.1%
Craftsmen and Kindred Workers	30	2.7%
Operatives, Except Transport	75	6.9%
Transport Equipment Operatives	7	.6%
Laborers, Except Farm	17	1.6%
Farmers and Farm Managers	4	.4%
Farmers, Laborers and Farm Foremen	2	.2%
Service Workers, Except Private Household	147	13.5%
Private Household Workers	15	1.4%
Total	1092	100.0%

represent dichotomous categories of white women age 18 to 45 who were distinct from one another relative to their potential entry level qualifications for the labor force. The variable was broken down into two components: women with a high school or lower educational level (71 percent of the sample) and women with at least one year of college or higher educational level (29 percent of the sample). Educational level was divided in this way because it served to represent two groups of women: one who would theoretically be qualified for primary market employment and the other who would theoretically be qualified for secondary market employment. Table 4 represents the variable before it was recoded for the analysis.

Age

The age groups were broken down into dichotomous categories so that the women in each cohort had relatively the same experiences and early socialization patterns. The age categories were 18 to 30 (48 percent of the sample) and 31 to 45 years of age (52 percent of the sample). The women who were between the ages of 18 and 30 were born and grew up between the years 1957 to 1969 and were believed to be in the peak child bearing years. Women between the ages of 31 and 45 were born and grew up between the years 1942 to 1956 and for the most

Table 4: Educational Attainment of White Women Aged 18 to 45 Currently Employed in the U.S. Labor Force.

DEGREE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Graduate	61	5.6%
Bachelor's	182	16.7%
Associate/Junior College	71	6.5%
High School	685	62.7%
Less than High School	93	8.5%
Total	1092	100.0%

part were believed to have completed their families. These two eras, it was believed, were distinct from each other in terms of the attitudes and practices of the society that existed. These particular age designations were used because it was believed that these two groups served to represent women differently in terms of the motivations they may have had for either having a career, having a family, or a combination of the two. To view the variable age before the recode was done, a frequency distribution was conducted as represented in Table 5.

Statistical Analysis

The statistics used for the analysis were chi-square using the Yates correction factor, Goodman and Kruskel's gamma, and partial gamma. These statistics were selected because they were appropriate for the dichotomous variables that were used. The current literature seemed to support using dichotomous variables, and several of the studies reviewed used this format. An unsuccessful attempt was made to use these variables in different formats, and, through trial and error, the dichotomy proved itself the most useful. Utilizing a trichotomous type format resulted in empty cells and logic problems such that the relationships between the independent and dependent variables were not clear. The chi-square statistic indicated whether the

Table 5: Age Distribution for White Women Aged 18 to 45 Currently Employed in the U.S. Labor Force.

AGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
41 to 45	156	14.3%
36 to 40	183	16.7%
31 to 35	229	21.0%
28 to 30	154	14.1%
23 to 27	259	23.7%
18 to 22	112	10.3%
Total	1093	100.1%[1]

[1]Percentages do not total 100.0% because of rounding error.

relationship between any two variables was likely to have occurred by chance. Alpha level was set at .05 to indicate significance. Gamma gave insight as to the strength of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables and partial gamma served to indicate the strength of the relationship between two variables holding a third variable constant (Loether and McTavish, 1976). Partial gamma was appropriate to use where there was little variation between the gammas of the first second-order partials.

In order to determine whether the hypotheses were correct, a crosstabulation of the variables was performed. Dichotomous tables were set up using the table partialling technique. The table partialling technique was utilized as opposed to multivariate techniques because it best suited the format of the data available for this study and served to test the hypotheses. This technique was utilized to determine if the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable could be elaborated. If a given variable was hypothesized to specify the conditions under which the relationship occurred, controlling this variable would cause the relationship between the independent and dependent variable to change (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1981). If this occurred, then the nature of the relationship between the independent and dependent variable was said to be elaborated by a third variable.

This and similar table elaboration techniques were used to test the hypotheses.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

This chapter presents an examination of the hypotheses discussed in the preceding chapter. Each section deals with a separate hypothesis, and then a summary is offered as to how the findings may all fit together. Included in each section are tables that provide data relative to each of the hypotheses.

Table 6 contains a crosstabulation of educational level and the absence or presence of children in the family for both age groups and separately for respondents in the 18 to 30 and 31 to 45 age groups. According to hypothesis 1a, the percentage of women who have no children will be greater among women with higher than lower educational levels. Further, hypothesis 1b states, that the relationship between educational level and the absence or presence of children will be weaker for women in the 18 to 30 age group. The data from table 6 indicate that hypothesis 1a was supported. Women in the higher educational category were less likely to have children than women in the lower educational category (chi-square=9.2, $p<.001$). In the zero order relationship, 58 percent of women in the high educational level group had no children compared to 35 percent in the low educational

Table 6: Number of Children by Education Level and Age.

Number of Children	Age 18 to 45		Age 18 to 30		Age 31 to 45	
	Low Education Level	High Education Level	Low Education Level	High Education Level	Low Education Level	High Education Level
Children	65.3%	41.9%	40.9%	14.7%	88.0%	66.9%
No Children	34.7%	58.1%	59.1%	85.3%	12.0%	33.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	(775)	(313)	(374)	(150)	(401)	(163)
Chi-Square	49.5 (P < 0.001)		31.9 (P < 0.001)		33.6 (P <0.001)	
Gamma	-0.45		-0.60		-0.57	
Partial Gamma	-0.59					

level (a difference of 24 percent). The zero order gamma is -0.45. Of women in the 18 to 30 age group, 85 percent of those with a high educational level had no children compared to 59 percent of women in the low educational level (a difference of 26 percent). Of the women in the 31 to 45 age group, 33 percent of those who had a high educational level had no children compared to 12 percent with a low educational level (a difference of 21 percent).

The gammas and partial gamma indicate that there is a moderately strong relationship between educational level and the absence or presence of children, regardless of age group. The gamma was -0.60 in the 18 to 30 age group, -0.57 in the 31 to 45 age group, with an overall partial gamma of -0.59. This evidence does not support hypothesis 1b. The strength of the relationship between education level and the presence of children is not weaker for younger women.

However, Table 6 does show strong differences in the presence of children between the two age groups. In the 18 to 30 age group, a majority of women in both educational categories had no children. Among women in the low educational group, 59 percent had no children compared to 85 percent in the higher educational category. In the 31 to 45 age group, a minority of women in both educational categories had no children. In the low educational level group, 12 percent of the women had no

children compared to 33 percent of those in the higher educational category. Table 6 clearly shows that the presence of children in the household is moderately related to both age and education. The relationship between educational level and the presence of children was not weaker for younger women but, younger women do have far fewer children than older women.

Table 7 presents the test of hypothesis 2a which states that the relationship between the presence or absence of children and labor market sector will be weaker for women in the 18 to 30 age group than for women in the 31 to 45 age group. Data from table 7 indicate that hypothesis 2a was not supported. While the chi-square test indicates a significant relationship between the presence of children and labor market sector, the gammas indicate that there is no difference in the strength of this association according to age group (-0.41, -0.40, and partial gamma= -0.41). When both age groups were combined the association between the presence of children and labor market sector weakened (gamma= -0.19).

Table 7 indicates that regardless of age group a greater percentage of women with no children worked in the primary sector than women with children. In the zero order relationship, 44 percent of women with no children were primary sector employees compared to 34 percent of women who had children (a difference of 9 percent). For

Table 7: Labor Market Sector by Number of Children and Age.

	Age 18 to 45		Age 18 to 30		Age 31 to 45	
Labor Market Sector	No Children	Children	No Children	Children	No Children	Children
Primary Sector	43.1%	33.9%	38.2%	20.6%	59.8%	38.9%
Secondary Sector	56.9%	66.1%	61.8%	79.4%	40.2%	61.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	(45)	(638)	(348)	(175)	(102)	(463)
Chi-Square	9.2 (P < 0.001)		15.7 (P <0.001)		14.1 (P < 0.001)	
Gamma	-0.19		-0.41		-0.40	
Partial Gamma				-0.41		

the 18 to 30 age group, 38 percent of women with no children and 21 percent of women with children worked in the primary sector (a difference of 17 percent). In the 31 to 45 age group, 60 percent of women with no children worked in the primary sector compared to 39 percent of women with children (a difference of 20 percent). In the 18 to 30 age group, a greater percentage of women with either no children or children were concentrated in the secondary sector: 62 percent of younger women with no children worked in the secondary sector compared to 79 percent of women with children. In the 31 to 45 age group, a greater percentage of women worked in the primary sector: 60 percent of women worked in the primary sector compared to 39 percent of older women with children.

Table 7 shows that the presence of children and labor market sector are related though age does not specify the strength of this relationship. Age did, however, have an effect on the percentage of women who had children, as shown in Table 6, and on the concentration of employees in the secondary sector. Younger women had fewer children but, regardless of the absence or presence of children, worked more in the secondary sector when compared to older women.

Table 8 tests hypothesis 2b which states that the relationship between educational level and labor market sector will be stronger for women in the 18 to 30 age

Table 8: Labor Market Sector by Education Level and Age.

Labor Market Sector	Age 18 to 45		Age 18 to 30		Age 31 to 45	
	Low Education Level	High Education Level	Low Education Level	High Education Level	Low Education Level	High Education Level
Primary Sector	21.5%	77.7%	16.3%	72.0%	26.4%	82.9%
Secondary Sector	78.5%	22.3%	83.7%	28.0%	73.6%	17.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	(777)	(314)	(375)	(150)	(402)	(164)
Chi-Square	298.5 (P < 0.001)		149.9 (P < 0.001)		149.9 (P < 0.001)	
Gamma	+0.85		+0.86		+0.86	
Partial Gamma					+0.86	

group compared to women in the 31 to 45 age group. The chi-square test indicates that the relationship between educational level and labor sector was significant. Table 8 indicates that there is a strong positive relationship between educational level and labor market sector. In the zero order relationship, 78 percent of women with high educational levels worked in the primary sector compared to 22 percent of women who fell within the low educational category (a difference of 56 percent).

The gammas and partial gamma in the first order partial table indicate that age did not affect the strength of the relationship. The first order partial gammas were 0.86 and 0.86 respectively and the partial gamma was 0.86. Thus, the hypothesis stating that age would have an affect on the relationship between education and labor sector was not supported in the analysis. Regardless of age group, a greater percentage of women with low educational levels worked in the secondary sector than women with high educational levels. Of women in the 18 to 30 age group, 16 percent with a low educational level worked in the primary market compared to 72 percent of women with a high educational, a difference of 56 percent. In the 31 to 45 age group, 26 percent of women with a low educational level worked in the primary market compared to 83 percent of women with a high educational level, a difference of 57 percent. Thus, the strong

relationship between education and labor market sector was unaffected by the control for age.

Table 9 was constructed to test hypothesis 3a. Hypothesis 3a states that women who work in the secondary sector will have lower incomes than women who work in the primary sector and that the relationship between labor market sector and income will be equally strong for each age group. Data from Table 9 indicate that hypothesis 3a was supported on all counts. The gammas (0.60, 0.65, and 0.53) and partial gamma (0.58) indicate that there is a moderately strong relationship between labor market sector and income. Regardless of age, a greater percentage of primary sector women earned higher incomes than did secondary sector women. In the zero order relationship, 69 percent of women working in the primary sector made a high income compared to 36 percent in the secondary sector (a difference of 33 percent). For the 18 to 30 age group, 69 percent of women in the primary sector made a high income compared to 32 percent of women in the secondary sector (a difference of 37 percent). In the 31 to 45 age group, 69 percent of women in the primary sector made a high income compared to 41 percent of women in the secondary sector (a difference of 28 percent). Thus, Table 9 confirms the idea that regardless of age, sector placement has a moderately strong effect on income level. Women, whether younger or older, make more money in the

Table 9: Income Level by Labor Market Sector and Age.

	Age 18 to 45		Age 18 to 30		Age 31 to 45	
Income Level	Secondary Sector	Primary Sector	Secondary Sector	Primary Sector	Secondary Sector	Primary Sector
High Income	36.1%	69.2%	31.8%	69.0%	40.9%	69.3%
Low Income	63.9%	30.8%	68.2%	31.0%	59.1%	30.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	(618)	(370)	(327)	(145)	(291)	(225)
Chi-Square	100.2 (P < 0.001)		55.0 (P < 0.001)		40.0 (P < 0.001)	
Gamma	+0.60		+0.65		+0.53	
Partial Gamma					+0.58	

primary market than in the secondary.

Table 10 tests hypothesis 4a which states that labor sector intervenes in the relationship between the absence or presence of children and income for women 18 to 30. In order for this hypothesis to be supported the association between the absence or presence of children and income must disappear when labor sector is held constant. In other words, hypothesis 4a suggests that while there is a relationship between the presence of children and income, the relationship is mediated through labor sector participation. Holding labor sector constant will make the relationship between the presence of children and income disappear.

Table 10 shows that there is a moderately strong relationship (gamma=-0.45) between the presence of children and income at the zero order level. Among women with no children, 51 percent were in the high income category compared to only 28 percent among women with children. Conversely, 72 percent of women with children had low incomes compared to only 49 percent of those with no children. This finding supports the idea that the presence of children can increase the probability of falling in the low income category.

Table 10 also shows the effect of holding labor market sector constant. Contrary to hypothesis 4a, the relationship between children and income was only slightly

Table 10: Income Level by Number of Children and Labor Market Sector for White Women Age 18 to 30.

	All Sectors		Primary Sector		Secondary Sector	
Income Level	No Children	Children	No Children	Children	No Children	Children
High Income	50.8%	28.3%	73.9%	50.0%	37.2%	23.3%
Low Income	49.2%	71.7%	26.1%	50.0%	62.8%	76.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	(311)	(159)	(115)	(30)	(196)	(129)
Chi-Square	20.8 (P < 0.001)		5.2 (P < 0.021)		6.4 (P < 0.011)	
Gamma	-0.45		-0.48		-0.32	
Partial Gamma				-0.35		

affected by control for sector. Among women in the primary sector, the gamma of -0.48 (and a 24 percent difference) shows a moderate negative relationship between the presence of children and income. This relationship weakened but did not disappear (gamma of -0.32 and a 12 percent difference) among secondary sector women. Thus hypothesis 4a was not supported.

The data in table 10 also show a positive correlation between income and market sector of employment when the effect of the presence of children is controlled. Among women with no children, 74 percent of those in the primary sector fell into the high income category compared with only 37 percent of those with no children in the secondary market (a difference of 37 percent). Of women with children, 50 percent of those in the primary sector made a high income compared to only 23 percent of those with children in the secondary sector (a difference of 27 percent).

Comparisons of the four groups in Table 10 (primary sector women with and without children and secondary sector women with and without children) support the following conclusions. First, the presence of children in the household has a greater impact on income among women in the primary sector (a 24 percent difference) compared to the secondary market (a 12 percent difference). Second, women in the primary sector, with or without

children, are much more likely to be in the higher income category than secondary market employees.

Contrary to hypothesis 4a, Table 10 fails to support the contention that labor market sector mediates the affect of children on income. While both the presence of children and labor market sector do influence income, Table 10 does not support the idea that the effect of children is only felt in its role as a determinant of labor sector. Even when sector is held constant, the effect of children on income continues to be moderately strong in both the primary and secondary markets.

Table 11 further investigates hypothesis 4a only this time among women 31 to 45 years of age. Again, the expectation is that the relationship between the absence or presence of children and income will disappear when labor market sector is held constant.

Table 11 shows that there is a moderate relationship (gamma=-0.40) between the presence of children and income at the zero order level among women in the 31 to 45 age group. Seventy percent of older women with no children fell in the high income category compared to 50 percent among women with children. Conversely, 51 percent of women with children had a low income compared to only 31 percent of those with no children. This relationship was significant at the .001 level.

The relationship between the presence of children and

Table 11: Income Level by Number of Children and Labor Market Sector for White Women Age 31 to 45.

	All Sectors		Primary Sector		Secondary Sector	
Income Level	No Children	Children	No Children	Children	No Children	Children
High Income	69.5%	49.5%	81.4%	64.8%	50.0%	39.6%
Low Income	30.5%	50.5%	18.6%	35.2%	50.0%	60.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	(95)	(420)	(59)	(165)	(36)	(255)
Chi-Square	11.5 (P < 0.001)		4.8 (P = 0.028)		1.0 (P = 0.314)	
Gamma	-0.40		-0.41		-0.21	
Partial Gamma				-0.30		

income among older women changes when control is introduced for labor market sector. As shown in the partial relationships in Table 11, the relationship continued to be moderate and negative in direction among women employed in the primary sector (gamma= -0.41, $p<.05$). This relationship is nearly identical to that observed in the overall zero order relationship. However, among older women employed in the secondary sector, the relationship was not significant (chi-square= 1.0, $p>.05$). Therefore, it must be concluded that, at least among white women 31 to 45 years of age employed in the secondary labor market, income is not related to the presence of children in the household.

Table 11 also indicates that, as expected, a greater percentage of women in the primary sector have higher incomes when the effect of the presence of children is controlled. Among women with no children in the primary market, 81 percent made a high income compared to only 50 percent of those with no children in the secondary sector (a difference of 31 percent). Of women with children, 65 percent of those in the primary sector made a high income compared to only 39 percent of those with children in the secondary labor sector (a difference of 26 percent).

Comparison of the four groups (primary sector women with and without children and secondary sector women with and without children) in Table 11 leads to slightly

different conclusions than those reached in Table 10. The presence of children has an effect on women's income in the primary market (a 17 percent difference) whereas there is no relationship between the presence of children and income among older women in the secondary market. Further, women in the primary sector whether they have children or not are much more likely to fall within the higher income group than women in the secondary sector.

Table 11 qualifies the findings of Table 10 by suggesting that labor sector combines with age in affecting the relationship between the presence of children and income. While the presence of children is generally an inhibiter on the earning capacities of both younger and older women, regardless of labor market sector, Table 11 suggests that for one group (women 31 to 45 years of age employed in the secondary labor market) the presence of children in the household has no impact on income.

Table 12 tests hypothesis 4b for women in the 18 to 30 age group. Hypothesis 4b states that labor sector intervenes in the relationship between educational level and income. Therefore, when labor sector is held constant, the association between educational level and income will disappear. As shown in Table 12, a moderately strong positive relationship was found between education and income among all women 18 to 30 (gamma=0.60). Among

Table 12: Income Level by Education Level and Labor Market Sector for White Women Age 18 to 30.

	All Sectors		Primary Sector		Secondary Sector	
Income Level	Low Education Level	High Education Level	Low Education Level	High Education Level	Low Education Level	High Education Level
High Income	33.3%	66.9%	52.3%	76.2%	30.4%	42.1%
Low Income	66.7%	33.1%	47.7%	23.8%	69.6%	57.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	(333)	(139)	(44)	(101)	(289)	(38)
Chi-Square	43.6 (P < 0.001)		7.1 (P = 0.007)		1.6 (P = 0.205)	
Gamma	+0.60		+0.49		+0.25	
Partial Gamma			+0.32			

all women in this age group, 67 percent with a high education fell into the high income category compared with only 33 percent of those with low educational attainment (a difference of 33 percent).

Controlling market sector qualifies this education/income relationship. Among younger women in the primary sector, those with a high education were 24 percent more likely to be in the upper income category than such women with a lower education (down from 33 percent in the zero order table). Seventy-six percent of women with a high educational level made a high income compared to 52 percent of women with a low educational level. The drop in the strength of this relationship is also reflected in the gamma for the partial table (gamma=0.49, $p<.05$).

Among younger women in the secondary market, the relative advantage of being in the high educational category disappeared. While 42 percent of secondary market women with a high education were in the high income category, 30 percent of those with a low education had a similar income. This percentage difference (about 12 percent) is considerably less than that observed in the zero order table (33 percent difference). According to Table 12, the chi-square value was not significant for this partial table ($p>.05$), indicating that, among younger women in the secondary market, there is no relationship

between educational level and income.

Table 12 shows that while education does have a strong effect on income, like the previous examination, the effect of income is partially moderated through type of labor market participation. The effect of education on income continued to be strong among those in the primary sector, apparently reflecting the advantage of an education in the primary sector. However, the strength of education in determining income disappears in the secondary market. Thus while "more" rather than "less" education was associated with higher income, the payback due to more education was absent in the secondary market.

Table 13 tests hypothesis 4b for women in the 31 to 45 age group. Data from Table 13 indicate that there is a moderately strong positive relationship between education level and income for all women 31 to 45 (gamma=0.56). Among all women in this age group, 74 percent with a high education fell in the high income category compared 45 percent with a low educational attainment (a 30 percent difference).

When labor market sector was controlled the relationship between education and income either weakened or disappeared, offering some support for hypothesis 4b. Among women in the primary sector, those who fell in the higher educational category were 17 percent more likely to be in the upper income category than the women who fell in

Table 13: Income Level by Education Level and Labor Market Sector for White Women Age 31 to 45.

	All Sectors		Primary Sector		Secondary Sector	
Income Level	Low Education Level	High Education Level	Low Education Level	High Education Level	Low Education Level	High Education Level
High Income	44.6%	74.3%	59.4%	76.7%	39.3%	60.9%
Low Income	55.4%	25.7%	40.6%	23.3%	60.7%	39.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	(363)	(152)	(96)	(129)	(267)	(23)
Chi-Square	36.8 (P < 0.001)		7.0 (P = 0.008)		3.2 (P = 0.072)	
Gamma	+0.56		+0.39		+0.41	
Partial Gamma				+0.40		

the low educational category (down from 30 percent in the zero order table). Seventy-seven percent of women with a high educational level made a high income compared to 59 percent of women with a low educational level. The decline in the strength of this relationship is also reflected in the gamma of the partial table (gamma=0.39).

Among women in the secondary market, the advantage of being in the high educational category also diminished. Sixty-one percent of secondary sector women with a high education were in the high income category and 40 percent of those with a low education had a similar income. This percentage difference (roughly 21 percent) is less than that observed in the zero order table (30 percent difference). However, according to Table 13, the chi-square statistic is not significant in this partial table ($p>.05$). Therefore, it must be conceded that, among older women in the secondary labor market, educational level is not correlated with income.

Table 13 substantiates the findings of Table 12. Table 13 shows that education does have a strong effect on income and like Table 12, this effect on income is at least partially mediated through type of labor market participation. Education level continues to display some influence on income even when labor market sector is held constant. The effect of education on income remained strong for those women in the primary market but there was

no significant effect among those women in the secondary market. For older women the strength of education in determining income disappeared in the secondary sector as it did for younger women. Thus, a higher educational level was associated with a higher income only among primary sector employees.

The disappearance of a significant relationship between education and income among women in the secondary labor sector should be interpreted cautiously. Table 12 shows, for example, that "high" educated women were more likely to be in the high income category (42 percent versus 30 percent). The non-significant chi-square value may in part be a function of the skewed nature of education among women in the secondary market. In Table 12, for example, only 38 of 327 women aged 18 to 30 in the secondary sector had the higher educational value. Similarly, in Table 13 only 23 of 290 older women in the secondary sector were in the higher educational level. This same skewness may have contributed to the non-significant chi-square value reported. At the same time, the percentage comparison in Table 13 (61 percent versus 39 percent) suggests that education does have a payback in the secondary sector in terms of income.

A second way of understanding this apparent contradiction between the percentages shown in Table 12 and 13 and the reported non-significant chi-square values

is to conclude that while educational level would have a payback even in the secondary sector, the relative infrequency of higher as opposed to lower educational backgrounds in that sector is such as to neutralize the significance of such educational gain as a determinant of income.

Summary of Results

The results indicate support for several of the hypotheses, but not all. Age seems to be a very important variable, but not for the reasons hypothesized. There appears to be a strong relationship between age and the presence of children. The relationship is that younger women have fewer children than older women. There are probably two reasons why younger women have fewer children than older women. One, younger women have had less of a chance to have children than older women. Two, younger working women probably have less of a desire for children based on overall national trends.

Labor market sector, while not a clear mediating variable as first hypothesized, does appear to exert an intervening influence that interacts with age, educational level, the presence of children, and income. For women in the primary labor market, educational level and the

presence or absence of children exerts a strong influence on income. Those primary market women with high educational levels and no children have the greatest chance of making a high income. While primary market women with low educational levels and children tend to make a low income in greater numbers.

However, the presence of children and educational level exert a different influence in the secondary labor sector. The effect of having or not having children on income in the secondary sector is weak and/or not significant and educational level only affects income in the primary sector. For younger women, the impact of the presence of children affects income level strongly in the primary, but this association weakens in the secondary sector. While for older women the presence of children affects income level only in the primary sector. For both younger and older women educational level affects income in the primary sector, but does not affect income level in the secondary sector. Perhaps the reason for this is that younger women who have children, have younger children and these younger children make more demands on their mothers time. Also, as the primary market traditionally has been less attuned to the needs of the mother who works children appear to exert a greater influence than in the secondary sector. For older women, whose children are more likely grown and require less care, the impact of children on

income is still felt in the primary but not in the secondary sector. This may have occurred because their children, when younger, required more care and this kept them from working. These older women that have children may have not been as consistent in their labor force participation compared their peers who have not had children. Because of the possibility that they may not have as long a history of primary sector participation or as consistent a history as their childless peers, the presence of children may still exhibit an impact on their income levels even though their children are now able to care for themselves. For those older women with children in the secondary sector, a long history of consistent employment may not be as important a factor in determining income. Therefore, children, that require little parental care, may not exert an influence on income in the secondary sector for older women.

Further, the reason that educational level exerts an influence on income in the primary sector but not in the secondary sector could be because education traditionally has less of a bearing on success in the secondary when compared to the primary sector. Also, the skewed nature of the relationship may have an affect on the finding that educational level only impacts income in the primary market. As high educational levels were infrequent in the secondary market this may have neutralized the

significance of educational level as a determinant of income.

The primary market model suggests that age is not a causal variable, though it does precipitate the model as an antecedent variable. Educational level and the presence of children directly influence income level in the primary sector. Age has an indirect effect through influencing the absence or presence of children, but does not influence educational level. In the secondary market age still determines number of children, but not educational level. The strength of educational level and the absence or presence of children as influencers of income drops, particularly among older secondary market workers. Educational level and the absence or presence of children are not prime causal factors of income in the secondary sector while in the primary sector they are. Income levels are lower in the secondary sector regardless of family traits.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

Educational level seems to be the most important of all the variables studied in this thesis in determining income level and labor sector employment for women. Educational level is primary in the sense that it displayed the strongest effect on income and labor sector.

The effect of educational level seems to vary depending on the labor sector. Women who work in the primary market probably will find a higher educational level more of an advantage in increasing income than women who work in the secondary sector. This finding is consistent with the findings of Treiman and Terrel (1975) who similarly discovered that educational level had an effect on the types of jobs women hold and thus income. This effect probably takes place because of the differences in the way the employers in the two labor markets select their employees. The primary market traditionally has strict requirements for entry level positions and a lower educational level can be a deficit. Educational level is much less important in the secondary market. This is not to say that educational level is not important in both sectors; it is. However, for those people who work in the secondary market, educational

level may not be as important or may have no affect at all in determining income, but better educated women may still in most instances have an income advantage over less educated women.

In addition to educational level, the findings of this thesis suggest that women must consider their family roles when entering the labor force. This supports the conclusions reached by Martin and Hanson (1985) and Gaertner (1984). Similar conclusions were reached in the studies of Hudis (1976), Felmlee (1984), and Corder and Stephen (1984). When women took part in the traditional gender role of having, maintaining, and being primarily responsible for children, they were penalized by this activity in terms of their incomes, at least in the primary sector. This finding seems to substantiate the conclusions of Hudis (1976), Van Velsor and O'Rand (1984), and Treiman and Terrel (1975) who all had similar findings. Those women who had no children found themselves in the higher income groups in greater numbers than women who had children. This effect occurred regardless of the sector worked in, but was not as strong in the secondary as in the primary and did not hold true for older secondary sector women.

For both primary and secondary sector women, children or their absence will probably display effects on income levels, but women in the primary sector will tend

to suffer more of a loss in income when children are present than secondary sector women. For older secondary sector women the presence of children exerts no impact on income. Even though all women who work are penalized in terms of income by having children, those women who work in the primary market are penalized more. This may be so because in most instances the jobs in the secondary market allow for more flexibility in scheduling.

This conclusion supports the findings of Ward and Mueller (1985), Beck, Horan, and Tolbert (1978), and Bibb and Form (1977) who found that the structural characteristics of the primary labor market for women were very sensitive to variations in the degree of family responsibility. The degree of family responsibility that women have may be related to the degree of time spent in the work force and the consistency of time spent in the work force. Characteristics of the primary market are much more sensitive to inconsistent participation than those in the secondary market. Even after their children are older and require less care, women's inconsistent participation in the labor force when their children were younger, probably still affects their incomes in the primary market.

The typical woman who works in the primary market usually does not have a flexible schedule, is less likely to have children, and has a higher educational

level. In addition, her earnings will suffer if she does not consistently pursue her career. The woman who works in the secondary sector can leave and re-enter the job force at little or no cost to her salary, has more children, a lower educational level, and will probably never make as much money as the primary market worker.

Women's educational levels and the absence or presence of children seem to be associated. Those women who had children also displayed a lower educational level when compared to childless women. On the other hand, women who were highly educated usually did not have children or at least fewer of them had children when compared to less educated women. This relationship between educational level and number of children is probably reciprocal. In order for women to achieve a higher educational level they must usually put off having children because the demand of school leaves them little time for child care. On the other hand, if a woman already has children it is unlikely that she will have the time to pursue an education because of the children's demands on her.

This thesis predicted that the causal model would be less predictive of younger women's income and labor sector. The strength of the first order relationships were hypothesized to be reduced for younger women.

Younger women, it was hypothesized, would be much less affected by their families and more affected by their educational levels in terms of the labor markets they worked in and their subsequent incomes. However, this does not seem to be the case. Age did not affect the strength of the causal model outlined in this thesis. The model's power to predict was just as strong for younger women as it was for older women. Whether young or old, women who have children compared to women who do not, can expect lower educational levels, lower incomes, and greater concentration in the secondary sector. And the effects of educational level on income and labor market will probably be just as strong for older women as it is for younger women.

However, there were differences between the age groups. Even though younger women were just as affected as older women by having children, in terms of income and labor sector, younger women had fewer children. This is possibly due to the fact that they have yet tc complete their childbearing years. Additionally, younger women may be more oriented toward labor force participation and therefore choose to put off their child bearing years while they pursue careers. Since the young women used in the analysis were currently employed and had no children in greater numbers it seems to make sense that having no children or at least fewer children may be a somewhat

necessary condition for successful employment.

Those young women that are entering the labor force today probably tend to find themselves working in the secondary sector and more of them have a low than have a high educational level. Really nothing has changed dramatically in terms of women's position in the work force except for the fact that younger women are choosing to have fewer children. However, being free from the burden of child care may be a condition that will ultimately succeed in allowing younger women to compete more successfully in the work world.

Basic to the deficits that women suffer from their family roles is the fact that men do not usually take their share of the childcare burden (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986). However, in recent times, with the economic need for both marriage partners to work, men seem to be helping out a little more. This still does not seem to help women to stay consistently in the labor force when faced with raising children. It is a fact of life that women, when they get pregnant, tend to shorten their working hours to some extent, and there are periods when they must discontinue their employment altogether. Younger women may realize the extent to which having children can affect their incomes and this may be one of the reasons that they are having fewer children.

Women that decide to enter the labor force today may

have many more opportunities to balance their childcare burdens and job responsibilities. Modern employers may be more attuned to the needs of the female employee who has a family. Modern work places may be setting up day care centers and nurseries which allow the mother to work and also make sure her young ones are adequately cared for.

The young women of today may have more opportunity for success in the labor market than their mothers did and may be better able to have both a family and a career. And younger women may be responding to these increased opportunities by becoming more career orientated and entering the labor force in greater numbers. On the other hand, these increased opportunities do not seem to be having an effect on the impact that children can exert on income. The young women of today seem to be having fewer children and the reason for this appears to be that it allows them to compete more successfully in the labor force (as measured by income level). Thus, younger working women are avoiding the effect that children can have on their incomes altogether by not having children.

Extensive research is needed in order to understand the situation more clearly. Sociologists can help find the answers for better tailoring the U.S. labor force to meet the needs of future female employees. Several

studies need to be done comparing the labor force experiences of younger women with the labor force experiences of older women. These studies should focus on developing better indices of women's labor force experiences. Such variables as age, number of children, and educational level should be analyzed in detail concerning their effects on income and other indices of achievement in the labor force. Age needs to be studied in order to discover the differences and similarities between younger and older women. Without awareness of these differences and similarities, it may be difficult to clearly compare what it is like for women of different ages to enter the labor force.

The variables used to indicate the extent of women's roles probably are not equivalent for women of different age levels. Younger women seem to have far fewer children than older women. The question of what has caused these younger women to stop having as many children needs to be addressed. According to this thesis, the strength of the causal model examined has not changed. The socialization that these younger women experienced may have changed and been different from older women's. Younger women may be more career oriented. More younger women may also be entering the primary labor market at a higher rate than their older counterparts.

The primary and secondary labor sectors need to be

broken down into more discrete categories in order to more precisely define the characteristics of certain types of jobs that may or may not be compatible with the needs of the female employee. There are overlapping areas of both sectors, and there are probably jobs within each sector more compatible with women's needs. It needs to be discovered whether the primary sector jobs held by females are in some way different from other primary sector jobs.

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