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Women and Men in State-Socialist and Market-Regulated Societies

*Gender Differences in Ascription and
Achievement in the First Job¹*

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INTRODUCTION

With the demise of state socialism in Eastern Europe in 1989, there came an end to one of the most extreme destratification experiments in human history. For some decades, in a significant number of countries an explicit political effort had been made to intervene in the processes of social stratification and social reproduction, in particular, by influencing occupational attainment. The occupational status attained by someone is brought about by a combination of two mechanisms. First, someone "earns" occupational status by means of educational attainment and job experience (*achievement*). Second, someone "inherits" occupational status at birth in a certain social setting, which is best measured by father's occupational status (*ascription*). Together, these mechanisms are referred to as the *process* of occupational status attainment (Blau & Duncan, 1967). Inheritance of social positions, or social reproduction, did not agree with the state-socialist ideology, in which the notion of equal opportunity was a sacred good.

However, state-socialist intervention not only aimed to diminish social reproduction in society. State-socialist countries subscribed to an ideology that considered all forms of inequality based on ascribed characteristics unacceptable. This meant that reducing, or preferably abolishing, gender differences was also one of the (political) goals of state socialism. After the transition to state socialism around 1950, East European governments made considerable efforts to create equal opportunities in educational and occupational attainment for men and women alike (Wong, 1995). In some

state-socialist societies this was expressed in constitutional articles that laid down the equality of men and women (e.g., in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland) and in resolutions to improve the labor market position of women. Furthermore, professional, low-cost childcare was easily available, which enabled mothers to complete their education or be employed full-time (Van der Lippe & Van Dijk, 1998).

In this chapter, we will investigate whether and how the two mechanisms combined: to what extent did state-socialist societies accomplish their proclaimed goals of destratification? And, moreover, to what extent did men and women fare differently under the circumstances? The research question therefore is as follows: *To what extent did state-socialist conditions reduce ascription and enhance achievement, for both men and women?*

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

State-Socialist and Market-Regulated Contextual Differences in Status Attainment

Parkin's hypothesis, that a long period of left-wing government promotes educational equality and thereby occupational mobility (Parkin, 1971), was applied to occupational status attainment patterns in state-socialist and market-regulated countries by Heath (1981). Heath gave three possible reasons why countries with a state-socialist regime should show more occupational mobility:

1. State-socialist societies may have experienced a faster process of modernization, because most state-socialist countries had a large agricultural labor force at the outset.
2. State-socialist regimes intervene politically in educational reforms aimed at equalizing educational opportunities.
3. In state-socialist societies, the barriers between the occupational classes are less rigid because of the equalitarian climate created. For the process of occupational status attainment, this means that achievement is more important in state-socialist countries and less important in countries with established right-wing governments.

In his empirical work, Heath compared status attainment models of four different countries that were representative of his basic typology of societies and political regimes: social-democratic, immigrant, traditional and state-socialist regimes (the United Kingdom, the United States, Spain, and Czechoslovakia, respectively). As hypothesized, the effect of father's occupational status on the status of the present job held by the son was largest in the traditional country and much smaller in the social-democratic, the immi-

grant, and the state-socialist country. The effect of education on occupational attainment was smallest in the traditional country, larger in the social democratic and immigrant country, and largest in the state-socialist country. Similar results were found by others (Connor, 1979).

In this chapter, ascription and achievement in occupational status attainment are investigated in ten market-regulated societies and nine societies that were state-socialist for most of the period. This is done for men and women who began their occupational careers between 1900 and 1992. The main purpose of this chapter is to determine the gross effect of state socialism on the patterns of male and female occupational attainment. However, as Heath argued, other contextual variations can be expected to condition the process of male and female occupational attainment. State-socialist societies differ from market-regulated societies in a number of other aspects that can influence stratification outcomes, and they do so to varying degrees at different points in time.

The literature on comparative social stratification suggests that it is especially important to control the level of modernization in general and the state of economic development or industrialization in particular (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Treiman, 1970). Reducing gender inequality in ascription and achievement may not only depend on the success of political interventions (although this can speed up certain processes) but may also depend on the development toward modernization. Of particular importance could be the developments in the composition of the labor force. In general, the percentage of manual laborers has decreased in favor of the service sector, a trend that has coincided with an increasing number of women entering the labor force. Mechanization and computerization have reduced the need for physical labor. The introduction of contraception has reduced the average number of children per family as has secularization. Furthermore, developments in transport have made men and women more mobile and less dependent on jobs close to home. These processes of modernization have affected all countries in the world, although to different degrees. Generally speaking, state socialism was established in countries that lagged in economic development, compared to the modernized world. State-socialist policies were aimed especially at economic development (Connor, 1979; Ossowski, 1956). If we want to assess the net effects of state socialism on the stratification parameters of men and women, we need to control for the level of modernization.

Gender Differences in Status Attainment

What can we expect regarding gender differences in status attainment patterns and, in particular, differences in ascription and achievement? With respect to ascription, it has often been argued that women are influenced less by their family background than men, especially if family background is

measured by means of father's characteristics (Korupp, 2000). The reasons for this can be summarized as follows:

1. Given their occupational distribution, women are less likely to be recipients of the transfer of resources within families, in particular that of proprietorship.
2. Related, but not identical, is the argument that the occupational distributions of women and their fathers are structured differently, so that structural mobility weakens the relationship.
3. Families tend to invest less in their daughters than their sons, and daughters are less likely to take their fathers as a model than are sons.

Taken together, these considerations lead us to expect that women's job status is influenced less by their father's job status, as compared to the influence on men. By and large, the literature supports this expectation.² For instance, comparing twelve industrialized countries, Roos (1985) demonstrates that in nine of the twelve countries social background has *no* influence on the status of women's current occupations.

With respect to achievement, the argument is more complicated. Women are generally expected to get fewer returns to their education than men, due to gender discrimination, but at the same time the differences between women can be larger than those between men. In light of this argument, women get on average less status in return for a given amount of education, but each additional level of education pays off better than it does for men. The literature is not conclusive on this point. For example, Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf (1980) find clear differences between working men and women in the United States in the process of occupational status attainment. The returns to education in terms of first job status are higher for men, notwithstanding that women's first jobs on average have higher status than men's. By contrast, Roos (1985) finds higher returns to education for women in four out of twelve (market-regulated) countries and no significant differences between men and women in the other countries she investigated. What makes this literature confusing is that the returns to education are often estimated without controlling for family background, and that only a select group of women (in an advanced career stage) are taken into account.

Gender Differences in Status Attainment between State-Socialist and Market-Regulated Contexts

Few studies have compared the processes of status attainment of men and women in different political contexts. Wong (1995) has compared gender differences in three state-socialist societies, and found that under state socialism too, men and women experience different patterns of social mobility. Women have lower chances to enter their father's class than men.

Whether these gender differences resemble those in market-regulated societies and how the total effect of family origin can be decomposed into effects of education and those of family background remains unanswered.

Bell and Jull (1994) have found that the labor force participation of American women is affected by state policies. In California, where the authors think state policy is most strongly directed at encouraging female labor force participation, women tend to invest more in their human capital stock and remain in the labor force for a longer period, as compared to women in Missouri, which is thought to be a more traditional state.

Given the fact that state-socialist countries discouraged class inheritance and adopted explicit policies to abolish differences in labor market opportunities between the sexes, and that under state-socialist circumstances, significantly more women participated in the labor force than in market-regulated societies (Van der Lippe & Van Dijk, 1998), one might expect that, under state-socialist circumstances, the direct effect of father's occupation on the first job is equal for men and women, and is likely to be small in the first place. By the same token, under state-socialist circumstances the effect of education on the status of women's first jobs will be equal to the effect of education on the status of men's first jobs.

Hypotheses

We will compare a substantial number of male and female cohorts in state-socialist countries with male and female cohorts in market-regulated countries to expand on the existing evidence discussed above. The hypotheses we will test are formulated in such a way that they allow for comparisons between societies and over time. The following hypotheses will be tested:

- [H1] Under state-socialist circumstances, the direct effect of father's occupation on occupational attainment is smaller than under market-regulated circumstances.
- [H2] Under state-socialist circumstances, the direct effect of education on occupational attainment is larger than under market-regulated circumstances.
- [H3] Under state-socialist circumstances, the processes of occupational status attainment of men and women show more similarity than under market-regulated circumstances.

DATA, VARIABLES, AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The nature of the processes of status attainment of men and women in state-socialist societies and market-regulated societies can be investigated with the aid of two comparative perspectives: (1) a cross-sectional design [what are the differences between (men and women) in state-socialist countries and

market-regulated countries at a given moment in time?) and (B) a historical design [how does status attainment of men and women change when a country moves from market regulation to state socialism, and vice versa?]. In the analyses presented in this chapter, these two perspectives are combined. We make historical comparisons between men and women in presocialist and state-socialist cohorts—and some postsocialist cohorts—in eight (formerly) state-socialist countries (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Estonia, East Germany, and Slovenia). We make cross-sectional comparisons between cohorts in nine state-socialist countries (the former eight countries plus Russia) and cohorts in ten market-regulated societies (Netherlands, Brazil, Australia, Switzerland, Sweden, France, United Kingdom, United States, West Germany, and Japan). This design is also known as a *pooled time-series* or *XT design*.

The data have been taken from sixty-one general population surveys containing information on father's occupation, men's and women's level of education, and men's and women's first occupation. These data sources are part of the International Stratification and Social Mobility File (Ganzeboom & Treiman, 1998), which merges and harmonizes over 250 general population surveys with information on intergenerational social mobility (i.e., father's and respondent's occupation) from over forty nations. Some, but not all of the surveys included in the ISMF contain information on the occupational status of the first jobs. Information about this is the criterion for inclusion of ISMF data in our analyses, because information on the first job allows us to break down the data into labor market entry cohorts and to supplement the cross-sectional comparison with a historical comparison. The male and female labor market entry cohorts we created are three years in width and cover the period from 1900 to 1992³. Using these cohorts in an XT design resolves the traditional problem of degrees of freedom in comparative research: instead of the limited number of 19 cross-sectional contexts (societies) or 30 historical contexts (the three-year-wide cohorts), the comparative degrees of freedom are constituted by the product of these two numbers. All in all, this would allow a comparison of data in 1,140 contexts generated by cross-classifying men and women in the eighteen to seventy-five age bracket, divided into three-year-wide cohorts in 19 countries. However, not all these cohorts are available in practice, as only some of the countries are covered by older or very recent surveys. In addition, all cohort-gender-country combinations with less than 20 observations are excluded. This selection leaves 786 contextual observations, with a total of 231,440 individual observations. About 33 percent of the observations concern women, and 67 percent concern men: this skewed distribution results from the fact that some of the major stratification surveys in the past (such as the *U.S. Occupational Change in a Generation 1962–1973* and the *British Oxford Mobility Enquiry of 1973*) excluded women.⁴

Table 11.1a Description of the Data: Individual Units of Observation

Country	No. of studies	Total	Men	Women
AUS	6	11,402	8,017	3,385
BRA	3	27,583	21,301	6,282
BUL	2	4,887	2,316	2,561
CZR	2	9,419	4,339	5,080
ENG	3	11,672	10,553	1,119
EST	1	448	124	324
FRA	2	4,291	2,235	2,056
GER	4	4,690	2,265	2,425
GDR	2	1,522	696	826
UN	4	60,251	29,602	30,649
JAP	5	8,442	7,463	979
NET	8	6,852	4,111	2,741
POL	3	13,355	6,852	6,503
RUS	3	4,615	1,915	2,700
SLN	4	3,774	1,991	1,783
SLO	1	5,845	2,841	3,004
SWE	2	4,918	2,513	2,405
SWI	1	501	354	147
USA	5	46,973	46,162	811
Total	61	231,440	155,660	75,780

Source: International Stratification and Mobility File (ISMF, 2000). Selection: All men and women aged 18–75 in 61 studies with first jobs in cohort/country combination with valid $N > 19$. Note that some (large) studies contain only data on males.

The ISMF data were harmonized in the following way. Education was converted into a metric variable by taking the number of years of completed education or, if these data were not available, by assigning years to categories (Ganzeboom & Treiman, 1993). Father's occupation and respondent's occupation, initially measured in local occupation codes of various kinds, were converted into either the 1968 or the 1988 version of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO), and subsequently into the International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status (ISEI) (Ganzeboom, De Graaf, & Treiman, 1992; Ganzeboom & Treiman, 1996). The ISEI measures socioeconomic status (seen as a relative ranking of detailed occupational groups with respect to required education and expected earnings) on a 10–90 points scale. Further details on the data used are given in Tables 11.1a–c.

The analysis follows a two-step strategy. First, a microregression equation is estimated using individual data in each of the 786 country-sex-cohort contexts. Each microequation is an elementary regression of the status of the first

Table 11.1b Description of the Data: Individual Variables

Cohort	Birth year + 6 years + No. of years of education completed = Assumed year of labor market entry. Broken down in three-year categories.
Education	Years of education completed: range 0–22.
(Father's) Occupation	Occupation measured in International Standard Classification of Occupation 1968/1988, converted in the International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status (ISEI): range 10–90.
Female	0, men; 1, women.

Table 11.1c Description of the Data: Contextual Variables

State socialism	Scored (1) in Russia (all cohorts), Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland (cohorts after 1948), and 0 elsewhere.
Modernization	Continuous Index created using two external data sources: Banks (1976) and World Bank (1999). 0, least modernized context; 1, most modernized context.

job (as measured by the ISEI index) on the respondent's education (measured in years) and father's occupation (measured in terms of the ISEI). The coefficients from these 786 microequations are then analyzed in a second-order macroanalysis, by regressing them on gender (0,1), state socialism (0,1), and modernization (0, . . . ,1). In this second-order regression analysis, the data are weighted in proportion to the accuracy of the estimated coefficients in the microequations (by using the inverse of the squared standard error as the relative weight).

Combining historical and cross-sectional comparisons in a single (macro) analysis cannot be done with validity without addressing the typical error structure that comes with the data. STATA's XT-GLS models are fit for the job (STATA, 1997). XT-GLS accomplishes two tasks. First, cohorts from the same country tend to resemble each other much more than cohorts from different countries: the latter group has much wider error variation. In XT-GLS this is taken into account by controlling autocorrelation within countries. Second, XT-GLS models treat countries and periods as a random selection from a larger population. This random-coefficient assumption makes it possible to avoid including explicit controls for the unmeasured country and historical variation that makes ordinary XT models inefficient (Sayrs, 1989). Notwithstanding these statistical complications, interpretations of the coefficients are similar to OLS regression analysis.

The dependent variables in the macromodels are the two unstandardized regression coefficients (B's), obtained in the micro-analysis:

DESCRIPTION Net effect of father's occupational status on status of first occupation: $B_{(ISE1, FISE1)}$

ACHIEVEMENT Net effect of education on status of first occupation: $B_{(ISE1, EDUCYR)}$

Our design comprises three macrodimensions: country, period, and gender. Our analysis aims to assess differences in the process of status attainment simultaneously. We do this by regressing the two dependent variables in two separate analyses, using XT-GLS with two independent variables at the macro level:

STATE SOCIALISM State-socialist regime (0, 1; binary)

MODERNIZATION Modernization (0, . . . , 1; continuous) (control)

Assuming that the members of a certain birth cohort enter the labor market directly after completing their educational career, the labor market entry cohorts up to 1950 in all nations of the Eastern block, except Russia, entered the labor market before the take-over of communism; they will be treated as cohorts in a market-regulated context. There is also a single postsocialist cohort, that of 1990–1992. However, it should be noted that this cohort contains only a small number of observations and that it is hardly possible to say much about developments after 1989. Figure 11.1 visualizes the analytical contexts. State-socialist contexts are represented in this figure by the shaded areas.

To control the level of modernization of each context, a continuous modernization index was constructed, using existing data from two external sources (Banks, 1976; World Bank, 1999). Each external data source contained a variety of (mostly incomplete) time-series on a multitude of annual socioeconomic indicators. The two data sources cover different time periods. The first source covers the period from 1815 until 1973; the second ranges from 1960 until 1996. To construct a one-dimensional index of modernization, several steps were taken (cf. Rijken, 1999). First, relevant indicators were selected from each data source that cover the basic dimensions of modernization: urbanization, transport and communication, wealth and productivity, educational expansion, and composition of the labor force. Second, any disrupted time-series were smoothed out, usually by adapting older data to newer data. Third, when incomplete, the time-series were complemented by means of linear interpolation. Fourth, the set of indicators was factor-analyzed to investigate whether the indicators scale the countries in more or less the same order at each given point in time, and whether indicators describe a similar level of socioeconomic growth for each of the countries. These steps were conducted for the Banks and World Bank data separately, and a separate modernization index was then created for each source. Finally, these two measures were combined into one single index by equalizing the mean and variance in the overlapping time interval (1960–1973).

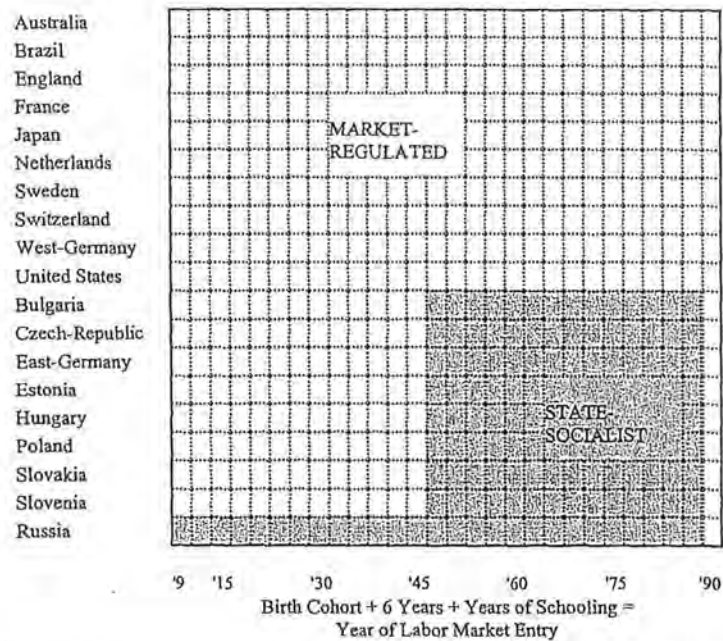


Fig. 11.1 Analytical contexts: state socialism per country per cohort (identical for men and women).

Figure 11.2 presents a graph of the development of modernization for each of the countries involved. Modernization was rescaled to a value between 0 and 1: the lowest level of modernization is found in Brazil at the beginning of the century, while the highest levels are found in the market-regulated societies (U.S., Sweden) by the end of the century. This was to be expected.

The dotted lines in this graph are (from 1950 onward) the state-socialist societies. At face value, it seems clear that, in the oldest cohorts, state-socialist societies are found at the rear of the modernization process. Until the 1990 cohort entered the labor market, state-socialist societies were catching up with market-regulated societies. Note, however, that the lowest line in the figure represents the level of modernization of Brazil. Because of its market regime and its low level of modernization, Brazil is a particularly interesting case. All in all, Figure 11.2 illustrates the necessity of controlling the level of

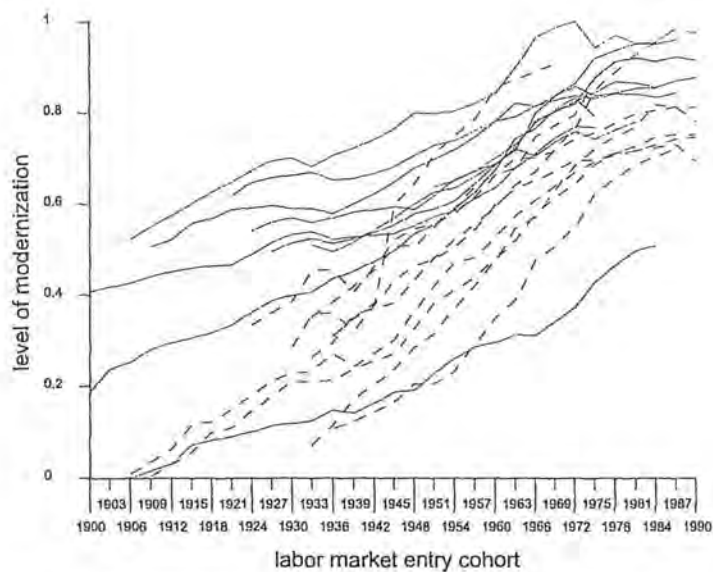


Fig. 11.2 Modernization in state-socialist and market-regulated societies (1900–1990).

modernization; state-socialist societies tend to deviate systematically from market-regulated societies.

RESULTS

The exploration of the patterns in our dependent macrovariables is reported in Tables 11.2a and 11.2b in the form of analyses of variance. In Table 11.2a, country differences alone (model A) account for 24 percent of the variance in ascription. In the next model (B), a linear term of entry cohort is added, which increases the amount of variance explained to 51 percent, i.e., 26 percent of the variance of the effect of father's occupation on first occupation is explained by a uniform change over time alone. At this point, we can conclude that the importance of ascription differs substantially between countries as well as between periods. However, there is hardly any differ-

Table 11.2a ANOVA of Ascription (Effect of Father's Occupation on First Occupation): Between-Group Variance (Countries), Over-Time Variance (Linear Entry Cohorts), and Gender Variance ($N = 786$ Weighted Contexts)

	Degrees of freedom	Cumulative variance explained (adjusted R^2)	Additional variance explained (adjusted R^2)
A. Between countries	18	24.4	24.4
B. A + between-entry cohorts (linear)	19	50.5	26.1
C. B + female	20	50.5	0
D. C + linear trends within countries	38	59.9	8.4
E. D + female*country + female*entry cohort	57	64.0	4.1

ence between men and women, as expressed by the fact that model C gives no additional explained variance: when all countries and all cohorts are taken together, women and men are very similar in their social mobility relative to their father's occupational status.

However, the development of ascription over time may differ between countries, and women and men may be different in this respect. Model D allows the trends of the effect of father's occupation on respondent's first occupation to vary between countries by adding the interactions between countries and the linear term for entry cohort. This increases the adjusted R^2 with another 8 percent to almost 60 percent of explained variance. The final model (E) differentiates again between men and women; this time there is significant interaction, which brings 4 percent additional explained variance. Thus, while ascription works out the same for men and women *when all contexts are taken together*, there are significant differences in the magnitude of the effect of and the trends in ascription between the sexes *within countries*. The remaining, unexplained variance in the final model (about 36 percent) consists of, for instance, nonlinear variations in ascription.

In Table 11.2b, the same models are estimated for achievement, that is, for the effect of education on first occupation. In the first model (A), in which only country differences are allowed to play a role, 15 percent of the variance of achievement is explained. Compared to the variation in ascription between countries, the variation in achievement between countries is smaller. When in the next model (B) a linear entry cohort term is added, the explained variance increases to 36 percent: 21 percent of the variance in achievement is accounted for by a uniform time trend. This effect is also smaller than it was for achievement. In model C we find significant differences between men and women in all cohorts and countries, which accounts for 6 percent of the total variance. Differences between trends in countries in model D account for another 19 percent of the variance. Apparently the trends in the process of

Table 11.2b ANOVA of Achievement (Effect of Education on First Occupation):
Between-Group Variance (Countries), Over-Time Variance (Entry Cohorts) and
Gender Variance ($N = 786$ Weighted Contexts)

	Degrees of freedom	Cumulative variance explained (adjusted R^2)	Additional variance explained (adjusted R^2)
A. Between countries	18	15.4	15.4
B. A + between-entry cohorts (linear)	19	36.3	20.9
C. B + female	20	42.2	5.9
D. C + linear trends within countries	38	61.5	19.3
E. D + female*country + female*entry cohort	57	64.0	2.5

achievement show more variation within countries than the trends in the process of ascription. Finally, in model E some variation between women and men is found for the way the different countries and cohorts behave. The amount of total variance accounted for with respect to achievement (63 percent) is about the same as it was for ascription. The remaining variance, 37 percent, is due to nonlinear variations in achievement.

Ascription

Table 11.3 sets out the parameters of three sequential models to explain the effect of father's occupation on first occupation (ascription). Model I assesses the unadjusted differences between men and women in ascription. Model II takes the control variables (modernization, state socialism) into account. Model III tests whether women and men show different ascription patterns under state-socialist and market-regulated circumstances. The dependent variable in all models is the number of occupational status points associated with each additional point of the status of father's occupation. This means, for example, for Model I that men (the intercept term) achieved .235 occupational status points with each additional status point of father's occupation. The ISEI index varies between 10 and 90. Men with high-status fathers thus obtained on average $80.225 = 19$ status points more than men with low-status fathers. In line with the previously reported analyses of variance, there is only a minor difference between men and women, when all countries are taken together: the estimated difference (-0.022 percent) is only marginally significant.⁵

In model II, in which the contextual conditions, state socialism and modernization, are taken into account, the results show again no significant differences between men and women. This stands to reason, since neither state socialism nor modernization differs between men and women. (However, note that the distribution of men and women is not a balanced one

Table 11.3 XT-GLS Analysis of the Effect of Father's Occupation on First Occupation (Autocorrelated Observations within Homoskedastic Panels, $N = 786$ Contexts)

Model:	I	II	III
Female	-.022 (1.7)	-.011 (1.2)	-.027 (2.5)
Entry cohort		-.001 (1.7)	-.001 (2.2)
Modernization		-.219 (10.2)	-.230 (10.0)
State socialism		-.090 (8.7)	-.141 (8.5)
State socialism*female			-.044 (2.4)
State socialism*entry cohort			.002 (2.9)
Intercept	.235 (32.9)	.383 (29.0)	.392 (30.0)
Autocorrelation	.438	.296	.274
Log-likelihood	744.8	842.1	846.8
Degrees of freedom	1	4	6

across countries and cohorts.) The results do indicate that the strength of ascription differs between state-socialist and market-regulated circumstances: under state socialism the effect of father's occupation on first occupation is weaker than when the economy is regulated according to market principles (Hypothesis 1). The strength of ascription varies even stronger with the level of modernization: the higher the level of modernization, the weaker the effect of father's occupation on first occupation. Going from the least developed context to the most developed one (-.219) almost halves the ascription process. On top of that, there is a slight historical trend toward a weakening of ascription.

In model III, we test whether the influence of state socialism changed over time and whether the effect of father's occupation on first occupation of men and women differs between state-socialist and market-regulated contexts, which was predicted by Hypothesis 3. In state-socialist contexts ca. 1950 (note that entry cohort is set at this year), the effect of father's occupation on first occupation is significantly weaker than in market-regulated societies, and significantly weaker than in later periods. The significant interaction between state socialism and cohort (scaled in years) implies that the two political regimes gradually converged toward the end of the century. The significant results for the socialism-gender interaction further specify the non-significant effect of gender in the previous two models. Not only does the model now reveal a significantly lower level of ascription for women in market-regulated societies (-.027), it also shows that this level is even lower in the state-socialist countries (-.027-.044=-.071). Women have fewer ascriptive modes of occupational status attainment than men, although the difference is more dramatic under state socialism. This is not in line with

Table 11.4 XT-GLS Analysis of the Effect of Education on First Occupation (Auto-correlated Observations within Homoskedastic Panels, $N = 786$ Contexts)

Model:	I	II	III
Female	.412 (5.4)	.516 (4.8)	.255 (2.6)
Entry cohort		.002 (1.0)	.007 (2.7)
Modernization		1.213 (17.4)	1.303 (7.8)
State socialism		.168 (2.2)	.396 (3.7)
State socialism*female			.347 (2.4)
State socialism*entry cohort			-.031 (5.5)
Intercept	2.123 (54.4)	1.441 (15.1)	1.452 (14.8)
Autocorrelation	.422	.478	.495
Log-likelihood	-638.2	-560.4	-536.5
Degrees of freedom	1	4	6

Hypothesis 3, which predicted similarity between men and women in state-socialist contexts.

Achievement

The intercept of model I in Table 11.4 shows that, when all countries and cohorts are considered together as a whole, the status of first occupation increases by 2.123 point of ISEI with every year of education. As the analysis of variance showed, there is a significant difference between men and women in this respect, which is expressed by the .412 surplus for women in model I. This surplus indicates that women have some 20 percent higher returns to education than men. Again, model II does not change this finding, but it does show that achievement varies with state socialism, in the way anticipated in Hypothesis 2. The effect of state socialism is significant, although it is modest. At the same time, the effect of modernization is large. The intercept of the equation (1.441) now refers to men in the least-developed context, and the modernization coefficient shows how this changes (almost doubling) when we move to the most-developed context.

Model III again reveals how the effect of state socialism has changed over time and how it differs between men and women. For achievement, too, the effect of state socialism was stronger at the onset of the socialist period, 1950, to which the main effect of state socialism (.396) refers; and it converges to the values observed for market-regulated societies by the end of the century. Hypothesis 3, which predicted more similarity between men and women under socialism, is again rebutted. The stronger effect of education on the status of first occupation for women turns out to be mostly an effect of socialism. While women's relatively large returns to education (.255) are still significant in market-regulated societies, state-socialist circumstances

more than double this effect (.347). As was the case with ascription, we find that state socialism and market-regulated societies have strongly converged with respect to general levels of achievement, but this is more true for men than it is for women. Again, the difference between men and women in state-socialist societies is larger than the difference between men and women in market-regulated societies.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, two hypotheses on the differences between political regimes and one hypothesis on the differences between men and women regarding the process of occupational status attainment were tested. The process of occupational attainment was expected to be influenced by state-socialist circumstances in the following way. First, the effect of education on occupational status at career entry was expected to be larger in state-socialist societies than under market-regulated ones. Second, the effect of father's occupation was expected to be smaller in state-socialist societies than in market-regulated ones. Third, it was expected that in state-socialist societies, the processes of occupational status attainment of men and women would show more similarity, compared to the corresponding processes in market-regulated societies. These three hypotheses were tested for nine state-socialist and ten market-regulated societies in the period 1900–1990, using a pooled time-series design, which controlled the level of modernization.

The results of the analyses lead to the following conclusions. To start with, we find significant differences in the way ascription and achievement operate for men and women in state-socialist and market-regulated societies, which was anticipated in Hypotheses 1 and 2. State socialism affects both ascription and achievement. Ascription is less prevalent and achievement more important in state-socialist societies. However, the effects of state socialism were much more dramatic at the beginning of the socialist period (1950) than they were later on. In fact, for both ascription and achievement we see an almost perfect convergence between the two processes by the end of the twentieth century, when the political differences had ceased to exist. The effects of state socialism are somewhat collinear with the level of modernization (according to our modernization index, state-socialist societies started at a lower level of socioeconomic development and developed more rapidly than market-regulated societies), but are not confounded by it. We controlled modernization (which had a large effect on ascription and achievement, as predicted), but still found strong direct effects of state socialism.

However, our results do not show that there is relatively more similarity between men and women in state-socialist societies, on the contrary. For ascription, we find that women are more socially mobile relative to their

fathers than men in both political regimes. However, the main finding is that the relationship between the occupational statuses of women and their fathers is weaker in state-socialist societies than elsewhere. As a parallel, we see bigger status returns to education for women in state-socialist societies as compared to market-regulated societies: state socialism worked more strongly for women than for men in bringing about the effects that are normally characteristic of modernized societies. According to our results, women have more often been the beneficiaries of the destratifying and meritocratic tendencies of socialism than men, at least when one considers career entry. This is contrary to what we anticipated at the outset, when we formulated our expectation that women and men are more similar in state-socialist societies than in market-regulated societies. In fact, the differences between women and men in terms of ascription and achievement are bigger in state-socialist societies than the differences between men and women in market-regulated societies.

Can we place this puzzling result in a perspective that allows us to understand it? What happened in state-socialist societies that made women diverge so much more from men than in market-regulated societies? We suggest three alternatives for further explorations of the results. First, it may be the case that during state socialism political interventions in the stratification process were more effective for women than for men, because the combination of abolishing social reproduction—aimed at both men and women—and abolishing gender inequality—aimed at women only—had the unintended result that the inequality of opportunities between men and women was reversed. This would lead one to expect that under socialism women had on average higher occupational positions than men. Whether this is true remains unanswered by our results and should be investigated further. A second explanation may be that state socialism favored especially highly educated women. The additional occupational status with each extra year of education of women would then not have been a linear relationship, but occupational status was gained especially at higher levels of education. This would lead to the expectation that, under state socialism, the difference between high-educated and low-educated women was larger than the difference among men, probably because high-educated women could profit more from regulations directed at helping women to participate in the labor market. Finally, we should look in more detail at the occupational distributions of men and women in different political regimes. State socialism abolished to a large extent self-employment, and promoted manual labor at the expense of nonmanual work. This fact may explain a large part of why ascription and achievement work differently in different political regimes, but—as occupational categories vary as to gender composition—also why the process has worked out differently for women and men. In order to explore this alternative explanation further, we should complement (or substitute) our analyses of socioeconomic status

with an analysis of status attainment in discrete occupational categories, and take the gender composition of those categories into account.

NOTES

1. A more elaborate analysis of the data of this chapter can be found in the dissertation *Educational Expansion and Status Attainment, a Cross-National and Over-Time Comparison* (Rijken, 1999). An earlier version of this chapter was published in Nieuwbeerta and Ganzeboom (1998). The present version concentrates on gender differences and uses more advanced models for the analysis of pooled time-series data.

2. Korupp (2000) has investigated to what extent mother's occupational status replaces father's occupational status. Her results (for three countries) suggest that this is partly so: The mother's occupation does influence the daughter's occupational status attainment, but not the son's. Overall, however, the daughter's status is influenced less strongly by family background than the son's status.

3. The width of the cohort was chosen after exploring the sensitivity of the data to covariates in historical perspective. It was found that a more detailed organization of the data did not increase precision. This stands to reason, since the exact point of entry into the labor market is an imprecise estimate (determined as YEAR OF BIRTH + 6 + YEARS OF EDUCATION).

4. However, we feel that is important to keep these all-male data in our database, as they constitute a stabler benchmark than only the data on men from all gender surveys would.

5. The autocorrelation coefficient is estimated at .438, which is of a considerable size. The amount of autocorrelation is of no substantive importance: it serves as a correction factor for the similarity of cohorts with countries.

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