ABSTRACT

PARENTAL INFLUENCES ON WOMEN WHO CHOOSE
MORE "MASCULINE" OCCUPATIONS

Data from a large sample of high school women are compared with
data from college women from diverse institutions with respect to
findings concerning parental influences on the sex typing of their
daughter's occupational choice. Among high school women, parental
status factors are strongly associated with the daughter's choice of
a more "masculine" job, while this is not true for the college sample.
In both samples, however, the influence of the mother is greater than
that of the father and some support is found for the hypothesis that
a mother's having more education than the father is related to the
daughter's being more likely to want a more "masculine" job. Only in
the college sample is a mother's working outside the home associated
with the daughter's choice of a more "masculine" occupation.

PARENTAL INFLUENCES ON WOMEN WHO CHOOSE

MORE MASCULINE OCCUPATIONS

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In this paper data from samples of high school and college women
will be used to examine some hypotheses concerning the relative influ-
ence of mothers and fathers on the sex typing of their daughters'
occupational choice. There is some evidence which suggests that non-
traditional occupational choices (Klemmack and Edwards, 1973) as well
as "careerism" among women (Sewell, Haller and Strauss, 1957) is posi-
tively related to the father's occupational prestige. Certainly the
latest resurgence of feminism occurred first among young upper middle
class women (Hole and Levine, 1974). On the other hand, there is also
evidence that the educational and occupational status of both parents,
particularly that of the mother, have effects on a daughter's attitudes
and life choices that are more than simple reflections of class based
attitudes. Several studies have found that the daughters of mothers
who themselves worked outside the home, especially in non-traditional
jobs are more likely to have non-traditional attitudes toward sex roles
(Almquist and Angrist, 1970; Douvan, 1963; Meier, 1972; Tangri, 1972).
Others, however, (Jean Lipman-Blumen, 1972; Klemmack and Edwards, 1973)
did not find a positive association between a mother's working and
non-traditional attitudes on her daughter's part.

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Some of the studies we discuss are not directly concerned with the sex typing of occupational choices but with other measures of sex typing. This presents a problem in generalizing about the findings since it cannot be assumed that all measures of "modernity" or "non-traditionalism" in women are tapping the same basic dimension. For example, in her dissertation study, Stockard (1974) employed five different measures of non-traditionalism in women's adult role orientation and found that antecedent factors, including maternal and paternal variables were related differently to each separate measure. Thus, caution should be used in generalizing from studies using different dependent variables.

The only measure of non-traditionalism which will be used in the findings to be presented here is the degree of masculinity of the occupation chosen as measured by the proportion of males actually in that occupation. Strictly speaking, only the findings of Almquist and Angrist (1970), Klemmack and Edwards (1973) and Tangri (1972) are measuring the dependent variable in a way comparable to our own. Our measure is comparable to Tangri's measure of what she calls "role innovation." Since there are other ways to innovate in a role besides in the dimension of sex typing, we prefer not to use her term "role innovation," but refer instead to the degree of masculinity of the occupation. This is an especially important measure because it gets at expectations which have implications for change in the occupational sphere which is highly sex segregated. The principle of equal pay for equal work is of no use if women continue to be in segregated occupations. The questions asked of the high school students also allow

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us to differentiate between the masculinity of a woman's ideal job and her actually expected job. This will give us some indication of women's motivation to fill roles that are less exclusively feminine.

Using the degree to which our subjects choose a masculine job then, as our dependent variable, we will examine not only the interaction between mother's working and mother's education but also will examine the different ways in which a father's education and occupation affects his daughter's choice from the ways her mother's education and occupation affects that choice. It will be suggested that the father's educational and occupational level increases the likelihood of his daughter's actually expecting a higher status and more masculine job because they contribute to her socio-economic status. On the other hand, we suggest that the mother's educational and occupational level is more important than the father's in influencing the daughter's more "masculine" aspirations.

Another important area we will examine is that of the possible influence on the daughter's making a less sex typed occupational choice of the mother's having a higher educational or occupational status than the father. Using a college sample, Meier (1972) found that when the mother was more highly educated than the father, the daughter was more likely to have less traditional attitudes toward sex roles. Ginn (1969) too, has reported that when the mother's educational level was superior to her husband's the daughter was likely to follow her mother's aspirations for her to have an intellectually challenging career.

Finally we will examine how the occupation the parents want the daughter to have may affect that choice. Which parent's attitudes are more related to the daughter's own and what are those attitudes? Several

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studies have suggested that the mother's attitude toward her own work may influence the duaghter's work orientation (Douvan, 1963; Hoffman, 1963; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971) but we know of no study that asks mothers and fathers specifically what kind of job they want their daughter to have.

In summary then, we will first examine the association between the sex typed occupational choice of a young woman and the occupation and education of her father and mother. We will then examine how mother's educational superiority might affect the daughter's choice and finally how mother's and father's _attitudes_ toward the daughter's occupational choice may affect it. We will be reporting on an analysis of data from large diverse high school group and from a college sample from several different institutions. Comparing findings from women from differing age groups and differing socio-economic backgrounds should provide a more accurate picture of precisely how parental status and parental attitudes might influence daughters to enter more typically "masculine" jobs.

The samples and measures

This report is based on a secondary analysis of questionnaire data. The high school data were collected in 1967 from approximately 1500 seniors in a metropolitan school district in the northwest.[1]

The students, almost all of whom were white, attended a total of five high schools and one vocational center within the same public school district. All seniors who were present on the day of the testing completed the schedules. Only the data on the 785 females will be discussed here. The college data were collected during

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the 1972-73 academic year in four Northwest institutions of higher learning within a 50 mile distance of each other. Two of the schools were large public universities, one was a community college, and one was a church related school. The questionnaires were all given in introductory social science classes. Only female students between the ages of 17 and 25 (inclusive) were included in this analysis.[2]

Two questions were used to ascertain the high school seniors' occupational plans: 1) "If you could be anything you wanted to be, what kind of work would you really like to do?" The first job named in answer to this question is called the student's "ideal occupation." 2) "Have you actually made up your mind what kind of work you'll do when you finish school?" Those who answered "no" were then asked: "If you had to take a guess, what kind of work do you think you'll go into when you finish your education?" Those who answered "yes" were asked: "What have you decided to do. Be specific." Either answer (whether best guess or actual decision) is referred to as the student's "expected occupation."

The questions asked the college students were slightly different: 1) "What kinds of work have you actually been thinking about going into? Be as specific as you can." 2) "Which one of the kinds of work mentioned in the above question would you really most like to do?" The occupation given in response to the second query was coded and probably may best be thought of as the student's "realistic ideal." In the case of both the high school and college samples, if more than one response was listed, the first job in that list was coded.

The occupations chosen by subjects in both samples were matched with the percentage of males reported as working in that category in

the 1970 census.[3] By treating these categories as a percentage, an intervally measured dependent variable is obtained, and parametric statistics may be used in the analysis.

The results of this tabulation are given in Table 1. It is apparent that high school females were especially likely to choose female stereotyped occupations as their expected job. Part of this difference between the high school and college women may be attributed to historical

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Table One About Here
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factors. The high school data were gathered in 1967, before the start of the current feminist movement. The college data were gathered in 1972-73, when that movement was strong. Yet, a large part of the difference results from the fact that college trains for higher status jobs than high school and these higher status jobs tend to be more masculine in composition. It is important to note however, that the high school women were much more likely to name a more masculine occupation as their ideal occupation than as the realistically expected occupation.

The high school students were asked, "Do you think you actually will go to college?" Possible answers included: "1) Yes, very sure I will; 2) Yes, I probably will; 3) No, I probably won't; and 4) No, very sure I won't." If we examine the sex typed nature of the occupations chosen only by the definitely college-bound women (see Table 1), we can see that these young women expect and desire much less stereotyped jobs than the total group of high school students. Since the question asked the college women most closely resembles the "ideal job" question for the high school students, we would have to conclude that the differences

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Finally, for the high school women, the answers to two open-ended questions designed to get at their perception of their parents' occupational expectations for them were analyzed. The students were asked: "What kind of work would your father like you to go into when you finish your schooling? Please be specific." The question was repeated with "mother" substituted for "father." Answers were coded into four major categories which will be discussed in a later section.

Findings--Parental Occupation and Education

When we examine the zero-order relationships in Tables 3 and 4, it is clear that high school age daughters of white collar fathers and of college educated fathers are more likely to choose more masculine occupations both for their "ideal" and for their "expected" occupations. The relationship does not hold up however for college women. If we

examine only definitely college-bound high school women the influence of the father's occupational status and education on ideal occupational choice disappears also, so that, as with the college women, there is no difference in the sex typing of occupational aspirations of daughters of blue and white collar workers or fathers in different educational levels. Only with the "expected" occupational choice does there remain a tendency for college-bound daughters of more highly educated fathers to expect more masculine jobs.

When we control by the father's occupational status (Table 5)

we see that the father's having a college education increases the
daughter's tendency to choose a more "masculine" job only if he has a
white collar job. Again father's education is effective only among the
high school sample and has a slight effect on the expected but not the
ideal job choice of college-bound high school students.

Thus while fathers who are white collar and college educated do
increase the likelihood of daughter's choosing a more masculine job
among the high school sample, this does not hold true within the college
sample. Generally speaking, those who have investigated college women
have also reported little effect of father's education and occupation
(Tangri, 1972; Meier, 1972). Klemmack and Edwards (1973) even found
a slight positive correlation between high occupational prestige of the
father and the femininity of the job desired. Thus, we suggest that the
father's education and occupation do not have a direct impact on the
sex typing of the daughter's aspirations but affect them only indirectly
by affecting the social status of the daughter. Thus the correlation
obtained between masculinity of occupational choice and father's occu-
pation and education among high school students may simply reflect the
likely ability of highly educated white collar fathers to send their
daughters to college, and obtaining a college education makes it possi-
ble to obtain a higher level non-traditional job.

The same general trends that were found with respect to the influ-
ence of the father's education were also found with respect to the
mother's but much more strongly. While this again may simply reflect

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social status, the fact that the mother's education had more effect than the father's seems to be of another order of significance. The

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Table Six About Here
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high school data clearly reveal that daughters of more highly educated women are much more likely to choose more masculine occupations (Table 6). This pattern also appears with the college-bound high school students, but reaches significance only with respect to their expected occupational choice. While this pattern also appeared in the college data, it did not reach significance.

Mother's work status, of course, does not have the same relationship to family socio-economic status as father's work, since there is some relationship between not working outside the home at all and high social status. In the high school data no relationship was found between the daughter's occupational choice and the mother's work status. On the other hand, among the college students there was some tendency for daughters of mothers who are housewives to choose more traditional (less masculine) occupations. (Table 7). This was also reported as a non-significant trend in Klemmack and Edwards (1973) data. Thus in

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Table Seven About Here
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the college sample, mother's being a housewife inhibits the daughter's likelihood of choosing a more masculine occupation. This effect is clearly not a result of low social status but might be attributed to role modeling. This finding parallels those of Tangri (1972) and Meier (1972) using college samples.

With our college data it was also possible to compute a correlation coefficient between the sex typed nature of the mother's occupation and the daughter's plans. Although there was a mild positive correlation with the total sample (r= .07), when we examine only those cases where the mother worked outside the home the correlation drops to virtually zero (r= .01). In contrast to the findings of Meier (1972) and Tangri (1972), these data indicate that it is simply whether or not the mother works, rather than the nature of her job, that influences the sex-typed occupational choices of the college women. It is possible that the lack of correlation results from the fact that so very few of the mothers held really "masculine" typed jobs. Many were simply less typically feminine than others and this apparently did not affect the daughter's choice.

Table 8 summarizes the influence of mother's educational status on her daughter's occupational choice when the mother works outside the home and when she is a housewife. Among the college women, mother's

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Table Eight About Here
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education is not significantly associated with the daughter's job choice among either working or non-working mothers. Neither Klemmack and Edwards (1973) nor Tangri (1972) found a significant association among college students between mother's education and daughter's occupational choice. With the high school sample, mother's education remains significantly associated with masculinity of occupational choice within both groups but the effect is enhanced when the mother is a housewife. That is, in the high school sample the highly educated mother affects her

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daughter more if she is not working. The association is greatest with respect to the daughter's expected job rather than her ideal job. We think these findings may best be interpreted as an effect of high social status, rather than of any more subtle variable. If the mother has been to college and does not work, it probably indicates that the family is financially well off and the daughter may expect to actually go to college and obtain a more masculine job.

Overall then, our data suggest that for high school women status factors show up as important through their influence on college attendance and the latter's enhancement of the likelihood of getting a more masculine job. For those students already in college however, gross status factors have little or no influence and the mother's working does affect the daughter's occupational choice, regardless of the type of work she does. The mother's working does not affect the high school women's tendency to choose a more masculine job, suggesting her working may be more out of necessity than the college sample mother's.

--Mother's educational dominance

Tables 9 and 10 relate to the hypothesis that a mother whose education exceeds that of her husband is more likely to have a daughter who chooses a non-traditionally sex typed occupation. In order to examine this, parents were classified jointly in terms of their relative educational level using the three category breakdown of educational levels described earlier. Thus the following categories are used:

1) Mother has less education than the father.

    a. Father medium, mother low

    b. Father high, mother medium or low[4]

2) Mother has the same education as the father.

   a. Both low

   b. Both medium

   c. Both high

3) Mother has more education than the father.

   a. Father low, mother medium

   b. Father medium or low, mother high

Table 9 gives the zero-order results and Table 10 shows the results by whether or not at least one parent has been to college (i.e., is rated high). When the level of the parent's education is not controlled as in Table 9 none of the results reach significance. In Table 10 the

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Table Nine About Here
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the only results which reach significance indicate that when the high school student's parents are both college educated the daughter's tendency to choose a more masculine job is enhanced. This is the familiar effect of higher social status on high school students. Even though this trend dominates among the high school students, trends among the college students support the hypothesis that mother's educational dominance, rather than a parent's educational equality, is associated with daughter's choosing more "masculine" jobs. With the college women,

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daughters whose mothers have had more education than their fathers, regardless of the level of this education, choose more masculine occupations. When we control for the parents' level of education, the

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trend continues in both levels for the college women and appears slightly

for the _ideal_ choice of the college-bound high school women where at

least one parent has had some college. Thus the college-bound high school

daughters of mothers with a college education and fathers without college

are slightly more likely to choose a more masculine ideal occupation

than daughters of parents who have both had college.

The cross-tabulations in Tables 11 and 12 lend additional support

to the mother dominance hypothesis. In these tables the sex typed

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Tables Eleven and Twelve About Here
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occupational choices of the women are grouped into three to four cate-

gories and cross-tabulated with the comparative educational levels of

the parents. The groupings were chosen to keep the category sizes as

equal as possible. With the college women and the ideal choice of the

college-bound high school women, respondents choosing occupations in

the most masculine categories are most likley to come from families where

the mother's educational level exceeds the father's. The large size

of the category where the mother's and father's educational levels are

equal tended to minimize this result in the comparison of means in

Tables 9 and 10. If we control for the actual level of education the

parents have attained, we see a similar result with the total sample

of high school women. Almost 21% of the seniors whose mothers have

had college but whose fathers have not hope for the most "masculine"

jobs compared to only 11.8% of those whose fathers only have had college

and only 12.0% of those from homes where both of the parents have had

college. On the other hand, the association found with respect to

the high school women's expected occupations is not generated by the
mother's educational dominance but rather by the fact that when both
parents are highly educated, the likelihood of the daughter's expecting
to have a middle level sex stereotyped occupation is greatly enhanced.
These occupations tend to be neither low status nor highly male in
composition. When either the father or the mother has less than a
college education the likelihood of the daughter's "expecting" a tradi-
tional job is enhanced.

While these findings in Tables 9 and 10 do not reach statistical
significance, the trends clearly suggest that a mother's having more
education than a father does influence the daughter toward more mascu-
line occupational choices. This trend goes against the powerful influ-
ence of social status itself which surely is enhanced if both parents
have had college rather than the mother only. Thus our findings would
at least keep afloat the hypothesis affirmed in Meier's data (1972) and in
Lipman-Blumen's (1972) data that mother dominance (defined here and
by Meier as the mother's having more education than the father) enhances
the daughter's non-traditionalism.

--Parents' Expectations and Their Daughter's "Expected Occupation"

A further question which our data may help to answer concerning
parental influences on female adolescents' occupational choice has to
do with the effect of the parents' actual wishes for them with respect
to choice of occupation. Answers to the question: "What kind of work
would your father (mother) like you to go into when you finish your
schooling?" were coded into the following four major categories:

1) Parent wants daughter to have a specific occupation and daughter

plans on this occupation.

2) Parent wants daughter to have a specific occupation and the daughter does _not_ plan on this occupation.

3) Parent does not care what the daughter does or specifies only general characteristics of a desirable job (e.g., "anything that's respectable").

4) Parent wants daughter to have a job that "suits" her or feels that the decision should be made by the daughter.

This distribution of mothers and fathers within these categories is given in Table 13. Generally, the women report that their fathers

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Table Thirteen About Here
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are more likely than their mothers to think in general rather than in specific terms about their occupation. While 44% of the daughters name their expected occupation as their mother's choice, only 34% say it is their father's choice. It is not so much that the father disagrees with his daughter's choice (although 15% do) as that they want her to do whatever suits her or have only very general characteristics of a desirable job for her in mind. This suggests that perhaps fathers are not as close to their daughters as mothers are.[5]

This interpretation is further supported by the finding that the type of occupation the young woman expects is not significantly related to her report of her father's expectations (see Table 14).[6] The null hypothesis of a chance relationship had to be rejected, however, in the case of the mother's expectations and the daughter's choice. The results in Table 14 indicate that young women whose mothers want them to do

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whatever "suits them" are not as likely to expect to have a traditional
feminine occupation. Women whose mothers specifically agree with their

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Table Fourteen About Here
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job choice are as likely to expect traditional jobs as those whose
mothers disagree or want nothing specific for them. As a whole, then,
the data in Table 14 suggest that mothers do not directly counsel
daughters expecting less sex stereotyped jobs to take these jobs but
rather encourage them indirectly by wanting them to make their own
decision in terms of their own needs.

Summary

Our high school data revealed that a daughter's tendency to choose
a more masculine job was strongly associated with having a white collar
father who had been to college. The daughter's tendency was even more
strongly associated with having a college educated mother. There was
no association with whether or not the mother worked but the effect of
the mother's education was greater particularly on the daughter's
"expected" occupation if the mother was a housewife. Since these effects
tend to wash out when we examine only those high school women who are
definitely going to college and wash out or reverse with the college
sample, we conclude that the high school data are largely reflecting
the fact that high status enhances the likelihood that a child will go
to college and thereby enhances the likelihood that a daughter will
actually be able to obtain a more masculine job. On the other hand, it
is important that the mother's education did affect the daughter's job
choice more than the father's education, even among those girls who

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definitely planned on going to college.

With our college sample these was a slight non-significant trend for mother's education to be associated with a more masculine occupational choice but the main finding was that mothers who worked outside the home, whether at white collar or blue collar jobs, were more likely to have daughters who choose non-traditional occupations. Thus mother's working only has an influence toward non-traditionalism if the daughter is in college. We did not find, however, that the non-traditionalness of the mother's own job affected the daughter's choice. This may have been due to the paucity of mothers who held predominantly masculine jobs.

Although none of the trends reached traditional levels of statistical significance we did find some support for the hypothesis that a mother's having more education than the father enhances the tendency for her daughter to choose a more masculine job. Although the tendency was more marked with the college sample it shows up among the high school women too, when we consider those choosing the most masculine jobs as ideal.

Clearly more detailed studies need to be done within homogenous status groupings concerning the effects of mother dominance on the masculinity of the daughter's choice. Other measures of dominance besides educational dominance should also be used in order to establish anything definite. We are intrigued nevertheless by the fact that even with this rather gross data, mother's educational dominance does seem to affect those women choosing the most masculine types of occupations in both the high school and college samples. It would be unwarranted to speculate

too far on such slim evidence but the findings do at least lend support to the hypothesis that mother dominance (variously measured) is associated with the absence of sex stereotyping in daughters (Lipman-Blumen, 1972; Johnson, 1975; Meier, 1972)

Finally, it was found that only the mother's expectations (and not the father's) concerning the daughter's choice of an occupation were significantly related to that choice. This would fit with Tangri's (1972) contention that women who aspire to male dominated professions are not primarily influenced by their fathers but rather by their mothers. It was also found that daughters who wanted more masculine jobs had mothers who wanted them to make their own decisions in terms of what suited them. This would fit with Tangri's suggestion that role innovators themselves tend to be more autonomous individuals.

FOOTNOTES

1. The high school data were originally collected in connection with
   a study directed by Professor Benton Johnson of the University of
   Oregon on the influence of religious factors on occupational choice.
   Some of the findings concerning the original research question
   have been reported in: Langford, Charles C., Religious group
   attendance and occupational decision making: a study of high school
   seniors from a Pacific Northwest suburban school district. Unpub-
   lished doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon, 1971. We are
   grateful to Professor Johnson for making these data available to us.
   The secondary analysis of these data was supported by a grant to
   the first author from the NIMH Public Health Service (MA 22904-01)
   1972-73.

2. Other aspects of these data are analyzed in: Stockard, Jean, The
   development of sex-role related attitudes and behaviors of young
   women. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon,
   1974.

3. The occupations in the high school data had been coded in eight
   categories roughly ordered on the basis of sex stereotyping. For
   these categories the total number of men in all the occupations
   listed in each category was used in the computation of the percen-
   tages. This assumed that the proportion of students choosing a
   given occupation corresponded to the proportion of people cholding
   that job in a given category. The categories of occupations used
   in this sample were (1) Stewardesses (4% male, N=125); (2) House-
   wives (only 10 women named "housewife" or "mother" as an ideal

occupation), elementary school teachers, general nurses (no specialty mentioned that would require high level training), beauticians, clerks, models, dental hygenists, and secretaries (16% male, N=229); (3) Data processers (28% male, N=17); (4) Social workers, counselors, secondary school teachers, interpreters, buyers, librarians, dieticians, VISTA and Peace Corps workers (48% male, N=161); (5) Art and entertainment occupations, including dress designers, performers of various sorts, artists, and commercial artists (70% male, N=136); (6) Science related occupations such as oceanographers, soologists and medical researchers (87% male, N=136); (7) Professionals, including veterinarians and pharmacists as well as old line professionals such as doctors and lawyers (94% male, N=53); and (8) Other usually masculine occupations including pilots, astronauts, farmers and race horse trainers (95% male, N=22). No blue collar occupation was mentioned by any woman.

In the college sample the occupations were not grouped and the calculation of the sex stereotyped measure was straightforward.

4. In order to have enough cases in each category when either parent had been to college and the other parent had not, this was treated as a single category regardless of whether the non-college parent's education was medium or low.

5. Work with the college data has also supported this contention. Stockard (1974, 156-167) using a number of Likert-type scales found that the young women rated the quality of their relationships with their mothers as higher than the quality of the relationship with their fathers. They also reported being more similar to their

mothers, talking more frequently and doing things more often with their mothers than with their fathers.

6. Only the _expected_ occupational choice is given in Table 14 because the presumption is parents were responding to the daughters' realistic expectations not their fantasy. No significant results were found with the _ideal_ choice.

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Table 1

Masculinity of Occupational Choice

| | High School Women | | High School Women Definitely Going To College | | College Women |
	Ideal Occupation	Expected Occupation	Ideal Occupation	Expected Occupation	Realistic Ideal
$\overline{X}$	40.25	29.74	49.56	38.08	45.81
s	30.2	23.13	28.90	25.89	29.60
n	765	748	294	282	529

Table 2

Father's Education

	High School Women		College Women	
	No.	%	No.	%
Low	215	28.7	60	10.2
Medium	281	37.6	160	27.3
High	252	33.7	366	62.5
Total	748	100.0	586	100.0

Mother's Education

	High School Women		College Women	
	No.	%	No.	%
Low	172	22.2	51	8.6
Medium	431	55.6	237	40.1
High	172	22.2	303	51.3
Total	775	100.0	599	100.0

Father's Occupation

High School Women			College Women		
	No.	%		No.	%
White collar	437	57.3	White collar &prof	293	51.0
Blue collar	326	42.7	Owner &mgr.	167	29.1
			Blue collar	114	19.9
Total	763	100.0	Total	507	100.0

Mother's Occupation

	High School Women		College Women	
	No.	%	No.	%
White collar	288	36.0	265	45.4
Blue collar	80	10.0	43	7.4
House-wife	433	54.1	275	47.2
Total	801	100.0	583	100.0

Table 3

Father's Education and Masculinity of Occupational Choice

High School Women

Father's Education	Ideal Occupation			Expected Occupation		
	low	med	high	low	med	high
$\overline{X}$	36.1	38.5	45.0	27.6	26.0	35.3
s	28.8	31.3	29.1	22.2	21.3	25.1
n	205	267	237	183	257	230

$F_{(2,706)} = 5.37$ ** $\qquad$ $F_{(2,667)} = 10.918$ **

High School Women Definitely Going to College

Father's Education	Ideal Occupation			Expected Occupation		
	low	med	high	low	med	high
$\overline{X}$	47.72	48.52	49.91	32.90	34.93	41.0
s	30.24	29.48	27.81	25.49	25.65	26.1
n	54	82	141	49	82	136

$F_{(2,274)} = 0.1336$ $\qquad$ $F_{(2,264)} = 2.4085$

College Women

Father's Education	Realistic Ideal		
	low	med	high
$\overline{X}$	49.9	44.5	46.3
s	29.8	30.5	29.1
n	53	143	323

$F_{(2,516)} = 0.653$

** significant at the .01 level

Table 4

Father's Occupation and Masculinity of Occupational Choice

High School Women

Father's Occupation	Ideal Occupation		Expected Occupation	
	White collar	Blue collar	White collar	Blue collar
$\overline{X}$	42.5	37.9	31.7	27.9
s ;	30.0	30.5	24.0	22.9
n	414	310	392	290
	$t = 2.05$ *		$t = 2.078$ *	

High School Women Definitely Going to College

Father's Occupation	Ideal Occupation		Expected Occupation	
	White collar	Blue collar	White collar	Blue collar
$\overline{X}$	50.4	47.6	38.8	37.8
s	28.4	30.1	25.7	27.2
n	196	87		
	$t = 0.761$		$t = 0.276$	

College Women

Realistic Ideal

Father's Occupation	White collar & professionals	Owners & managers	Blue collar
$\overline{X}$	46.1	46.4	44.4
s	30.8	27.4	29.3
n	256	142	109

$$F_{(2,504)} = 0.1583$$

* significant at the .05 level of significance

Table 5

Father's Education and Masculinity of Occupational Choice When Father's Occupation is Controlled

High School Women

	Ideal Occupation						Expected Occupation					
Father's Education	Father white collar			Father blue collar			Father white collar			Father blue collar		
	low	med	high	low	med	high	low	med	high	low	med	high
$\overline{X}$	36.6	37.8	46.2	35.9	39.8	34.5	27.5	25.7	35.8	27.4	26.4	32.1
s	27.9	30.4	29.4	28.9	32.3	25.5	22.9	21.2	24.8	22.0	21.8	28.5
n	61	123	212	132	138	22	55	120	203	119	131	24

$F_{(2,393)} = 5.142 **$ $\quad$ $F_{(2,289)} = .633$ $\quad$ $F_{(2,375)} = 6.833 **$ $\quad$ $F_{(2,271)} = .622$

High School Women Definitely Going to College

	Ideal Occupation						Expected Occupation					
Father's Education	Father white collar			Father blue collar			Father white collar			Father blue collar		
	low	med	high	low	med	high	low	med	high	low	med	high
$\overline{X}$	41.5	48.8	51.0	50.1	48.2	40.0	27.3	35.2	40.8	36.6	34.6	44.0
s	26.9	29.0	28.0	31.4	30.5	24.6	19.8	26.3	25.8	27.4	25.2	31.6
n	16	46	128	35	36	11	15	46	123	31	36	11

$F_{(2,187)} = .846$ $\quad$ $F_{(2,72)} = .431$ $\quad$ $F_{(2,181)} = 2.350$ $\quad$ $F_{(2,75)} = .501$

College Women

Realistic Ideal

Father's Education	Father white collar			Father blue collar		
	low	med	high	low	med	high
$\overline{X}$	51.5	41.9	47.3	47.2	48.5	34.7
s	27.1	31.1	29.1	30.5	29.5	25.3
n	15	84	294	31	53	22

$$F_{(2,390)} = 1.340 \qquad F_{(2,103)} = 1.857$$

** significant at the .01 level of significance

Table 6

Mother's Education and Masculinity of Occupational Choice

High School Women

Mother's Education	Ideal Occupation			Expected Occupation		
	low	med	high	low	med	high
$\overline{X}$	34.3	39.6	48.1	27.1	27.4	38.6
s	27.8	30.4	30.2	21.1	22.1	26.2
n	165	407	164	145	396	153

$F_{(2,733)} = 9.02$ ** $\qquad$ $F_{(2,691)} = 14.706$ **

High School Women Definitely Going to College

Mother's Education	Ideal Occupation			Expected Occupation		
	low	med	high	low	med	high
$\overline{X}$	49.3	47.1	53.2	37.2	34.5	43.5
s	28.4	29.5	28.3	27.0	25.3	25.7
n	47	143	100	39	142	97

$F_{(2,287)} = 1.3128$ $\qquad$ $F_{(2,275)} = 3.5046$ *

College Women

Realistic Ideal

Mother's Education	low	med	high
$\overline{X}$	43.1	44.1	47.4
s	28.7	29.4	30.0
n	43	213	270

$F_{(2,513)} = 0.9255$

* significant at the .05 level of significance
** significant at the .01 level of significance

Table 7

Mother's Occupation and Masculinity of Occupational Choice

High School Women

Mother's Occupation	Ideal Occupation			Expected Occupation		
	White collar	Blue collar	House-wife	White collar	Blue collar	House-wife
$\overline{X}$	41.1	37.5	40.4	30.8	25.9	29.7
s	30.0	31.1	30.4	23.3	20.7	23.7
n	272	78	411	263	67	334

$$F_{(2,758)} = 0.4361 \qquad F_{(2,661)} = 1.186$$

High School Females Definitely Going to College

Mother's Occupation	Ideal Occupation			Expected Occupation		
	White collar	Blue collar	House-wife	White collar	Blue collar	House-wife
$\overline{X}$	47.7	53.2	50.5	34.8	35.5	40.7
s	28.9	30.5	28.8	24.0	25.4	27.1
n	113	18	163	113	15	154

$$F_{(2,291)} = 0.4706 \qquad F_{(2,279)} = 1.777$$

College Women

Realistic Ideal

Mother's Occupation	White collar	Blue collar	House-wife
$\overline{X}$	48.8	47.1	43.0
s	29.2	29.2	30.1
n	240	35	240

$$F_{(2,512)} = 2.351$$

Table 8

Mother's Education and Masculinity of Occupational Choice When Mother's Work Status is Controlled

High School Women

	Ideal Occupation						Expected Occupation					
Mother's Education	Mother housewife			Mother works			Mother housewife			Mother works		
	low	med	high	low	med	high	low	med	high	low	med	high
$\overline{X}$	34.7	39.2	49.2	33.8	40.1	46.5	25.3	26.7	41.0	29.0	28.0	35.6
s	28.8	30.5	29.2	27.0	30.5	31.7	20.2	22.3	26.7	22.0	21.9	25.5
n	85	212	95	80	195	69	75	207	86	70	189	67

$F_{(2,389)} = 5.903$ ** $\qquad$ $F_{(2,341)} = 3.582$ * $\qquad$ $F_{(2,365)} = 12.191$ ** $\qquad$ $F_{(2,323)} = 2.395$

High School Women Definitely Going to College

	Ideal Occupation						Expected Occupation					
Mother's Education	Mother housewife			Mother works			Mother housewife			Mother works		
	low	med	high	low	med	high	low	med	high	low	med	high
$\overline{X}$	48.9	47.8	54.5	49.5	46.3	51.2	35.8	36.0	48.4	38.1	32.7	36.5
s	30.6	30.3	26.5	27.6	28.6	31.3	27.4	26.7	26.4	27.3	23.5	23.3
n	18	79	62	29	64	38	15	78	57	24	64	40

$F_{(2,156)} = 0.951$ $\qquad$ $F_{(2,128)} = 0.364$ $\qquad$ $F_{(2,147)} = 3.814$ * $\qquad$ $F_{(2,125)} = 0.549$

College Women

Realistic Ideal

Mother's Education	Mother housewife			Mother works		
	low	med	high	low	med	high
$\overline{X}$	47.9	47.0	50.0	38.1	40.7	45.1
s	30.1	28.8	29.4	26.9	30.4	30.2
n	22	113	140	21	93	125

$$F_{(2,272)} = 0.334 \qquad F_{(2,236)} = 0.859$$

* significant at the .05 level of significance
** significant at the .01 level of significance

Table 9

Differences in Mother's and Father's Education and
Masculinity of Occupational Choice

High School Women

	Ideal Occupation			Expected Occupation		
Education Differences	Mother < Father	Mother = Father	Mother > Father	Mother < Father	Mother = Father	Mother > Father
$\bar{X}$	39.0	41.0	38.5	29.0	31.1	27.4
s	29.5	30.3	29.7	22.0	24.5	21.6
n	181	362	146	178	334	142

$$F_{(2,686)} = 0.485 \qquad F_{(2,651)} = 1.339$$

High School Women Definitely Going to College

	Ideal Occupation			Expected Occupation		
Education Differences	Mother < Father	Mother = Father	Mother > Father	Mother < Father	Mother = Father	Mother > Father
$\bar{X}$	48.7	49.4	49.1	37.0	39.3	33.8
s	29.0	28.5	29.0	25.2	27.0	23.7
n	81	148	46	79	138	48

$$F_{(2,272)} = 0.017 \qquad F_{(2,262)} = 0.836$$

College Women

Realistic Ideal

Education Differences	Mother < Father	Mother = Father	Mother > Father
$\bar{X}$	43.2	45.6	51.6
s	28.6	29.7	30.0
n	127	319	78

$$F_{(2,521)} = 1.979$$

Table 10

Differences in Mother's and Father's Education and Masculinity of
Occupational Choice When Level of Education is Controlled

High School Women

Ideal Occupation

	Neither attended college			Either or both attended college		
Education Differences	Mother< Father	Mother= Father	Mother> Father	Mother< Father	Mother= Father	Mother> Father
$\overline{X}$	32.6	38.1	36.1	41.7	47.9	43.5
s	27.5	31.1	26.9	30.0	27.3	34.5
n	54	254	98	127	108	48

$$F_{(2,403)} = 0.011 \qquad\qquad F_{(2,280)} = 0.753$$

Expected Occupation

	Neither attended college			Either or both attended college		
Education Differences	Mother< Father	Mother= Father	Mother> Father	Mother< Father	Mother= Father	Mother> Father
$\overline{X}$	24.4	26.8	26.0	30.8	41.2	30.5
s	18.0	22.4	20.3	23.2	26.4	24.0
n	50	234	96	128	100	46

$$F_{(2,377)} = 0.015 \qquad\qquad F_{(2,271)} = 6.099 **$$

High School Women Definitely Going to College

Ideal Occupation

Education Differences	Neither attended college			Either or both attended college		
	Mother< Father	Mother= Father	Mother> Father	Mother< Father	Mother= Father	Mother > Father
$\overline{X}$	55.2	46.6	45.5	47.3	52.2	53.0
s	27.5	30.5	25.3	29.3	26.4	32.8
n	14	74	24	67	74	22

$$F_{(2,109)} = 0.581 \qquad F_{(2,160)} = 0.628$$

Expected Occupation

Education Differences	Neither attended college			Either or both attended college		
	Mother< Father	Mother= Father	Mother> Father	Mother< Father	Mother= Father	Mother> Father
$\overline{X}$	39.4	33.3	31.5	36.5	45.2	36.4
s	24.4	26.9	21.8	25.5	26.0	25.8
n	13	68	25	66	70	23

$$F_{(2,103)} = 0.422 \qquad F_{(2,156)} = 2.250$$

College Women

Realistic Ideal

Education Differences	Neither attended college			Either or both attended college		
	Mother< Father	Mother= Father	Mother > Father	Mother< Father	Mother= Father	Mother > Father
$\overline{X}$	40.9	42.4	52.4	44.6	47.1	50.3
s	27.5	30.5	25.3	29.3	26.4	32.8
n	17	101	28	105	218	48

$$F_{(2,143)} = 1.336 \qquad F_{(2,368)} = 0.636$$

** significant at the .01 level

Table 11

Percentage Analysis of Mother's Educational Dominance

High School Women

Percentage of Males in Occupation	Ideal Occupation				Expected Occupation			
	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %
1-38%	49.2	48.1	50.7	48.9	65.7	65.0	73.9	67.1
39-78%	39.8	39.8	37.0	39.2	30.9	29.3	21.1	28.0
79-99%	11.0	12.2	12.3	11.9	3.4	5.7	4.9	4.9
Total	100.0	100.1*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9*	100.0
n	181	362	146	689	178	334	142	654

High School Women Definitely Going to College

Percentage of Males in Occupation	Ideal Occupation				Expected Occupation			
	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %
1-38%	30.9	29.7	30.4	30.2	46.8	47.1	56.3	48.7
39-78%	53.1	55.4	50.0	53.8	45.6	42.0	37.5	42.3
79-99%	16.0	14.9	19.6	16.0	7.6	10.9	6.3	9.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1*	100.0
n	81	148	46	275	79	138	48	265

* Total percentage does not equal 100.0 due to rounding error.

College Women

Realistic Ideal

Education Differences

Percentage Males in Occupation	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %
1-16%	25.2	25.4	21.8	24.8
17-44%	34.6	29.2	25.6	30.0
45-64%	19.7	19.1	17.9	19.1
65-99%	20.5	26.3	34.6	26.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	127	319	78	524

Table 12

Percentage Analysis of Mother's Educational Dominance with Student's
Occupational Choice When Level of Education is Controlled

High School Women

Ideal Occupation

Percentage Males in Occupation	Neither attended college				Either or both attended college			
	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %
1-38%	63.0	55.5	52.0	55.7	43.3	29.6	47.9	39.2
39-78%	29.6	32.3	40.8	34.0	44.1	57.4	29.2	46.6
79-99%	7.4	12.2	7.1	10.3	12.6	12.0	22.9	14.1
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9*	100.0	100.0	99.0*	100.0	99.9*
n	54	254	98	406	127	108	48	283

Expected Occupation

Percentage Males in Occupation	Parents did not attend college				Parents did attend college			
	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %
1-38%	78.0	73.9	77.1	75.3	60.9	44.0	67.4	55.8
39-78%	20.0	22.2	18.8	21.1	35.9	48.0	28.2	39.1
79-99%	2.0	3.8	4.2	3.7	3.1	8.0	4.3	5.1
Total	100.0	99.9*	100.1*	100.1*	99.9*	100.0	100.9*	100.0
n	50	234	96	380	128	100	46	274

*Total percentage does not equal 100.0 due to rounding error.

High School Women Definitely Going to College

Ideal Occupation

Percentage Males in Occupation	Neither attended college				Either or both attended college			
	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %
1-38%	21.4	37.8	29.2	33.9	32.8	21.6	31.8	27.6
39-78%	57.1	47.3	58.3	50.9	52.2	63.5	40.9	55.8
79-99%	21.4	14.9	12.5	15.2	14.9	14.9	27.3	16.6
Total	99.9*	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9*	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	14	74	24	112	67	74	22	163

Expected Occupation

Percentage Males in Occupation	Parents did not attend college				Parents did attend college			
	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %
1-38%	46.2	61.8	60.0	59.4	47.0	32.9	52.2	41.5
39-78%	46.2	27.9	36.0	32.1	45.5	55.7	39.1	49.1
79-99%	7.7	10.3	4.0	8.5	7.6	11.4	8.7	9.4
Total	100.1*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1*	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	13	68	25	106	66	70	23	159

*Total percentage does not equal 100.0 due to rounding error.

College Women

Realistic Ideal

Percentage Males in Occupation	Neither attended college				Either or both attended college			
	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %	Mother< Father %	Mother= Father %	Mother> Father %	Total %
1-16%	29.4	31.7	21.4	29.5	22.9	22.5	22.9	22.6
17-44%	35.3	24.8	21.4	25.3	35.2	31.2	29.2	32.1
45-64%	11.8	18.8	21.4	18.5	21.0	19.3	14.6	19.1
65-99%	23.5	24.8	35.7	26.7	21.0	27.1	33.3	26.1
Total	100.0	100.1*	99.9*	100.0	100.1*	100.1*	100.0	99.9*
n	17	100	28	146	105	218	48	371

*Total percentage does not equal 100.0 due to rounding error.

Table 13

Comparison of Mothers' and Fathers' Occupational Expectation for Daughter

Parents' Expectation	Percentage of Mothers and Fathers in Each Parent Expectation Category			
	Mothers (N = 637)		Fathers (N = 582)	
	%	N	%	N
Agrees with daughter's plans	44	278	34	200
Does not agree with daughter's plans	18	118	15	86
Cites general characteristics only or doesn't care	10	64	16	93
Wants whatever suits daughter or says the daughter must decide	28	177	35	203
Totals	100	637	100	582

Table 14

Relationship of Parents' Reported Occupational Wishes for Daughter
to Her Expected Occupational Choice
(high school sample only)

Mother

	Agrees w/ daughter's choice	Does not agree w/ daughter's choice	Cites general charact- eristics	Says whatever daughter wants
$\overline{X}$	28.02	29.23	25.66	35.54
s	22.54	22.80	19.84	25.52
n	278	118	64	177

$$F_{(3,633)} = 4.8227**$$

Father

	Agrees w/ daughter's choice	Does not agree w/ daughter's choice	Cites general charact- eristics	Says whatever daughter wants
$\overline{X}$	29.93	31.97	26.84	32.02
s	24.80	25.47	20.87	23.47
n	202	87	94	205

$$F_{(3,584)} = 1.1610$$

**significant at the .01 level of significance