

Occupational prestige and gender-occupational segregation

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to analyse the relationship between the proportion of women working in an occupation and the prestige assigned to that occupation. Based on a representative sample of Spanish employees from the Spanish Quality of Work Life Survey, pooled-sample data (2007-2010) are used to show that occupations with larger shares of women present lower prestige, controlling for a set of objective individual and work-related variables, and self-assessed indicators of working conditions. Save for the male-dominated occupations (less than 20% women), the relationship between female share and occupational prestige is linear and negative, providing partial support to the devaluation theory. The results hold even after passing a battery of robustness checks.

Keywords: gender differences, occupational gender composition, occupational prestige, Spain.

Introduction

The division of labour has progressively become the kernel of social inequality, leading to occupation being considered as an important dimension of social stratification (Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996). The rapid increase in women's participation in the labour market during recent decades has led the study of social differentiation to focus on gender. Systematic inequality in the distribution of socially-valued resources on the basis of personal characteristics may lead to social stratification (Reskin and Bielby, 2005). Thus, women are massively employed in female-dominated occupations (basically in services associated with nurturing and care), characterised by a high level of part-time work, lower promotion opportunities, and lower wages. In particular, almost one half of the gender pay gap can be explained by over-representation of women in low-paid jobs (Blau and Kahn, 2016; Shauman, 2006). The proportion of women in an occupation, industry, or firm -i.e. the female share- has been found to be negatively correlated with pay, even after controlling for individual and occupational characteristics and even when using longitudinal data (England et al., 2007; Levanon et al., 2009; Perales, 2013),¹ suggesting that women's work may be culturally and institutionally undervalued (Acker, 1980; England, 1979; see Reskin and Bielby, 2005, for a survey).

When prestige is used to measure social standing, however, such clear gender differences are not observed. Occupational prestige, interpreted as the collective subjective consensus concerning occupational status, is an important indicator of the general valuation of occupations (Magnusson, 2009; Wegener, 1992). Earlier studies for the US (England, 1979; Sewell et al., 1980; Treiman and Terrell, 1975) found little gender difference in occupational prestige, with these results being disputed by more recent contributions in different countries (Crawley, 2014, in US; Harkonen et al., 2016; in Sweden and Germany; Magnusson, 2009, in Sweden). One important strand of the literature has striven to investigate why prestige is differentially remunerated between men and women (England et al., 2007; Kleinjans et al., 2015; Magnusson, 2009, 2013; Ochsenfeld, 2014), but has tended to overlook the association between segregation and prestige. It is this latter association that is focused on here. It is contended that the rewards of work are multidimensional, such that the contribution to society from work can be better captured by a more general indicator of social standing, prestige, than by earnings.

The aim of this article is to study the association between the female share in an occupation and the prestige accorded to that occupation using individual data for Spain, an example of the Mediterranean (or Latin) rim, characterised by relatively little state intervention in the welfare sphere, with a marked gender division of paid and unpaid work, and where social care tends to be privatized within the family. These characteristics may influence the decisions on sharing domestic and family responsibilities within the household, and how to make market and non-market work compatible, thereby affecting occupational attainment. Individual information from the Spanish Quality of Working Life Survey (*Encuesta de Calidad de Vida en el Trabajo*, ECVT) is matched with an occupational prestige SIOPS-based, Spain-focused scale, PRESCA2 (SIOPS, Standard International Occupation Prestige Scale, Treiman, 1977). As in Magnusson (2009) and Kleinjans et al. (2015), occupational prestige is taken as a valid indicator of the social valuation of an occupation since individuals, and society as a whole, consider diverse characteristics, in addition to earnings or authority, as desirable in their jobs and occupations. In the article, it is considered that prestige indicates how society collectively evaluates the social standing of an occupation.

The preferred specification, and all the robustness checks carried out, leads to conclude the existence of a not-completely-linear relationship between female share in an occupation and the prestige tied to that occupation. Female-dominated occupations are the least socially-valued, whereas occupations with the highest prestige are those in which the female percentage is in the range 21-60%. Save for the 0-20% group, the relationship between female share and occupational prestige is linear and negative, providing partial support to the devaluation theory. From the analysis, it is concluded that women's participation in a broader range of occupations should be promoted in order to close the differences between men and women.

The remainder of the article is organised as follows. The following section reviews the prior research. After that, measures, data sources, and the estimation results are presented. A series of additional exercises are then carried out to check the robustness of the results. Finally, concluding remarks close the article.

Prior research

The causes of the existence of occupational segregation and of its persistence over time are varied (Anker, 1998). Whereas a decreasing trend in segregation during the second half of the 20th century was observed, it has slowed, or even stalled, in the last two

decades (England, 2010). As a consequence, substantial stability in male and female work is still observed, with women continuing to be employed disproportionately in lower-paid occupations (Blau and Kahn, 2016; England et al., 2007; Shauman, 2006). Essentially, the models explaining occupational segregation (allocation) are also advocated to argue why feminine occupations are paid less (devaluation) (Levanon et al., 2009; Polavieja, 2008; Shauman, 2006).

The traditional economic argument according to which women seek jobs that are more suited to their personal characteristics (MacPherson and Hirsch, 1995; Mincer and Polachek, 1974; Polachek, 1981; Polavieja, 2008; Tam, 1997), such that they exhibit shorter and more discontinuous working lives and accumulate lower human capital, is challenged by current research. Gender differentials in education, experience and tenure have narrowed over time (Blau and Kahn, 2016; Goldin, 2006; Perales, 2013). Similarly, whereas some authors find empirical support to argue that women prefer jobs and occupations that allow them to balance work and family responsibilities (Becker, 1985; Bender et al., 2005; Leuze and Strauß, 2016; Magnusson, 2010; Shauman, 2006), other authors dispute these results (Marini et al., 1996; Stier and Yaish, 2015).

An alternative explanation is that women self-allocate to occupations with which they identify (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000), or that they have internalised as feminine because of socialisation in norms, stereotypes, or gender roles (Eccles, 1994; Goldin, 2006; Lips, 2013; Ochsenfeld, 2014). Gender differences in psychological traits or non-cognitive skills may also influence the allocation and valuation of women's work (Borghans et al., 2008). Men are more competitive, more self-confident, more contentious, have more self-esteem, a more internal locus of control, and put a higher value on money, whereas women are more risk-averse, more conscious, more altruistic, less prone to bargain, and prefer occupations that allow for interpersonal interactions (Croson and Gneezy, 2009; Fortin, 2008; Marini et al., 1996).

Different kinds of discrimination may explain the concentration of women in lower-paid occupations. Economic discrimination includes prejudice or tastes of employers, co-workers, or customers (Becker, 1985), statistical discrimination (Aigner and Cain, 1977) or crowding (Bergmann, 1974). From a sociological point of view, one prevailing theory is that of devaluation (England, 1992), by which women's work is less socially-esteemed and more poorly remunerated because it is carried out by women.

Some empirical work provides evidence that devaluation theory outperforms other alternatives (England et al, 2007; Levanon et al., 2009; Perales, 2013). However, other

studies go against this view. For Germany, Leuze and Strauß (2016) test the devaluation theory against women choosing occupations that provide better working-time arrangements, finding some support for the latter (see also Magnusson, 2010). Gronlund and Magnusson (2013) test three alternative theories (devaluation, crowding, and human capital) with Swedish data and find no clear evidence in favour of any of the tested theories (see also Magnusson, 2013). The relevance of socialisation in traditional gender roles, stereotypes, and identity are progressively gaining acceptance as plausible explanations of gender wage differences across occupations (Fortin, 2008; Kleinjans et al., 2015; Lips, 2013; Marini et al., 1996; Ochsenfeld, 2014). Whereas men are uncomfortable crossing boundaries to working in female-dominated occupations, women still show adherence to work in occupations associated with traditional roles, since departures from those roles generate individual costs (Crawley, 2014; England, 2010; Rudman and Phelan, 2010).²

Despite the evidence showing that women earn less in the job market, it is not uncommon for women to declare greater job satisfaction than men (Clark, 1997; Zou, 2015). Zou (2015) argues that women's greater job satisfaction could be the consequence of a better match between what they want and what their jobs offer (due to different preferences or constrained choices). Similarly, Fortin (2008) argues that women show preference for working in occupations that are deemed useful to society. Kleinjans et al. (2015) find that women are concentrated in occupations that provide them with higher social prestige. While focusing only on earnings, researchers overlook the fact that work is multidimensional and offers other kinds of reward, and interest in a particular kind of reward may differ by gender. Thus, Marini et al. (1996) show that, in a sample of US high-school seniors, intrinsic (enjoyment of work), altruistic (helping others) and social rewards (working with people) are valued more highly by women. Similarly, Grove et al. (2011) find that, in a US sample of MBAs, women exhibit higher ethical standards and prefer jobs that contribute to society. Fortin (2008) shows that women put greater importance on people and family, with men's priority being centred on work and money. All of this suggests the use of a broader indicator of occupational standing than earnings. Since occupational prestige is interpreted as the subjective consensus concerning occupational status, and is therefore an important indicator of the general valuation of occupations, occupational prestige may be worthy of study in understanding social stratification in Spain.

Many of the arguments for why men and women are allocated and paid differently are the same arguments for why men and women experience different levels of prestige.³ However, in contrast to the case of earnings, the female share in an occupation is not significantly correlated with occupational prestige (England, 1979; Fox and Suschnigg, 1989), or only in the most prestigious occupations (Bose and Rossi, 1983). Similarly, earlier empirical work by Acker (1980), England (1979), Fox and Suschnigg (1989), Sewell et al. (1980) and Treiman and Terrell (1975) found no differences between the average prestige of men's and women's occupations, with Canadian and US data.⁴ These results led to the abandonment of occupational prestige as a measure of social standing, in favour of other socioeconomic status indicators, such as earnings, education, and authority.

In recent times, this process has reversed. Magnusson (2009) considers that occupational prestige is a more direct measure of the valuation of women's work than wages, and is the most appropriate indicator to test the devaluation theory. Using individual data from Sweden, her results do not support the devaluation theory. Kleinjans et al. (2015) interpret occupational prestige as an amenity and conclude that women allocate to occupations with lower wages but with greater social prestige. These two studies use national prestige scales to determine that the highest occupational prestige is observed in those occupations having at least 20% of both genders (their results are robust against using the alternative Treiman SIOPS scale).

Crawley (2014) carries out a lab study with US university students to show that there is no overt discrimination based on the gender of the workers in any of the occupations studied and that gender differences in occupational prestige have diminished in the last two decades. Harkonen et al. (2016) analyse gender inequalities in occupational careers in three birth cohorts, using growth-curve analysis with data from West Germany and Sweden, where occupational prestige is measured with the SIOPS. They observe a closing of the gender gap in prestige, over time and over the life cycle for the two countries. The relatively scarce literature relating the female percentage in an occupation and the prestige tied to it, finds no large differences in occupational prestige between men and women, and the highest prestige is observed in gender-integrated occupations.

Measures, data, and descriptive analysis

Measures of occupational prestige

Occupational status is a generic term covering prestige, socioeconomic status and class measures. Among the many indicators used (see Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996; Warren et al., 1998), the present analysis retains occupational prestige as the most important dimension in social interaction. In the sociology of work and social stratification, occupational prestige has a broader theoretical meaning than other socioeconomic indices, since it encompasses many determinants other than earnings and education (Warren et al., 1998). To the extent that an occupation embodies a bundle of job characteristics that are jointly considered by individuals, prestige reflects an occupation's contribution 'to society', and measures its desirability, thereby capturing the social standing given to those holding a specific occupation (Hauser and Warren, 1997; Magnusson, 2009; Powell and Jacobs, 1984).

Whereas prestige scales have been shown to be constant over time and space (Hauser and Warren, 1997; Hout and DiPrete, 2006), and over other characteristics, such as social class, gender, and age (Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996; Treiman, 1977), thus guaranteeing the validity of the same scale in different environments, the use of occupational prestige has been disputed, for two reasons. First, as mentioned above, women are disadvantaged in the labour market compared to men, and a valid measure of occupational standing should reflect these gender inequalities in the labour force. In the previous section, several arguments to consider occupational prestige as alternative to earnings have been discussed. A second caveat is that prestige itself may be gender-sensitive (Acker, 1980; Bose and Rossi, 1983; Powell and Jacobs, 1984). Since the occupational prestige scale is based on the ratings of respondents, the scale will embody the prejudices and assumptions of the respondents providing the rating scores. Powell and Jacobs (1984) and Ulfsdotter Eriksson (2013), using two different laboratory experiments with US and Swedish respondents, respectively, conclude that an occupational prestige scale is actually a composite of two scales, such that measuring occupational prestige should be done for men and women separately. Whereas this kind of result is usually found in small experimental designs, or when valuations in gender-stereotyped jobs are confronted (Bose and Rossi, 1983; Fox and Suschnigg, 1989), many "macro-sociological" studies find scale invariants against the gender of respondents (Treiman, 1977; Warren et al., 1998; Wegener, 1992). Furthermore, in a lab-type experiment with university students in the US, Crawley (2014) finds no gender differences in the job raters.

Data sources

Occupational prestige is measured by a SIOPS-type prestige scale elaborated specifically for the Spanish case, PRESCA2, by Carabaña and Gomez-Bueno (1996). This is constructed along similar lines to the typical SIOPS scale. Specifically, surveyed individuals are asked to value different occupational categories, taking *salesperson* as reference with a given value of 100. Each individual is then requested to rate an occupational category according to how he/she believes that occupational category is valued by society. If one thinks that a particular occupation is considered to be twice as prestigious as the *salesperson* category, one may rate that occupation at 200, or 50 if one believes that society considers that an occupation is only half as prestigious as the reference category. If an occupation is believed by the individual to be socially considered a little better than *salesperson* one may rate it 105 or 110, or if it is a little worse, 90 or 95 (for more on the PRESCA2 scale, see Carabaña and Gómez-Bueno, 1996).⁵ Regarding the possible problem of gender bias in prestige, a subsequent study by one of the authors of the PRESCA2 scale (Gomez-Bueno, 1996) found little or no influence of the gender of the raters.

Individual information comes from the ECVT which focuses on employment relationships and on the valuation and attitudes of employees towards work. The survey addresses employees older than 16 as being representative of the total employed population, covers a number of issues relating to working conditions, and allows controlling for a battery of individual and job attributes, including the occupational category. The sample is constructed by pooling the last four consecutive waves, from 2007 to 2010. ECVT and PRESCA2 express occupational categories according to the 1994 Spanish Occupations National Classification (CNO-1994), which follows the ISCO-88 (International Standard Classification of Occupations) guidelines. The three-digit classification is the maximum level of disaggregation provided in the ECVT, producing 216 occupations.

Table 1 shows the average values of occupational prestige, considering certain individual and job characteristics. Prestige is greater the higher the educational level, the higher the earnings, and for those working full-time, in the public sector, with a permanent contract, or a supervisory position. Comparing male and female workers, the rough average indicates that there are no differences. Looking at different characteristics, two factors stand out: first, for each educational level, average prestige for women is between 3 and 12 points below that of men; second, for a given income

level (above the minimum interval), average prestige is between 7 and 20 points higher among women than among men. These results reveal that, with a similar education, women work in less socially-esteemed occupations than do men and that, in order to earn equal pay, women need to work in occupations with higher prestige. The lower part of Table 1 shows that greater social valuation is observed in those occupations where greater parity exists, whereas occupations where female share is over 80% are the least socially-valued. Furthermore, within this group of occupations, average prestige for men is clearly above those of women, the opposite happening in occupations with less than 20% of women.

(Table 1 about here)

Descriptive analysis

Between 1986 and 2007, almost 9 million jobs were created, of which 5.5 million were for women, increasing female participation and employment rates by around 20 percentage points. More than 80% of the increase in female employment was in the services sector, characterised by high flexibility in the working day, allowing for greater compatibility of family responsibilities with paid work, more interpersonal relationships, less physical effort, and directly related to the development of ICT (Dueñas et al. 2014; AUTHOR A). This makes Spain a country with notable gender differences in the distribution of employment across occupations (AUTHOR A; Verhaest and Verhoven, 2013).

The 15 most male- and female- dominated occupations, among the 66 corresponding to the 2-digit CNO-94 classification, are chosen to illustrate the relationship between occupational gender distribution and occupational prestige. Table A1 in the Appendix reports, for the last year of the sample, 2010, and for each selected occupation, the percentage of women (men) out of the total women (men) employed, the female (male) share, and the average prestige, respectively. The 15 most female-dominated occupations represent almost 70% of total working Spanish women (60% among the first 10 occupations), indicating that a large part of female employment is allocated to a few occupations, in which women are over-represented. The 15 most male-dominated occupations represent only 34% of total employed men. Looking at the fourth column in each block of Table A1, there does not appear to be a clear relationship between the social prestige of an occupation and the female share in that occupation. Among the most female-dominated occupations, some surpass the 75th percentile (*teachers* and

nurses), while others are below the 30th percentile (*cashiers*) and even the 10th percentile (*cleaners*). Heterogeneity across the most male-dominated occupations is much lower, with almost all of them ranking between 65 and 110 points.

A graphical approximation allows considering the whole set of 216, 3-digit occupations. Figure 1 represents the average female share of occupations, arranged according to occupational prestige (in deciles). Occupations in the upper tail of the distribution (the most socially-recognised) display higher average female shares than those in the first 7 deciles, indicating that occupations with greater occupational prestige are those where the shares of women and men are more similar.

(Figure 1 here)

Model estimation results

For a more robust assessment of the relationship between occupational prestige and the female share, and provided that the PRESCA2 scale is cardinal, OLS regression analysis is used. Occupational prestige rates (expressed in logs) are regressed on individual variables and on the female share, first, as the proportion of women (ranging from 0 to 1) in a particular occupation; and, second, in dummy variables to capture the possibility of non-linearity in the relationship (five dummies ranging from 0-20% up to 81-100%). The initial specification includes as additional regressors education and earnings variables only, expressed in dummies, as provided in the survey, with estimated coefficients being reported in models (1) and (2) in Table 2. As expected, prestige increases with education and earnings. More importantly, the estimated coefficient for the female share is negative and statistically significant, reflecting the fact that, controlling for education and earnings, the greater the proportion of women in an occupation, the lower the prestige tied to that occupation. When expressed in dummies, high prestige is observed in occupations where the female share is between 41-60%, with the range 21-40% following closely, whereas occupations above 80% female carry the least prestige.

(Table 2 about here)

The richness of the ECVT allows including more variables, so reducing the omitted variable bias: i) personal and family variables, such as gender, age, marital status, dummies for children (by age group), and father's occupational prestige; ii) job-related variables, such as seniority and a series of dummies for public/private sector, workday, job training, working in first job, being a supervisor, working in teams and being

covered by a collective agreement; iii) indicators of individual assessment of workplace characteristics (time-flexibility, stress, monotony, and physical effort required); and iv) dummies for firm size, sector, region, and year. Estimated results are reported in models (3) and (4) in Table 2.

The male coefficient is negative, implying that, other things being equal, men receive less prestige than women. (This may be rationalised when expressed in terms of earnings, for example, as men do not need to work in an occupation with the same level of prestige as women in order to obtain higher wages). Being married is associated with greater prestige, whereas having children is associated with lower prestige. Father's occupational prestige, used as a proxy for the general social and financial status of the family of origin (Kleinjans et al., 2015; Harkonen et al., 2016; Treiman and Terrell, 1975), reflects the fact that original social class is directly linked to current prestige. Seniority, working in the public sector, having an uninterrupted workday, having received some training, being in the first job, having subordinates, working in teams, enjoying some flex-time, and suffering stress on the job, all increase prestige, whereas being covered, feeling that work is monotonous or requiring certain physical effort reduce prestige. Finally, average prestige has increased in 2008 and 2009.

The addition of new controls does not change the qualitative results. Point-estimates of the female share coefficient in the richer specifications are double (in absolute value) those in the more parsimonious specifications. That is, controlling for an ample set of personal, family, and job-related variables, higher female share in an occupation is more negatively associated with occupational prestige than in the baseline specification. This makes clear that gender differences in occupational prestige exist. Looking at the estimation in dummies, the highest occupational prestige is observed when the female share is between 21% and 60% (differences between 21-40% and 41-60% are not statistically significant). Again, the lowest prestige is attained when female share surpasses 80%. Although the goodness of fit indicates that the non-linear specification is preferred, only occupations where the female share is less than 20% do not fit to a negative relationship. These results resemble those of Magnusson (2009) for Sweden, in that more balanced occupations receive more prestige, and occupations with 81-100% women are the least socially-valued. However, one difference is that, in the case of Magnusson (2009), prestige and female share follow an inverted-U relationship, with the highest prestige in the 41-60% range, decreasing, more or less symmetrically, as it moves towards the gender-dominated occupations.

Discussion

Results for the family variables may depend on gender. To control for this, interactions between age, marital status, children variables, and gender are added in the richer specification, with estimated coefficients of the variables of interest being shown in Table 3. The estimates for the rest of controls are much like those in Table 2 and are omitted to save space. The main results are as follows. First, the estimates of female share are robust to the specification used. Again, the prestige-female relationship is monotonically decreasing, except for the 0-20% group. Second, age is differentially associated with prestige for men and women. Women receive the same or less prestige as they age, while men receive more prestige. This result does not change when including the variables of children by gender. Having children older than 2 increases men's prestige and decreases women's prestige. This may be due to the interrupted career of women, which prevents them from entering more socially-valued occupations. However, if the children are younger than 2, the opposite is observed. This could result from selection, by which women in more-valued occupations are more likely, relative to those in less-valued occupations, to remain employed until their children reach school age (three years). Marriage increases prestige for both men and women. Taking these two variables together, marriage and fatherhood makes it easier for men to attain occupations with high prestige whereas, in the case of women, marriage and motherhood go in opposite directions, with the negative effect of motherhood dominating that of marriage (a similar result is found for German and Swedish women in Harkonen et al., 2016).

(Table 3 about here)

Between 2007 and 2010, unemployment rates rose from less than 8% (the lowest level in decades) to more than 20%, with male unemployment equalling that of women, which was 5 percentage points above only five years before. To investigate the possible influence of this on the relationship between female share and prestige, the same specifications as in Table 2 are estimated separately for 2007 and 2010, with coefficients of the main variables being reported in Table A2 in the Appendix. Basic results remain unchanged, save for the fact that the differences in the estimated coefficients with respect to the reference category are much more marked in 2010, reflecting greater differences in prestige among the different groups of female share.

Therefore, the influence of the Great Recession on the prestige-female-share relationship is limited, suggesting that it has a strong structural component.

Before presenting the main conclusions of our study, note that various biases may arise in the estimation of the relationship between female percentage and occupational prestige. The cross-sectional approach prevents from analysing causality (no other dataset in Spain in panel data form would allow it), such that whether feminised occupations are valued less because they are populated by women (as the devaluation theory suggests), or, by contrast, whether women allocate in occupations where prestige is lower, since they are discriminated against, and they either prefer them, or entry is easier, cannot be properly tested. However, other possible sources of bias due to measurement errors can be addressed (results are available on request). Thus, qualitative results remain unchanged when using different definitions of education and earnings; when prestige is introduced in levels; or when the reference category for the female share is not 41-60%. The use of other prestige scales (Treiman, 1977, Wegener, 1992) produces very similar results (correlations between those scales and PRESCA2 are at 87% and 86%, respectively). In order to capture non-linearity in the relationship from another point of view, a 3-order polynomial of the female share variable is estimated, finding that, depending on the number of the set of regressors included, maximum occupational prestige is attained around the 30%-level of female participation.

Finally, a cautionary note: participation rates of women in Spain are clearly lower than those of men. In order to alleviate selection bias, Table A3 presents estimated coefficients when selecting only those individuals who hold post-compulsory educational attainment since, in this group, differences in participation rates between genders are much smaller. Qualitative results remain unchanged, but it is worth noting that negative coefficients associated with gender-dominated occupations are lower (in absolute value) with respect to the reference category. Thus, prestige is somewhat more homogeneously distributed across occupations among the most educated.

Conclusions

The purpose of this article is to analyse the relationship between the percentage of women in an occupation and the prestige attached to that occupation, using Spanish data. Whereas empirical evidence across countries has consistently shown a gender wage gap, gender differences in prestige are contained. Many authors (Acker, 1980; England, 1979; Fox and Suschnigg, 1989) argued that prestige was not an appropriate

index of social stratification because it failed to show that women were worse off than men. They proposed the use of such indicators as earnings, showing that occupations with higher proportions of women pay less and concluding that women's work is undervalued. Because rewards from work are multidimensional, and women do not usually report being less satisfied at work than men, a more general indicator of social standing may perform better than earnings in investigating the social value of women's work. Various studies have used prestige to measure the process of social advancement in the US (Crawley, 2014) and in Sweden and Germany (Harkonen et al., 2016); to test the devaluation theory in Sweden (Magnusson, 2009); and to show that women in Denmark take prestige as an amenity, since they prefer to work in occupations that are deemed useful to society (Kleinjans et al., 2015). Along these lines, this study is based on the notion that social standing derived from working in a particular occupation is better captured by a general indicator of social valuation, occupational prestige, than by simply a one-dimensional measure, such as earnings.

This article is centred on Spain, a country within the Mediterranean rim characterised by a marked division of paid and unpaid work, in which family responsibilities are inadequately covered by the state, but basically a burden on women. The regression analysis indicates that whereas results coming from a linear specification of the female share appear to support the devaluation view, the better adjustment provided by the non-linear specification shows that occupations where the percentage of females is between 20 and 60 attain the highest levels of prestige, and occupations in the 81-100% range are the least socially-valued. In other words, save for the 0-20% range, a negative linear relationship between female share and prestige is observed, providing partial support to the devaluation theory.

A series of robustness checks has been carried out validating the initial conclusions. Family variables affect men and women differentially, such that motherhood is penalised and fatherhood rewarded, but basic results on the prestige-female-share relationship do not change. Controlling for a different behaviour, depending on the moment of the cycle, the definition of the variables of interest, or the lower participation of women in the labour market, barely alter results. The cross-sectional nature of the database and the type of information available prevents any causal analysis, such that the reasons why individuals are allocated into a particular occupation cannot be ascertained. In consequence, drawing clear-cut conclusions about whether an individual

prefers a given occupation, whether he/she has been gender-socialised into it, or simply discriminated against, is not possible.

To conclude, it is found, as in Kleinjans et al. (2015) and Shauman (2006), that women seem to be more concerned than men with the social value of occupations. This suggests, first, that a thorough assessment of the work-based position of women in the social hierarchy should consider as many dimensions of work as possible, and not be exclusively focused on earnings. Second, in order to achieve equality between men's and women's work, it is necessary to encourage and promote the participation of women in all kinds of occupations, in the expectation that those gender-based social norms will fade over time.

These results could be extrapolated to other countries similar to Spain, in that they have the following characteristics: first, an increase observed in female participation in recent decades that has been accompanied by high unemployment rates and non-decreasing occupational segregation (women have allocated into previously-female-dominated occupations and have not entered the low-skilled male-dominated occupations). Second, an underdeveloped welfare state regime, where family responsibilities are fundamentally attached to women, receiving little or no public support. Third, differences in the valuation of rewards from work between men and women, with women considering prestige as an amenity that may compensate for lower earnings. Other countries within the Mediterranean rim share most of these characteristics; hence similar results to those presented here are quite likely to be found.

Notes

1. Tam (1997) and MacPherson and Hirsch (1995) are notable exceptions to this general finding.
2. The cultural change and the passing of legislation against gender discrimination, coupled with the increase in women's educational attainment and the development of ITC have all favoured the entry of women in certain (skilled) male-dominated and integrated occupations, because the increase in earnings offsets the costs of not attaching traditional roles. This is not so in the case of men entering female-dominated occupations, since they find little or no compensation to do so (England, 2010).
3. Other arguments explaining the higher wages and prestige of men include: the greater likelihood for men to be allocated to supervisory positions with more power and

authority (Wright et al., 1995), or in occupations requiring working longer hours (Cha and Weeden, 2014); the fact that marriage and parenthood affects women negatively and men positively (Correll et al., 2007; Korenman and Neumark, 1992); or that women face a more constrained set of occupational choices due to the second-earner role in the family, spending longer hours in non-market responsibilities (Magnusson, 2010; Leuze and Strauß, 2016).

4. All these studies use as indicators of occupational prestige either the NORC or Treiman SIOPS, except Sewell et al. (1980) who use the Socioeconomic Index, and Fox and Suschnigg (1989) who use a Canadian scale.
5. Figure A1 in the Appendix shows the histogram and deciles of the PRESCA 2 scale for our whole sample, 2007-2010. It can be seen that it is right-skewed.

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Table 1. Average occupational prestige across groups of workers, by gender. 2007-2010.

	Proportion	Overall	Men	Women	Dif
Overall		108.57 (37.96)	108.69 (38.96)	108.41 (36.54)	0.66
Educational level					
Less than Primary	0.031	81.69 (20.28)	83.59 (20.10)	77.83 (20.13)	4.19***
Primary	0.166	87.05 (21.00)	89.56 (21.31)	82.10 (19.45)	12.41***
Lower-Secondary	0.212	89.33 (21.43)	91.19 (22.21)	86.16 (19.65)	6.94***
Short-Vocational	0.101	103.04 (26.13)	105.75 (29.04)	99.29 (20.88)	7.01***
Long-Vocational	0.105	108.36 (29.51)	109.43 (32.52)	106.67 (23.75)	2.65***
High-Secondary	0.133	106.06 (30.83)	108.08 (32.86)	103.53 (27.88)	4.84***
Short-Bachelor	0.108	132.42 (34.41)	139.28 (40.30)	127.31 (28.21)	10.28***
Long-Bachelor	0.144	156.13 (43.62)	160.72 (45.76)	151.63 (40.89)	7.12***
Monthly earnings					
up to 1000€	0.308	91.64 (27.41)	92.76 (28.51)	91.00 (26.73)	3.07***
between 1001-1200€	0.219	99.54 (27.95)	96.19 (27.37)	105.05 (28.02)	13.04***
between 1201-1600€	0.232	109.91 (33.11)	104.90 (32.10)	121.04 (32.62)	19.99***
between 1601-2100€	0.138	127.27 (39.72)	120.85 (40.81)	140.56 (33.68)	15.91***
more than 2100€	0.104	150.05 (47.54)	146.97 (49.02)	159.26 (41.52)	6.51***
Public sector	0.249	121.19 (42.81)	118.67 (47.30)	123.31 (38.51)	-4.35***
Private sector	0.751	103.38 (34.25)	104.52 (35.28)	101.72 (32.61)	5.62***
Full-time	0.868	110.08 (38.30)	108.88 (39.15)	112.07 (36.77)	8.76***
Part-time	0.132	98.67 (33.99)	105.92 (35.91)	95.84 (32.78)	6.74***
Permanent contract	0.775	110.80 (37.48)	110.73 (38.91)	110.80 (37.48)	0.33
Fixed-term contract	0.225	97.52 (35.08)	94.70 (33.76)	100.54 (36.21)	6.39***
Supervisory position	0.248	125.66 (45.08)	124.68 (46.32)	127.90 (42.07)	2.94***
Non-supervisory position	0.762	102.94 (33.93)	101.93 (33.14)	104.13 (33.74)	5.10***
Female share					
Women 0-20%	0.286	99.43 (32.84)	98.74 (31.81)	106.98 (41.85)	7.06***
Women 21-40%	0.138	123.76 (45.13)	123.45 (44.54)	124.56 (46.67)	0.78
Women 41-60%	0.166	128.24 (44.65)	127.95 (45.29)	128.56 (43.95)	0.53
Women 61-80%	0.285	111.08 (23.38)	110.03 (23.74)	111.61 (23.18)	3.22***
Women 81-100%	0.124	90.14 (29.90)	96.68 (32.35)	89.19 (29.41)	-5.58***

Standard deviations in parentheses. There are 18,637 (13,538) observations for men (women) representing 58% (42%) of the sample. Dif is the t-statistic for equality of means by gender. ***p<0.01

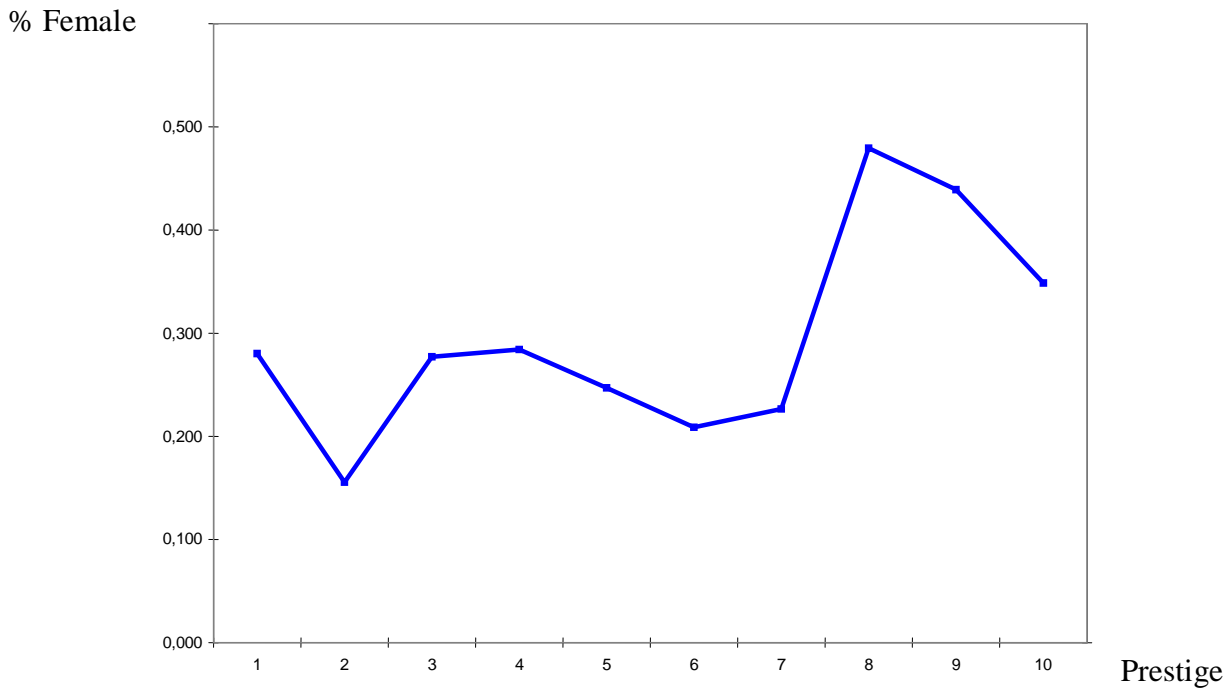


Fig.1 Average female share by decile of prestige (216 occupations 3-digit CNO-94).

Table 2. OLS estimates on the relationship between the log of occupational prestige and female share

	Model (1)		Model (2)		Model (3)		Model (4)	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
Female share								
(in percentage)	-0.001***	0.000			-0.002***	0.000		
(in dummies)								
Women 0-20%			-0.111***	0.005			-0.056***	0.005
Women 21-40%			-0.022***	0.005			-0.005	0.005
Women 41-60%								
Women 61-80%			-0.060***	0.004			-0.079***	0.004
Women 81-100%			-0.234***	0.005			-0.234***	0.005
Education								
Less than Primary								
Primary	0.053***	0.008	0.049***	0.008	0.034***	0.008	0.034***	0.007
Lower Secondary	0.081***	0.008	0.072***	0.008	0.056***	0.008	0.054***	0.007
Short Vocational	0.210***	0.008	0.187***	0.008	0.159***	0.008	0.149***	0.008
Long Vocational	0.246***	0.008	0.218***	0.008	0.187***	0.008	0.173***	0.008
High Secondary	0.231***	0.008	0.195***	0.008	0.164***	0.008	0.146***	0.008
Short Bachelor	0.419***	0.009	0.407***	0.008	0.335***	0.008	0.339***	0.008
Long Bach & above	0.544***	0.008	0.485***	0.008	0.437***	0.008	0.405***	0.008
Monthly earnings								
up to 1000€								
between 1001-1200€	0.051***	0.004	0.047***	0.004	0.036***	0.004	0.035***	0.004
between 1201-1600€	0.097***	0.004	0.098***	0.004	0.060***	0.004	0.066***	0.004
between 1601-2100€	0.164***	0.005	0.171***	0.004	0.109***	0.005	0.122***	0.005
more than 2100€	0.245***	0.005	0.235***	0.005	0.164***	0.006	0.165***	0.005
Gender (1=male)					-0.020***	0.003	-0.016***	0.003
Age					0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Married					0.007**	0.003	0.007**	0.003
Children0-2 (dummy)					-0.001	0.004	-0.001	0.004
Children3-5(dummy)					-0.014***	0.004	-0.013***	0.004
Children6-14(dummy)					-0.016***	0.003	-0.015***	0.003
Father's prestige					0.001***	0.000	0.001***	0.000
Seniority					0.002***	0.000	0.001***	0.000
Public sector					0.024***	0.004	0.039***	0.004
Workday					0.011***	0.004	0.003***	0.004
Job training					0.034***	0.003	0.036***	0.003
First job					0.008***	0.003	0.011***	0.003
Subordinate					0.045***	0.003	0.038***	0.003
Teamwork					0.025***	0.003	0.019***	0.003
Agreement					-0.021***	0.004	-0.013***	0.003
Time flexibility					0.002***	0.000	0.002***	0.000
Stress					0.010***	0.000	0.009***	0.000
Monotony					-0.003***	0.000	-0.004***	0.000
Physical effort					-0.015***	0.000	-0.011***	0.000

Firm size					Yes		Yes	
Sector					Yes		Yes	
Region					Yes		Yes	
Year 2008					0.007*	0.004	0.005	0.004
Year 2009					0.011***	0.004	0.010***	0.004
Year 2010					-0.001	0.004	-0.003	0.004
Constant	4.367***	0.008	4.443***	0.008	4.317***	0.014	4.311***	0.014
Observations				32,067				
Adjusted R ²	0.464		0.505		0.527		0.551	

Note: Female share is expressed as a proportion in Models (1) and (3) and five group dummies in Models (2) and (4), with share between 41-60% being the reference category. * p<0.1. ** p<0.5. *** p<0.01. There are three dummy variables of Firm size, four in Sector and 17 corresponding to NUTS2 in Region.

Table 3. OLS estimates on the relationship between the log of occupational prestige and female share, with other controls for gender

	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
Female share												
(in percentage)	-0.002***	0.000			-0.002***	0.000			-0.002***	0.000		
(in dummies)												
Women 0-20%			-0.064***	0.005			-0.058***	0.005			-0.058***	0.005
Women 21-40%			-0.004	0.005			-0.007	0.005			-0.007	0.005
Women 41-60%												
Women 61-80%			-0.076***	0.004			-0.082***	0.004			-0.082***	0.004
Women 81-100%			-0.259***	0.005			-0.241***	0.005			-0.241***	0.005
Variables with interactions by gender												
Gender (1=male)	-0.088***	0.010	-0.053***	0.010	-0.565***	0.011	-0.031***	0.011	-0.057***	0.011	-0.032***	0.011
Age	-0.001***	0.000	-0.000	0.000	-0.001***	0.000	-0.000	0.000	-0.001***	0.000	-0.000	0.000
Age*gender	0.002***	0.000	0.001***	0.000	0.002***	0.000	0.001*	0.000	0.002***	0.000	0.001*	0.000
Children 0-2 (dummy)	-0.001	0.004	-0.001	0.004	0.017***	0.007	0.016***	0.007	0.015***	0.007	0.015***	0.007
Children 0-2 *gender					-0.029***	0.007	-0.027***	0.008	-0.027***	0.008	-0.029***	0.007
Children 3-5	-0.011***	0.004	-0.011***	0.004	-0.013**	0.006	-0.015**	0.007	-0.014**	0.007	-0.015**	0.007
Children 3-5*gender					0.036**	0.018	0.037**	0.018	0.035**	0.018	0.038**	0.018
Children 6-14	-0.016***	0.003	-0.015***	0.003	-0.012***	0.005	-0.011***	0.004	-0.013***	0.005	-0.012***	0.005
Children 6-14*gender					0.046***	0.006	0.047***	0.006	0.045***	0.006	0.046***	0.006
Married					0.006*	0.003	0.007**	0.003	0.008**	0.004	0.007*	0.004
Married*gender									-0.008	0.006	-0.004	0.006
Observations												
						32,067						
Adjusted R ²	0.502		0.534		0.527		0.550		0.527		0.550	

* p<0.1. ** p<0.5. *** p<0.01. All other controls as in Models (3) and (4) of Table 2 are included but not presented.

Appendix

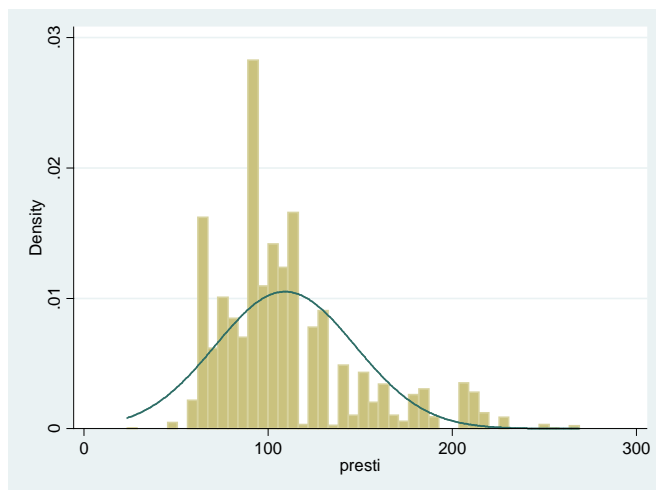
Theoretically, the scale would begin at zero and would have no upper bound. In fact, the lowest value of PRESCA2 is 23.58, corresponding to *shoeshiners and street workers*, and the highest 266.23 to those of *legislative officials and government administrators*, with the mean, the median and the mode being, respectively, 100.83 (35.72 standard deviation), 96.17 and 108.75.

(Figure A1 about here)

(Table A1 about here)

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Percentile	Value
10	66.06
20	78.72
30	90.52
40	93.33
50	101.11
60	107.15
70	115.76
80	131.83
90	162.71

Figure A1. Occupational prestige: 2007-2010. Histogram and percentiles.

Table A1 Average prestige in the 10 most female-/male-dominated occupations. Year 2010

	% total women	Female share	Prestige		% total men	Male share	Prestige
<i>Women</i>				<i>Men</i>			
Domestic cleaners and helpers	14.61	0.917	64.86	Building frame and related trades workers	5.88	0.990	87.05
Personal services workers	10.22	0.873	85.75	Metal molders, welders, etc	2.29	0.990	90.91
Professionals in 1 st university cycle in natural sciences and associated professionals	2.42	0.816	141.50	Building workers (chiefs)	0.79	0.989	107.51
Other office clerks (with customer services tasks)	4.55	0.766	101.10	Machinery mechanics and fitters; electrical and electronic trades workers	4.67	0.986	105.51
Primary school and special education teaching professionals	4.10	0.750	145.80	Extraction trades workers	0.20	0.976	93.96
Other office clerks (without customer services tasks)	3.25	0.725	101.10	Building finishers and related trade workers	5.33	0.975	90.16
Natural sciences and health associate professionals	1.53	0.718	126.63	Blacksmith, tool-makers trades workers	0.35	0.974	109.65
Cashiers	2.02	0.717	80.40	Construction labourers	1.68	0.968	64.56
Client information clerks	1.72	0.702	104.23	Locomotive-engine drivers	2.14	0.968	87.50
Salespersons	8.33	0.696	110.41	Motor-vehicle drivers	6.63	0.968	91.77
Technicians in primary schools and pilots	0.46	0.691	128.82	Mining labourers	0.02	0.950	75.70
Administrative associate professionals	6.27	0.683	115.28	Stationary plant operators	0.20	0.937	112.21
Professionals in other 1 st cycle university studies	1.17	0.620	124.28	Protective services workers	3.38	0.921	107.90
Secondary and higher education teaching professionals	3.09	0.558	170.70	Metal-processing-plant operator	0.34	0.900	109.65
Cooks, waiters and bartenders	6.16	0.551	99.59	Skilled agricultural workers (market gardeners)	0.30	0.889	73.37

Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey (SLFS), Spanish Institute of Statistics. Occupations are defined at the two-digit CNO 1994 classification. % total employment women (men) computed as the percentage of women total (men) in an occupation over total employed women (men). Female (male) share computed as the percentage of female (male) in each occupation. Prestige 2-digit computed as the simple average from 4-digit PRESCA2.

Table A2. OLS estimates on the relationship between the log of occupational prestige and female share. Year 2007 and 2010

2007	Model (1)		Model (2)		Model (3)		Model (4)	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
Female share								
(in percentage)	-0.001***	0.000			-0.002***	0.000		
(in dummies)								
Women 0-20%			-0.089***	0.009			-0.027***	0.009
Women 21-40%			0.008	0.010			0.019**	0.010
Women 41-60%								
Women 61-80%			-0.032***	0.009			-0.059***	0.008
Women 81-100%			-0.209***	0.010			-0.223***	0.010
Observations				7,763				
Adjusted R ²	0.471		0.510		0.544		0.563	
2010	Model (1)		Model (2)		Model (3)		Model (4)	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
Female share								
(in percentage)	-0.001***	0.000			-0.002***	0.000		
(in dummies)								
Women 0-20%			-0.104***	0.010			-0.054***	0.010
Women 21-40%			-0.030***	0.010			-0.016	0.010
Women 41-60%								
Women 61-80%			-0.058***	0.009			-0.079***	0.009
Women 81-100%			-0.239***	0.010			-0.246***	0.010
Observations				8,041				
Adjusted R ²	0.473		0.512		0.528		0.550	

* p<0.1. ** p<0.5. *** p<0.01. All other controls as in Table 2 are included but not presented.

Table A3. OLS estimates on the relationship between the log of occupational prestige and female share. Educational level higher than secondary compulsory.

	Model (1)		Model (2)		Model (3)		Model (4)	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
Female share								
(in percentage)	-0.001***	0.000			-0.002***	0.000		
(in dummies)								
Women 0-20%			-0.121***	0.007			-0.087***	0.007
Women 21-40%			0.001	0.007			0.013**	0.007
Women 41-60%								
Women 61-80%			-0.114***	0.006			-0.139***	0.005
Women 81-100%			-0.186***	0.007			-0.189***	0.007
Observations				15,672				
Adjusted R ²	0.360		0.405		0.432		0.462	

* p<0.1. ** p<0.05. *** p<0.01. All other controls as in Table 2 are included but not presented.