



PROJECT MUSE®

The Segregation Premium: How Gender Shapes the Symbolic Valuation Process of Occupational Prestige Judgments

Lauren Valentino

Social Forces, Volume 99, Number 1, September 2020, pp. 31-58 (Article)

Published by Oxford University Press



➔ For additional information about this article

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/773204>

The Segregation Premium: How Gender Shapes the Symbolic Valuation Process of Occupational Prestige Judgments

Lauren Valentino, *The Ohio State University*

Symbolic valuation is an important but overlooked aspect of gendered processes of inequality in the occupation structure. Prior work has largely focused on the material valuation of gendered work, such as how much predominantly-female versus predominantly-male occupations pay. Less research has examined the symbolic valuation of work, such as how prestigious predominantly-female versus predominantly-male occupations are. What research has examined this question has remained inconclusive at best. Drawing on insights into and techniques from the sociology of culture and cognition, this study examines the role of an occupation's gender composition in how Americans judge the prestige of jobs, testing key predictions from theories of gender and status. Using 2012 General Social Survey and federal occupation-level data, it finds evidence for a segregation premium: people view gender-segregated occupations as the most symbolically valuable jobs. Both men and women reward gender-segregated occupations with symbolic value, although there is evidence of a gendered in-group bias in which women in particular see women's work as more prestigious, while men see men's work as more prestigious.

Introduction

Scholars of gender, status, and work inequality have long wondered whether women's work is seen as low-prestige. A large body of research has established that predominantly-female jobs tend to pay lower wages and have lower likelihood of promotion (England 1992; Altonji and Blank 1999; Charles and Grusky 2004 for reviews).¹ The prevailing account that explains this phenomenon is *devaluation theory*. Devaluation theory posits that there is a widespread cultural

Corresponding author: Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University, Townshend Hall, 1885 Neil Avenue Mall, Columbus, OH 43210, USA. lauren.ashley.valentino@gmail.com

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 2017 Organizations, Occupations, and Work section of the American Sociological Association's annual meeting. The author wishes to thank the members of that session, the anonymous reviewers, and Chris Bail, Kieran Healy, Patricia Homan, Nina Gheihman, Jessi Streib, and Stephen Vaisey for their immensely helpful feedback on the paper.

belief that women's work is inherently less valuable (England 1992). An often-assumed implication of devaluation theory is that the more women who work in a job, the less prestigious it must be (England 1979; Magnusson 2009). Yet the relationship between gender composition and prestige has received scant attention compared to the relationship between gender composition and pay, hiring, and promotion.

In fact, the small number of studies which have examined the relationship between gender composition and judgments of occupational prestige paint an inconclusive picture at best. Some studies find that heightened female representation in an occupation is related to *less* prestige, in line with devaluation theory's prediction (cf Touhey 1974a, 1974b; Bose and Rossi 1983; Beyard-Tyler and Haring 1984; Wu and Leffler 1992). Yet other studies find that predominantly-female jobs enjoy *greater* prestige (cf Hawkins and Pingree 1978; Rosenfeld 1980; Sewell et al. 1980; Shaffer et al. 1986; Baunach 2002). Still other studies find a *lack of difference* between predominantly-male and predominantly-female jobs in terms of prestige (cf England 1979; Suchner 1979; White et al. 1981; Crino and White 1983; Powell and Jacobs 1984; Glick 1991). Furthermore, some studies even find a nonlinear relationship, in which gender-integrated occupations reap higher prestige than either predominantly-male or predominantly-female jobs (Magnusson 2009; Gronlund and Magnusson 2013).

In this article, I will argue that the inconclusive evidence regarding the relationship between gender composition and occupational prestige highlights the need to better integrate insights from cognitive and cultural sociology when examining how gender operates in the occupational hierarchy. The classic Weberian distinction between class and status implies that *class* reflects material processes of valuation, while *status* reflects symbolic processes of valuation (Weber 1978; DiMaggio and Mohr 1985). Cognitive and cultural sociology provides a set of conceptual and methodological tools that are vital for assessing how people make judgments of symbolic value. The present study thus challenges the longstanding assumption that we should expect the well-established *material* devaluation of women's work automatically to correspond to a parallel *symbolic* devaluation of women's work. Instead, it will draw on theories of gender and status to formulate a new hypothesis about how the gender composition of an occupation influences its symbolic worth, postulating instead that gender-segregated jobs reap the highest prestige—in other words, a segregation premium.

Symbolic Valuation

Cognitive and cultural sociologists define “valuation” as the mental recipe people use when making a judgment about something or someone's worth (Lamont 2012). Typically, this is studied by observing a rater who, whether consciously or subconsciously (Vaisey 2009), uses a set of criteria having some particular weight in order to assess an item's social value. That rater's judgment has a unique set of (1) salient criteria that go into making the judgment and (2) weights (including valences) of those criteria (Jasso 2006).

Symbolic valuation thus involves making a judgment about an item's *symbolic* worth, such as the beauty, style, or appeal of a piece of art, a music genre, or a baby name (Bourdieu 1984; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Halle 1993; Bryson 1996; Lieberman 2000). These judgments of value may encompass questions of moral worth, personal preference, and/or perceptions of the status hierarchy.

Cultural sociology has established that these judgments are rooted in social criteria and have discernible patterns within the population. For example, the perceived “maleness” of heavy metal music shapes people's musical tastes, and men are more likely to prefer “male” musical genres such as heavy metal (Bryson 1996; Lizardo and Skiles 2016). Work on symbolic valuation tends to focus on how people judge the worth of cultural “objects” (e.g., their preferences in art or entertainment) and has thus remained largely distinct from work on material valuation processes (e.g., discrimination in hiring, promotion, and pay).

Symbolic valuation studies seek to understand the mental criteria that lead to subjective judgments of worth and their consequences. Meanwhile, particularly in studies of the labor market, material valuation studies have focused on how people make decisions about the distribution of material goods, such as whether to hire someone (Pager 2003; Correll et al. 2007; Pager et al. 2009) or how to determine a fair wage (Jasso 1994; Jasso and Rossi 1977; Jasso and Webster 1997, 1999; Jasso and Meyersson Milgrom 2008). Research on material and symbolic valuation inevitably aims to explain two different outcomes—class and status (Weber 1978). Given this foundational distinction, it is important to study how people assign both material *and* symbolic worth, particularly in the occupation structure. Research on the worth of work has focused almost exclusively on evaluations of the *material* worth of work, rather than on evaluations of its symbolic worth—the focus of the present study. This study is motivated by the notion that the gendering of work—much as it shapes the worth people assign to musical genres, such as heavy metal—can also impact judgments of the symbolic worth of occupations.

Occupational Prestige

The bulk of research on cognitive processes of stratification in work and occupations has focused on material valuation—how people decide whether to hire someone or how much to pay them. A burgeoning line of inquiry, however, considers the underlying symbolic valuation processes expressed in judgments about the social prestige of occupations (Zhou 2005; Wegener 1992; Lynn and Ellerbach 2017).

The objective of this research is to understand the *process* by which occupational prestige judgments are made. Early work on occupational prestige was generally done in the interest of creating a stable, universal measure of status that would inform the stratification and mobility research being carried out at that time (cf. Tiryakian 1958; Hodge et al. 1964; Treiman 1977; Lin and Xie 1988). The seminal work of Boltanski and Thévenot (1983), however,

encouraged researchers to consider that subjective classification systems and hierarchies related to occupational position are ongoing social constructions that are rooted in power struggles. Using focus groups instructed to classify fictitious individuals into social categories based on their occupations, the authors found that the groups often disagreed about how to categorize the hypothetical cases, and that this disagreement was more prominent among socially heterogeneous groups.

This thread was later picked up by studies examining between- and within-person variations in occupational prestige. These studies have revealed two important findings regarding the symbolic process of valuation in the occupation structure. First, occupational prestige judgments vary in response to features of the particular occupation. Second, the extent to which a given feature matters depends on the individual rater's own characteristics.

MacKinnon and Langford (1994) find that the moral component of a job—its perceived “goodness” or “badness”—is an important determinant of occupational prestige, above and beyond an occupation's education and income, for a certain number of lower education/income jobs. For instance, they found that farmer, minister, housekeeper, carpenter, registered nurse, and baker are seen as morally “good” jobs, relatively speaking, while taxi driver, bill collector, salesman, real estate agent, and insurance agent are seen as morally “bad” jobs. Zhou (2005) finds that an occupation's pay and characteristics (its degree of knowledge salience, authority, creativity, and influence) are important determinants of perceived prestige. Moreover, the importance of these factors depends on a person's own race, gender, and class. Lynn and Ellerbach (2017) find that more educated individuals exhibit a greater degree of consensus around the importance of an occupation's educational requirements and place more weight on this factor when making prestige judgments (see also Wegener 1992). These latter two studies in particular highlight the importance of considering differences in the way prestige is evaluated *between people*. A single aggregate prestige measure for an occupation that is averaged across an entire nation (e.g., Duncan's SEI²) or even cross-nationally (e.g., Treiman's constant) cannot capture the significant variation in symbolic valuation judgments that exist within a single society.

This previous work on evaluations of occupational prestige has highlighted educational requirements, pay, and job characteristics (such as industry) as the main criteria people use when judging an occupation's symbolic worth. Although research in cultural sociology has shown that the gender composition of musical genres is an important determinant of the symbolic valuation of music, research on judgments of occupational prestige has yet to definitively establish how gender is used as a criterion in symbolic evaluations of the twenty-first-century gendered occupation structure in the United States. I fill this gap by examining the role of gender in judgments of occupational prestige. In particular, I test how the gendered nature of jobs—reflected in the gender composition of occupations' incumbents—influences prestige judgments about these jobs, and whether these evaluations differ between men and women in the United States.

Gender, Class, and Status in the Occupational Hierarchy

Earlier studies of how gender influences the symbolic valuation of occupations did not take a culture and cognition approach when collecting and analyzing data. One group of studies relied on a single, aggregate prestige rating for each occupation averaged across large national or even international populations, and then compared either occupations or the men and women working in those occupations (cf Treiman and Terrell 1975; Wolf and Rosenfeld 1978; England 1979; Rosenfeld 1980; Sewell et al. 1980; Powell and Jacobs 1984; Wu and Leffler 1992; Baunach 2002; Magnusson 2009, 2010). These aggregate prestige judgments cannot capture the substantial between-person variation in the symbolic valuation process, which has been documented for judgments of occupational prestige (see Zhou 2005; Lynn and Ellerbach 2017), nor can they speak to the potential differences between how men and women accord symbolic value in the gendered occupation structure.

A second set of studies did take a between-person approach to analyzing prestige judgments, but either collected ratings from non-representative samples and/or did not account for other cognitive criteria that have been shown to influence prestige above and beyond gender composition, such as pay or required education, training, or experience (cf Touhey 1974a, 1974b; Hawkins and Pingree 1978; Suchner 1979; White et al. 1981; Bose and Rossi 1983; Crino and White 1983; Beyard-Tyler and Haring 1984; Shaffer et al. 1986).

Furthermore, no study has yet investigated this question in the twenty-first century United States—most prior work relied on prestige judgment data collected in the United States in the 1940s through 1980s (cf Touhey 1974a, 1974b; Hawkins and Pingree 1978; Wolf and Rosenfeld 1978; England 1979; Suchner 1979; Treiman and Terrell 1975; Rosenfeld 1980; Sewell et al. 1980; White et al. 1981; Bose and Rossi 1983; Crino and White 1983; Beyard-Tyler and Haring 1984; Powell and Jacobs 1984; Shaffer et al. 1986; Glick 1991; Wu and Leffler 1992; Baunach 2002) or from other countries (cf Gronlund and Magnusson 2013; Magnusson 2009, 2010). This study is the first of its kind to test this question using US nationally representative data from prestige judgments and occupational data collected this century.

The first research question this study will address is *how the gender composition of an occupation influences its symbolic worth*. As mentioned previously, the prevailing assumption of devaluation theory is that the symbolic valuation of gendered work will mirror its material valuation. Practically, this means that gender composition has an important effect on prestige above and beyond the known material criteria of an occupation's educational requirement, pay, and job industry (Hauser and Warren 1997). Specifically, this hypothesis predicts that the more female incumbents who work in a particular occupation, the lower its prestige will be. Occupations will be symbolically devalued in addition to being materially devalued:

H_{1a}: Predominantly-female occupations will be evaluated as lower in prestige, net of educational requirement, pay, and industry

However, two important concepts from the gender and status literature suggest that we should *not* expect the symbolic valuation of gendered work to mirror the material valuation process. Theories of *benevolent sexism* and *status contradictions* both lead us to instead expect that processes of class and status diverge when it comes to gender in the occupation structure.

Benevolent sexism, in contrast to hostile sexism, is a psychological attitude relatively prevalent in the United States in which women are exalted for performing stereotypically feminine duties, such as caring for others or tending the household, and embodying stereotypically feminine traits, such as beauty or fragility (Glick and Fiske 1996, 2001). More generally, social psychological research has shown that individuals are often rewarded in work-related interactions for exhibiting gender-typical traits and denigrated when they exhibit gender-atypical ones (see Heilman 2001 for a review). Though benevolent sexism was originally formulated as an individual-level psychological attitude, researchers have hypothesized that there is a link between benevolent or paternalistic sexism and the stereotyping not just of individuals, but entire categories such as occupations. Fiske and Glick (1995:104) observe that, “occupations themselves are often sex typed in ways that may serve to maintain and reinforce stereotypical subtypes of women.” They hypothesize that people differentiate between men’s work and women’s work—the latter of which they refer to as “pink collar jobs.” According to the authors, “pink collar jobs are traditionally accepted work roles for women. They are stereotyped as requiring feminine, rather than masculine, personality traits and therefore mesh well with the ‘traditional female’ subtype” (ibid). The present study examines whether pink collar jobs are *elevated in status* as a result of this (positive) stereotyping process, alongside predominantly-male jobs.

The theory of benevolent sexism thus leads us to expect that men’s work *and* women’s work receive a symbolic boost, as these occupations are seen as the ultimate embodiment of the “natural” abilities and talents of each gender. Highly gendered jobs—those in which the highest proportions of men and women are concentrated—should therefore be seen as more prestigious, while jobs that are less discernibly gendered would not receive a prestige boost.

The second theoretical concept is “status contradictions.” In a canonical paper, Hughes (1945) argued that people learn to associate certain “auxiliary traits” (such as race or gender) with certain “master statuses” (such as occupational titles). Writing in 1945, he observed that most people tend to assume doctors are men. However, Hughes pointed out, as women in the mid-twentieth century increasingly enter the labor market, these mental conflicts between expected gender of one’s physician and their actual gender would become more acute for clients and colleagues alike. A status contradiction between master status and an unexpected auxiliary trait leads to a “status dilemma”—a situation inviting some degree of marginalization or avoidance. Hughes predicted that the resolution to these status dilemmas would be the emergence of gender-segregated occupational niches: “women physicians may find a place in those specialties of which only women and children have need” (Hughes 1945:359).

Gender-segregated occupations, then, become the sites where status contradictions are least likely to occur. Men's work—jobs like carpenter and CEO—and women's work—jobs like nurse and fashion model—convey to us a clear mental picture of both the job itself and the gender of its incumbent. They confirm our expectations regarding master statuses and auxiliary traits, leaving no room for potential conflict, nor doubt about which gender the job best suits. Just as we typically reward people for meeting our expectations and marginalize those who defy them, jobs with fewer status dilemmas may be rewarded with greater symbolic worth. Gender-integrated jobs are most likely to create status dilemmas and thus are expected to be judged as the least prestigious.

This hypothesis departs significant from H1a because it implies that the symbolic valuation process will look quite different from the material valuation process of gendered work, in which incumbents in predominantly-male occupations earn the highest material rewards. As would be predicted by theories of both benevolent sexism and status contradictions, this hypothesis argues that status-related rewards tend to accrue to performances of gender typicality and strongly gendered roles. H1b thus predicts that the most "gendered" occupations garner the highest symbolic worth, while gender-integrated ones garner the least. Specifically, I predict that the lowest *and* highest percentage-female occupations (i.e., the most gender-segregated) are rated as most prestigious, creating a segregation premium for symbolic worth:

H_{1b}: There is a nonlinear relationship between an occupation's gender composition and how prestigious it is judged to be. Both predominantly-male and predominantly-female occupations will be evaluated as the most prestigious, net of educational requirement, pay, and industry

The second research question of this study assesses *the extent to which these processes of symbolic valuation differ for male and female raters*. Women and men are equally likely to devalue women's traits and abilities by penalizing fictional female candidates in terms of hiring, salary and promotion in studies on *material* valuation (Correll et al. 2007; Auspurg et al. 2017). If we expect this pattern of a lack of gender difference in the use of evaluative criteria to hold for symbolic valuation as well, this leads to the following hypothesis about gendered valuations of occupational prestige:

H_{2a}: The relationship between gender composition and prestige is the same for men and women raters

However, the relatively universal devaluation of women's traits and abilities across genders may pertain only to *material* devaluation. A status process often diverges from a class one; thus, we may expect that men and women use the criterion of gender differently in judgments of occupational prestige. Some researchers argue that symbolic valuations are more susceptible to in-group bias (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Indeed, research in cultural sociology regarding musical tastes finds that women are more likely to say that they think genres

associated with a predominantly-female audience are better, while men find genres associated with a predominantly-male audience to be better (Lizardo and Skiles 2016). In the realm of occupations, girls are more likely to say they want to work in a predominantly-female occupation, while boys are more likely to say they want to work in a predominantly-male occupation (Jacobs 1989). These cases of gendered in-group bias make it possible that men will symbolically reward predominantly-male jobs with prestige more so than women do, and women symbolically reward predominantly-female jobs with prestige more so than men do. This leads to an alternative hypothesis about gendered valuations of occupational prestige:

H_{2b}: Men rate predominantly-male jobs more highly than women do, and women rate predominantly-female jobs more highly than men do

Data and Methodology

Cultural sociologists who study valuation look at within-person differences in judgments to understand how various criteria are used in the process of making a value judgment. They also look at between-person differences in how these criteria are used in order to understand how different people assign value in different ways. Thus, to answer the research questions about the criterion of gender in occupational prestige judgments, the data must have two levels of information: the individual (rater) level and the occupation level.

In 2012, the General Social Survey conducted an occupational prestige module for all members of the third wave of the 2008 in-person rotating panel. The primary purpose of this module was to update nation-wide averages of prestige ratings for each occupation (Smith and Son 2014). Although these data are not publicly available, I obtained the individual-level ratings data from NORC. Participants received one of twelve ballots containing 90 occupations (each ballot contained a unique set of 70 occupations, and all participants were asked to rate 20 “core” occupations). Participants were instructed to rate these occupations on a scale of 1–9 in terms of the occupation’s “social standing.” Ratings were not mutually exclusive; thus, individuals could rate as many occupations using the same number as they wished. About 1,001 respondents were asked to rate 860 total occupations³ for a total of 1,113,700 ratings (see Smith and Son 2014 for more details on the data collection methodology). These individual-level descriptive statistics are presented in Table 1 below.

To study the criteria used in the evaluation, we also need information about the object being evaluated—in this case, the occupations. I therefore combine occupation level data from federal sources⁴ with the individual level rater data. Information on the occupation’s educational/training requirement comes from the US Department of Labor’s Occupational Network. This measure is an index known as “job zone” which reflects the amount of education, experience, and training necessary to perform the occupation (measured using the Specific Vocational Preparation [SVP] score [US Department of Labor 1991]). For example, a cook in a fast food restaurant earns a job zone score of 1 (“little or

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Raters

	Proportion			
Female	.550			
Bachelors or higher	.315			
White	.791			
Black	.142			
Other race	.065			
Working full-time	.471			
South	.360			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Age	51.7	16.3	22	89
Household income ^a	58,109	42,652	0	150,000

^aHousehold income responses were provided in categories, so the category’s midpoint value was used in these calculations.

no preparation needed”), a nursing assistant has a score of 2 (“some preparation needed”), an aircraft mechanic has a score of 3 (“medium preparation needed”), an accountant has a score of 4 (“considerable preparation needed”), and an orthodontist has a score of 5 (“extensive preparation needed”). Information on the occupation’s pay comes from the Bureau of Labor Statistics’ 2012 employer reports, and reflects the mean wages of all workers who held that job title. The job industry reflects the 23 categories used to group occupations by the North American Industry Classification system. Information on the percentage of women in an occupation comes from data from the five-year American Communities Survey, which was published by the US Census in its Equal Employment Opportunity Report 2006–2010.⁵ These occupation-level descriptive statistics are presented in [Table 2](#) below.

The correlation matrix in [Table 3](#) shows the bivariate relationships among occupation-level variables: pay, education/training, gender composition, and prestige judgment (averaged across all raters). As in previous research on determinants of occupational prestige (cf [Hauser and Warren 1997](#)), results show that education/training and pay appear to be important criteria for judging occupational prestige. As in previous research on the material valuation of women’s work, results show that although jobs with more women in them tend to have a higher degree of required education, training, or experience, these jobs have a lower mean pay ([DiPrete and Buchmann 2013](#)).

However, these bivariate relationships may obscure independent relationships, such as that between % female and prestige once education/training and mean pay are controlled for, as well as any nonlinear relationships between variables. Moreover, treating prestige as a single average for each occupation may hide substantial variation in perception *within* the population. Prior work ([Lynn and Ellerbach 2017](#)) finds important differences in how much variance individuals from different backgrounds exhibit in their prestige judgments. Furthermore,

Table 2. Occupation-Level Variables

	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Education/training	2.85	1.05	1	5
Pay	52,374	29,440	18,720	230,540
% female	37.8	26.6	1.1	97.7
Industry		Proportion		
Architecture and engineering		.028		
Arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media		.039		
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance		.009		
Business and financial operations		.046		
Community and social service		.015		
Computer and mathematical		.022		
Construction and extraction		.062		
Education, training, and library		.022		
Farming, fishing, and forestry		.025		
Food preparation and serving related		.022		
Healthcare practitioners and technical		.051		
Healthcare support		.017		
Installation, maintenance, and repair		.059		
Legal		.007		
Life, physical, and social science		.034		
Management		.094		
Office and administrative support		.087		
Personal care and service		.040		
Production		.157		
Protective service		.034		
Sales and related		.044		
Transportation and material moving		.078		

there may be important differences between individuals in their *mean* prestige rating (e.g., some people may be “stingier” than others in their ratings overall). To account for these effects, I use individual change-score models, in which each rating is a function of that rater’s mean and standard deviation for all ratings they provided. All models also include robust standard errors, which are clustered at the individual level to adjust the errors for any dependency within a person’s ratings.

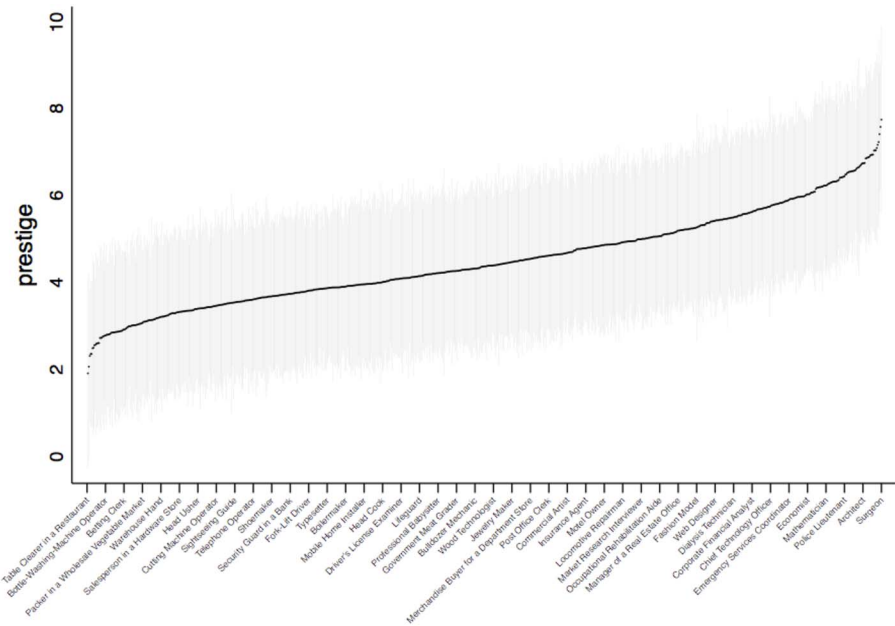
Figure 1 below shows substantial variation in these prestige ratings across occupations and across individuals. Each occupation’s mean is plotted as a black point, while each occupation’s standard deviation is plotted as a gray bar around the mean.⁶

Table 3. Zero-Order Correlations Among Occupation-Level Variables

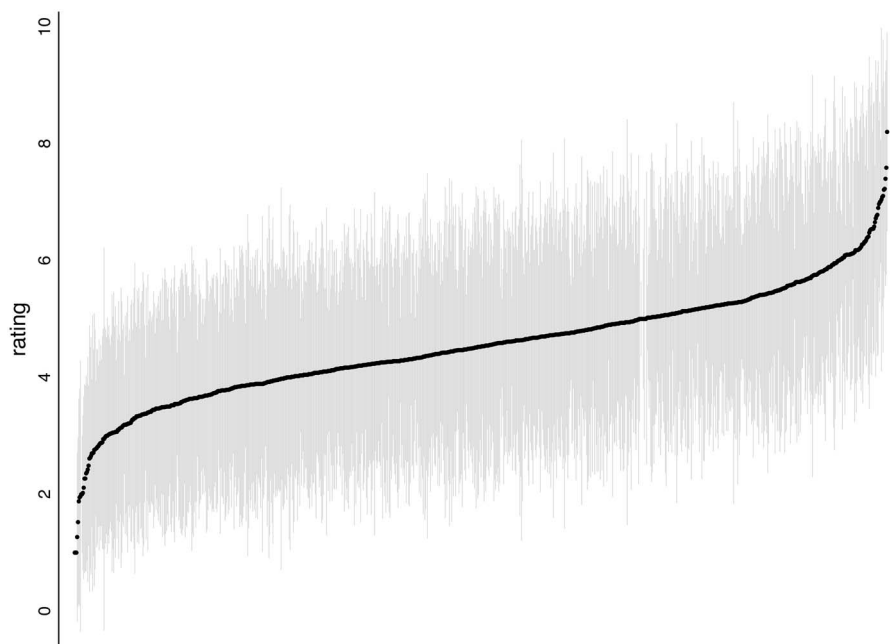
	Prestige ^a	Education/training	Mean pay
Education/training	.747		
Mean pay	.702	.734	
% female	.031	.143	-.131

Note: Unit of analysis is occupation.
^aPrestige rating is presented here as an average across all raters. Person-level correlation matrices indicate that education/training and pay have a much lower mean correlation (.446 and .379, respectively), since people use the criteria of education/training and pay in different ways.

Figure 1. Occupation means and standard deviations (N = 860).



The most prestigious job from this aggregate view is “surgeon,” with a mean prestige score (out of 9) of 7.744. The least prestigious job is “table clearer in a restaurant,” with a mean prestige score of 2.304. However, this aggregate view obscures important variation *between* people in how they perceive the occupational structure. In fact, even surgeon and table clearer were rated differently by different people: some evaluated the occupation of surgeon as low as 1 on the prestige scale, and some rated the occupation of table clearer as high as 9. Indeed, figure 1 shows that some jobs exhibit more consensus than others. For instance, the occupation “hair stylist” has the smallest standard deviation (mean prestige rating = 3.845, standard deviation = 1.359) indicating

Figure 2. Rater means and standard deviations of ratings given ($N = 1,001$).

the highest level of agreement as to where hair stylist figures in the occupational hierarchy. Contrast this with “fashion model,” which has the largest standard deviation (mean prestige rating = 5.263, standard deviation = 2.613), indicating the lowest level of agreement as to where this occupation belongs relative to other jobs. The substantial variation in occupations’ means and standard deviations shows the importance of taking a valuation approach by incorporating both occupation-level criteria *and* rater-level criteria when analyzing prestige judgments.

Figure 2 shows the distribution of ratings (mean and standard deviation) for each rater. Raters’ mean prestige rating for all occupations they evaluated ranges from 1.27 (the black dot furthest to the left on the plot), meaning they are a very “stingy” rater, to 8.20 (the black dot furthest to the right on the plot), meaning they are a very “generous” rater.⁷ Variation across raters’ *mean* prestige rating shows that different raters have different baselines from which they judge prestige. Variation across raters’ *standard deviations* in prestige rating shows that different raters use broader or narrower ranges of the prestige scale when evaluating occupations. Raters’ standard deviations range from 0.45, meaning the rater evaluated occupations using a narrow portion of the 1–9 scale, to 3.47, meaning the rater evaluated occupations using a wide range of the 1–9 scale. The differences between raters in the baseline prestige score and breadth of scores suggests that a change-score modeling approach is indeed appropriate in order to account for scale usage effects in the way people judge occupational prestige.

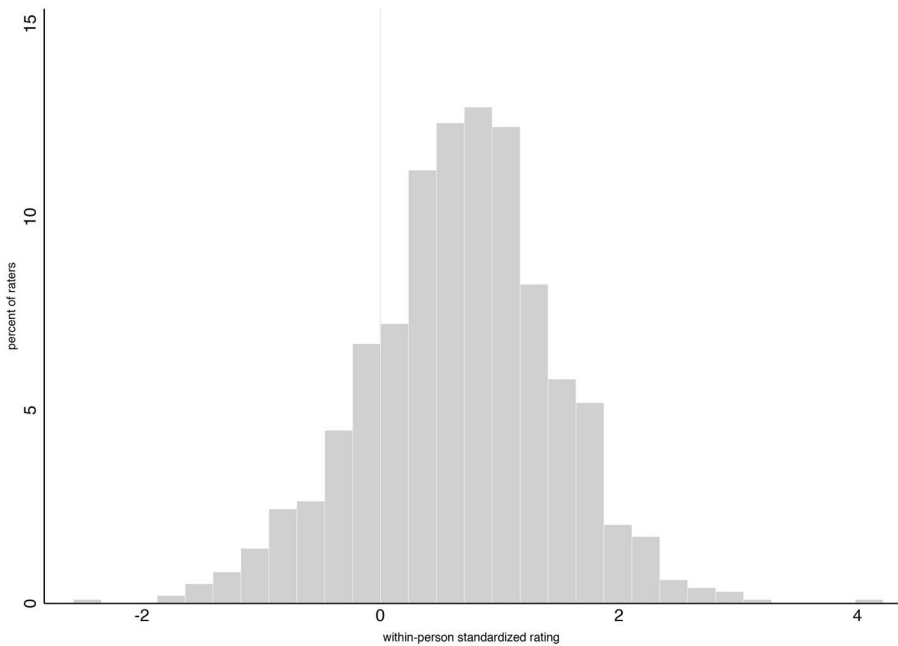
Figure 3. Distribution of prestige ratings for “teacher.”

Figure 3 below shows the distribution of ratings across raters for a single example occupation: teacher. As in prior studies, there is also substantial variation between people in terms of how prestigious they rate an individual occupation. In this example, results show that most people rated “teacher” as an above-average occupation (the equivalent of greater than 0 on their within-person standardized scale—to the right of the light gray reference line). However, a nontrivial proportion, 27.9 percent of raters, evaluated “teacher” as lower-than-average prestige (the equivalent of less than 0 on their within-person standardized scale—to the left of the light gray reference line). The variation of ratings *within* each occupation reinforces the importance of modeling differences in prestige ratings across raters, rather than relying on a single average for each occupation, such as the Treiman score or Duncan’s SEI.

All models also include ballot fixed effects to account for any benchmarking that may be related to the subset of occupations they rated. Education/training, pay, and industry are treated as “controls” in all models. In all tables that follow, I x-standardize the continuous variables (education/training index, mean pay, and percent female) so that all coefficients are comparable to one another and represent standard deviation units of within-person prestige rating.

To test Hypotheses 1a and 1b, I examine two sets of models: one with education/training, pay, and industry, and a second set that also includes an occupation’s gender composition. As will be depicted in Table 4, Model 1 represents a purely material perspective on prestige, in which it is understood to

Table 4. Prestige Ratings Without and With Gender Composition as a Criterion

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education/training	.192*** (.008)	.195*** (.008)	.193*** (.008)
Mean pay	.230*** (.008)	.224*** (.008)	.225*** (.008)
% female	—	−.015** (.005)	−.053*** (.006)
% female (squared)	—	—	.061*** (.004)
AIC	204431.6	204424.2	204184.1
BIC	204757.2	204759.1	204528.3
Log likelihood	−102180.8	−102176.1	−102055.1
N	81,021	81,021	81,021

Note: Unit of analysis is individual-occupation rating. Lower values of AIC and BIC are preferred. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Ballot fixed effects, industry controls, and intercepts not shown to conserve space (available upon request). Robust standard errors are clustered at the individual level. Outcome is person-specific standard deviations in prestige ratings. All predictors are x-standardized.

be a function of education/training, pay, and industry. Models 2 and 3 in Table 4 introduce the “auxiliary” trait of gender composition into the models, alongside the education/training, pay, and industry variables. Model 2 tests Hypothesis 1a—that prestige is a linear function of its gender composition—in line with the way most prior studies have treated it (Touhey 1974a, 1974b; Hawkins and Pingree 1978; Wolf and Rosenfeld 1978; England 1979; Suchner 1979; Treiman and Terrell 1975; Rosenfeld 1980; Sewell et al. 1980; White et al. 1981; Bose and Rossi 1983; Crino and White 1983; Beyard-Tyler and Haring 1984; Powell and Jacobs 1984; Shaffer et al. 1986; Glick 1991; Wu and Leffler 1992; Baunach 2002; for exceptions, see Magnusson 2009, 2010; Gronlund and Magnusson 2013). Model 3 tests Hypothesis 1b—that prestige is a nonlinear function of its gender composition—in line with the status rewards for segregation hypothesis.

I test Hypotheses 2a and 2b—which predicted that male and female raters use gender composition the same/different way in their judgments of prestige, respectively—by interacting rater’s gender with the criterion of gender composition, and comparing model fit to assess whether gender-specific effects for percent women in a job improve model fit enough to warrant the additional model complexity. These results will be presented in Table 5.

Findings

To test Hypothesis 1a-b, I examine model fit and effect sizes for Models 1–3, shown below in Table 4. In Model 1 (Table 4), we observe that education/training and pay are positively and linearly related to how prestigious an occupation is judged to be, as expected. In Model 2, I introduce the gender composition of an occupation as a criterion in the judgment process. Although % female appears to be negatively related to prestige in Model 2, the very small effect size

Table 5. Effect of Gender Composition on Prestige Ratings for Male and Female Raters

	Model 3	Model 4
Education/training	.193*** (.008)	.193*** (.008)
Mean pay	.225*** (.008)	.225*** (.008)
% female	-.053*** (.006)	—
% female, squared	.061*** (.004)	—
% female (men)	—	-.086*** (.008)
% female, squared (men)	—	.067*** (.005)
% female (women)	—	-.025*** (.007)
% female, squared (women)	—	.056*** (.004)
AIC	204184.1	204098.2
BIC	204528.3	204461
Log likelihood	-102055.1	-102010.1
N	81,021	81,021

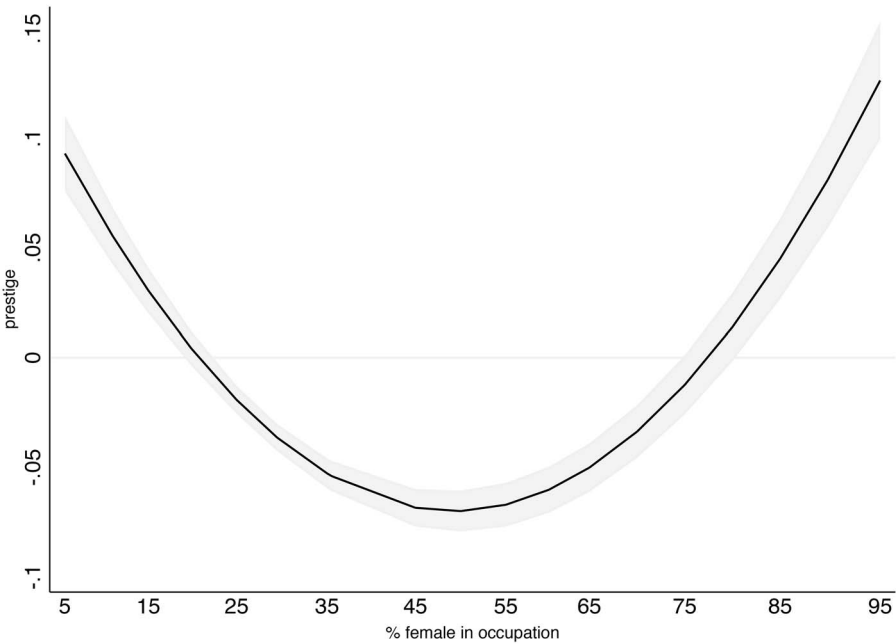
Note: Unit of analysis is individual-occupation rating. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Job industry controls not shown. Ballot fixed effects, industry controls, and intercepts not shown to conserve space (available upon request). Robust standard errors are clustered at the individual level. Outcome is person-specific standard deviations in prestige ratings. All predictors are x-standardized.

and larger Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) value compared to Model 1 suggest that gender composition appears *not* to play an important role in the symbolic judgment process. However, Model 3 specifies the gender composition as a nonlinear term, and this model exhibits a substantial reduction in Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC) and BIC values compared to Model 1, as well as much larger effect sizes for gender composition.⁸ These results provide initial support for Hypothesis 1b, which predicted that gender-segregated occupations would reap the highest status rewards.

However, to better investigate the shape and magnitude of the relationship between gender composition and symbolic value of a job, I illustrate this effect using predicted values of prestige from Model 3 across the range of percentage women in an occupation, holding constant all other controls at their means or modes. Figure 4 below plots this relationship, in which it becomes clear that the highest prestige occupations, *ceteris paribus*, are those which are gender segregated—confirmation of Hypothesis 1b.⁹

Using Kanter's (1977) 85:15 gender ratio cutoffs for what constitutes a "skewed" job, we can estimate that an occupation with 15 percent women in it experiences a boost of .102 standard deviations in prestige relative to a gender-balanced job with 50 percent women; this boost is equivalent to the prestige that would be gained by increasing an occupation's mean pay by around \$14,000. An occupation with 85 percent women in it experiences a boost of .112 standard deviations in prestige relative to a gender-balanced job with 50 percent women;

Figure 4. Effect of percent female on prestige rating.



Note: Calculated from predicted values of % female, holding all other covariates constant at their means or modes. Shaded area represents 95% confidence intervals.

this boost is equivalent to the prestige that would be gained by increasing an occupation’s mean pay by around \$15,000. Thus, while gender composition has a statistically significant yet relatively small effect size compared to pay or education/training, the results from Table 4 above indicate that a job’s gender composition does make a substantive contribution in explaining how people make judgments of occupations’ symbolic worth.

Alternatively, we can interpret the results by calculating x-intercepts to see that occupations begin to experience a prestige penalty at around 20 percent female until they exceed around 75 percent female. We can thus define male-dominated occupations as those with fewer than 20 percent women working in them. These include jobs like aeronautical engineer, logger, and police officer. We can similarly define female-dominated occupations as those with more than 75 percent women working in them. These include jobs like flight attendant, occupational therapist, and seamstress. By this definition, gender-integrated occupations are those with 20–75 percent women, including jobs like bus driver, lifeguard, and pharmacist. Calculating the inflection point, we can see that below 49 percent female, more women in an occupation *decreases* prestige, while above this point, more women in an occupation *increases* prestige.

Let us further illustrate this effect by comparing pairs of similar occupations, such as statistician and computer programmer. Both occupations require at

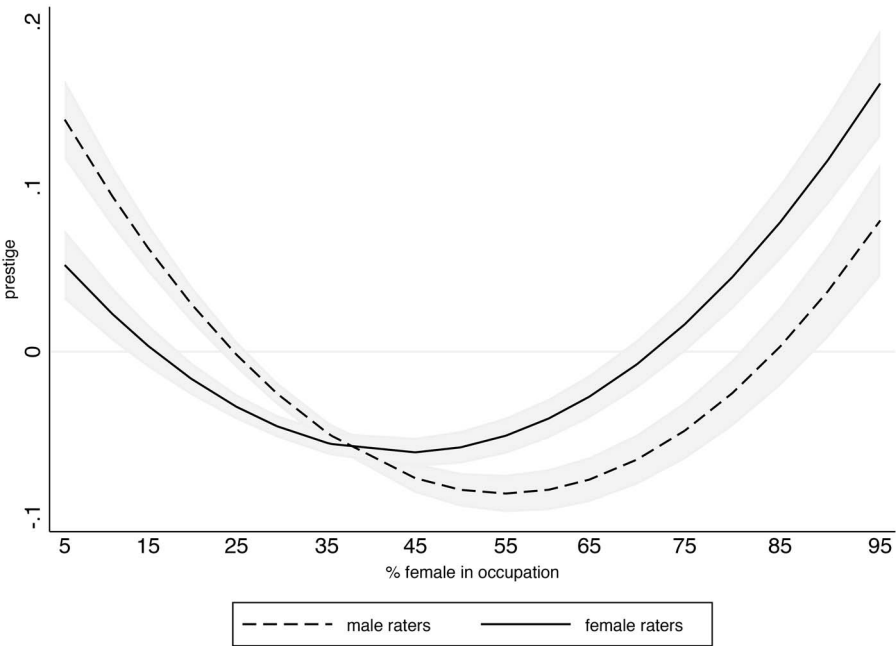
least a bachelor's degree, and demand considerable work-related skill, knowledge, or experience (US Department of Labor 1991). Both occupations earn similar salaries: statisticians earned an average of \$79,570 in 2012; computer programmers earned \$78,260 on average. The occupation of statistician, however, is relatively gender-integrated at 47.3 percent women, while computer programmers are much more skewed toward men, with only 24.4 percent women in the field. Despite nearly identical levels of education/training and pay, however, raters on average scored the occupation of statistician as lower in prestige than the occupation of computer programmer (5.443 versus 6.024). Alternatively, consider physician assistants (PAs) and nurse practitioners (NPs). Both occupations require the highest level of education and training—a graduate degree and extensive skill, knowledge, and experience (US Department of Labor 1991). The mean earnings for PAs were \$92,460 in 2012, very similar to NPs' mean earnings of \$91,450. PAs are relatively gender-balanced, with 67.2 percent women in the field. NPs, however, are overwhelmingly female, at 92.7 percent women. Yet NPs are rated as higher, on average, in prestige than PAs (a mean rating of 6.635 versus 5.975). This is particularly surprising given that PAs actually rank closer to doctors in medical authority than NPs. In fact, PAs often receive training in medical schools, alongside MD students, while NPs are trained in nursing schools (Hass 2016). These two contrasts illustrate that a gender-skewed occupation is perceived to be more symbolically valuable compared to an otherwise-similar gender-integrated occupation.

Which jobs experience the largest segregation premium? We can investigate this by looking at which occupations remain most *overrated* (i.e., have the largest residual) when their prestige is predicted by education/training, pay, and industry. Calculating this “premium” using aggregate prestige ratings averaged across the entire sample, the five most overrated occupations are fashion model (74.6 percent female), astronaut (4.7 percent female), nuclear technician (25.9 percent female), nuclear plant operator (7 percent female), and licensed practical nurse (93 percent female). Notably, four of these five occupations are gender-segregated by the present definition, with nuclear technician falling just short of the 20 percent cutoff for predominantly-male occupations.¹⁰

The second research question of this study investigates whether men and women use the criterion of gender composition differently in prestige judgments. To examine potential gender differences in valuation processes, I exploit the variation *between* respondents. For this analysis, I interacted a rater's own gender with the gender composition variable.¹¹ Results from these models are presented in Table 5 below. I reproduce results from Model 3, which allowed a nonlinear effect for gender composition. Model 4 then adds an interaction term with rater gender so that the gender composition variable can have unique coefficients for male and female raters.

The interaction terms are statistically significant, indicating that the coefficients for % female ($F = 45.22$, $p < .001$) and % female squared ($F = 6.05$, $p < .05$) are different for male and female raters. Model fit is also improved by introducing rater gender-specific effects for occupation's gender composition, as evidenced by the smaller AIC/BIC values for this model as compared to

Figure 5. Effect of percent female on prestige rating, by gender of rater.



Note: Calculated from predicted values of % female, holding all other covariates constant at their means or modes. Shaded area represents 95% confidence intervals.

Model 3.¹² This lends support to Hypothesis 2b—that men and women use the criterion of an occupation’s gender composition differently. The results are plotted separately by gender in figure 5 below as predicted values from Model 4.

Figure 5 shows that men tend to valorize men’s work, and give less of a boost to women’s work, while women exhibit the opposite pattern, giving less of a boost to men’s work and valorizing women’s work more so than men do. This pattern of horizontal shift suggests a gendered in-group bias in occupational valuation, where women ascribe higher value to women’s work, and men ascribe higher value to men’s work, support for Hypothesis 2b. These gender differences are, however, quite small, and overall we observe that both men and women accord a premium for segregation, rating the most predominantly-male and predominantly-female occupations as more prestigious than gender-integrated ones. Thus, we can conclude that although men and women evaluate occupations in a *quantitatively* different way, these valuations do not *qualitatively* differ.

To summarize all of the results, the gender composition of an occupation is a factor that plays an important role in people’s occupational prestige judgments, above and beyond that occupation’s required education/training, pay, and industry. The symbolic valuation of work involves a segregation premium, in which predominantly-male and predominantly-female occupations are seen as the most prestigious jobs, as these jobs minimize status contradictions and

confirm gender roles. Unlike studies of material valuation of work, which tend to find consistency in valuation judgments across men and women, in the case of symbolic valuation, men tend to valorize men's work more than women do, and women tend to valorize women's work more than men do. This finding is more in line with cultural sociology studies, which find gendered in-group bias in symbolic valuation. Although these represent important quantitative differences in how men and women assign symbolic worth to jobs, overall the qualitative pattern of status rewards for gender segregation is present in both male and female raters' prestige judgments.

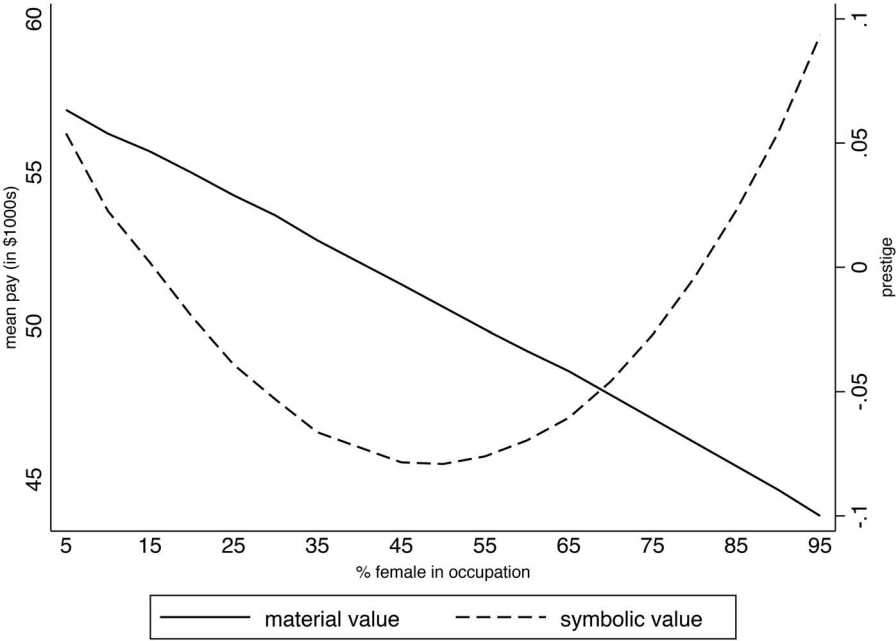
Discussion

This paper has argued that “auxiliary” traits like gender are important not just in material valuation of work, as established by prior research, but also in its symbolic valuation. In accordance with key predictions from the gender and status literature on benevolent sexism and status contradictions, I find evidence for a segregation premium—occupational gender segregation is rewarded with status because these jobs reify gender-typical roles. These results highlight the importance of Weber's classic distinction between class and status, between material and symbolic processes of valuation. In particular, I find that the way work is symbolically valued, measured here via occupational prestige, differs markedly from the way work is materially valued, typically measured through rewards like pay. Unlike material valuation of gendered work, in which jobs dominated by women experience a penalty, I find that symbolic valuation rewards the most gendered work, that in which an overwhelming majority of incumbents are either male or female. [Figure 6](#) below illustrates the divergence between the two processes of valuation and the segregation premium at work in symbolic valuation. The solid line represents mean pay across the spectrum of gender composition, illustrating the material devaluation of women's work. The dotted line represents occupational prestige across the spectrum of gender composition, showing the segregation premium for prestige among predominantly-male and predominantly-female jobs.

The motivating theoretical warrant of this study centered around whether processes of symbolic valuation mirror processes of material valuation in the gendered occupation structure, an often-assumed implication of devaluation theory. The findings clearly indicate that symbolic valuation does *not* always mirror material valuation. Unlike some previous researchers, who interpreted a lack of symbolic devaluation of women's work as evidence against gender devaluation theory more generally (cf [Magnusson 2009](#); [Gronlund and Magnusson 2013](#)), the findings of the present study reiterate the importance of considering the material and symbolic valuation as distinct processes. Instead, these findings represent an important modification to devaluation theory by reminding us that class and status processes diverge when it comes to the role of gender in the occupation structure.

This study is the first to find evidence that gender-segregated occupations are viewed as most prestigious. Most prior work did not account for the possibility

Figure 6. Devaluation in material valuation versus a segregation premium in symbolic valuation.



Note: Material value calculated as occupation-average salary as a function of gender composition; symbolic value calculated as occupation-average prestige as a function of gender composition (net of industry, pay, and required education/training).

of a nonlinear effect, which may explain why previous results were mixed and thus painted such an inconclusive picture about the relationship between gender composition and occupational prestige. One notable exception is Magnusson (2009), who found that gender-integrated jobs are seen as the most prestigious. These divergent findings are likely due to differences in social context. The data used in that study were specific to Sweden, while the present study examines the US. Compared to the US, Sweden is much more gender egalitarian overall (Baxter and Kane 1995). The extent to which gender works as a master status in the Swedish context likely differs from the American one. Furthermore, gendered class and status processes are part and parcel of a society's gender attitudes (such as benevolent sexism), gender expectations (such as status contradictions), and gender roles. Cross-national and historic variation in the extent to which the material and symbolic processes of valuation diverge represents an important area of future research.¹³

This study also tested whether there were differences between women and men in the way gender is used as a criterion in judgments of symbolic valuation. In line with prior research in cultural sociology on gender differences in judgments of symbolic worth, I find that men and women exhibit small but significant in-group biases that valorize “men’s work” and “women’s work,” respectively.

Overall, though, men and women accord status to occupations that are sex segregated, even when comparing occupations which are similar in terms of pay, required education or experience, and industry.

Taken altogether, these findings have important implications for the gender and work literature. The prestige premium enjoyed by gender-segregated occupations and the concomitant penalty incurred by gender-integrated ones may represent another way that the gender revolution has stalled (England and Li 2006; England 2010). The persistent gendering of work likely reinforces—and is reinforced by—symbolic status processes such as those uncovered here.

This research raises a new important question for social scientists: why is it that women's work—the predominantly-female jobs—which, as we have seen, reap such high symbolic rewards, are not matched with high material rewards? It seems that women's work represents the mental space in which the material and symbolic judgments diverge: these are among the least-valued jobs materially and among the most-valued jobs symbolically. The present study raises an interesting possibility: we may symbolically value women's work to compensate for its material devaluation. Zelizer (1993) found a similar process at work in terms of children: over the past two centuries, as they lost economic value, they gained sentimental (or symbolic) value. The gender-specific compensation of diminished material value with symbolic value may be driven by the persistent association between women's work as altruistic and women's wages as “butter and egg” money, rather than men's “breadwinner” wages (Kessler-Harris 1990; England et al. 2002). Indeed, the symbolic valuation of women's traditionally feminine work may be the way we justify its material devaluation, since benevolent sexism works in tandem with hostile sexism to uphold systems of gender inequality (Jost and Kay 2005).

An important limitation of the present study is that people's perceptions of occupational characteristics, like gender composition, are unobserved. In all studies that examine judgments of material and/or symbolic worth, it is assumed that people are at least minimally cognizant of the evaluation criteria associated with that object—in this case, a job's requirements, rewards, and gender composition. In their study of perceptions related to sex-segregated occupations, Cejka and Eagly (1999:418) found that people's “perceptions of the distribution of sexes into occupations were highly related to the actual distribution,” with a Pearson correlation of .92 between estimated percent women in a job and the actual percent women in a job. Moreover, Liben et al. (2001) find that children as young as six distinguish between occupations on the basis of their gender compositions. Thus, we may expect that most Americans are reasonably aware of occupations' gender compositions. Furthermore, the hypotheses predicted here do not hinge on raters having perfect information about occupations' gender composition, but instead on having a relatively defined sense of whether a job is highly gendered and whether it is gendered in favor of men or women. Nevertheless, an important avenue for future work lies in investigating the extent to which imperfect information related to perceived characteristics of occupations influences judgments of prestige, following the model of Lizardo and Skiles' (2016) work on judgments of musical genres.

A second limitation is that the link between gender composition and prestige has been inferred from cross-sectional data. There may be additional factors at work that are related to both gender composition *and* prestige. Future work, such as survey experiments, which compare the effect of an occupation's perceived vs. actual gender composition on prestige, can better establish the extent to which this relationship is causal, as well as the mechanisms driving it.

Future work on symbolic valuations in the occupation structure is needed to parse out whether these prestige judgments reflect different evaluations of status, personal preference, or moral judgments. As it stands, we cannot know precisely which kind of symbolic valuation judgment people are making, and future work should try to resolve this by collecting and comparing different kinds of data. EPA ratings from ACT theory represent one potential way of capturing the distinctly moral dimension (cf MacKinnon and Langford 1994; Freeland and Hoey 2018), while occupational aspirations represent one potential way of capturing the distinctly preferential dimension (cf Jacobs 1989; Morgan et al. 2013).

Another area for future research is to explore how an occupation's prestige plays into supply- and demand-side dynamics that shape the ways in which people navigate the labor market. Are women drawn to—or funneled toward—predominantly-female occupations, in part, because of the status benefit? Are women cognizant of the tradeoff they are making between material and symbolic rewards when going into a predominantly-female occupation?

Conclusion

This study is the first of its kind to analyze twenty-first century cultural models of occupational prestige in the United States. Previous work investigating occupational prestige in the US was based on prestige ratings collected as recently as 1989 and tended to use occupation-level data from the 1970s or earlier. Given the remarkable changes to both the occupational structure and the labor force in the last 30 years, it is important to update our understanding of how individuals perceive the occupational hierarchy.

By taking a culture and cognition approach, this study resolves some paradoxes observed in prior studies of occupational prestige regarding the mixed influence of gendered representation on prestige judgments (cf Touhey 1974a, 1974b; Hawkins and Pingree 1978; Wolf and Rosenfeld 1978; England 1979; Suchner 1979; Treiman and Terrell 1975; Sewell et al. 1980; Rosenfeld 1980; White et al. 1981; Bose and Rossi 1983; Crino and White 1983; Beyard-Tyler and Haring 1984; Powell and Jacobs 1984; Shaffer et al. 1986; Glick 1991; Wu and Leffler 1992; Baunach 2002; Magnusson 2009, 2010; Gronlund and Magnusson 2013). Indeed, as seen in Model 2 of Table 4, the gender composition of an occupation appears to have a very small negative effect on prestige judgments. However, I have shown that the best-fitting model of occupational prestige is one that allows for nonmonotonic effects of percent of women in an occupation.

The current work also highlights the importance of considering “auxiliary” influences on occupational prestige judgments, influences, which go beyond

the typical criteria of education, pay, and job characteristics. Finally, this work underscores the necessity to consider material valuation and symbolic valuation as distinct processes—harkening back to Weber’s classic distinction between class and status. This does not represent a disqualification of devaluation theory so much as it demonstrates how gender and status play out differently than gender and class. Furthermore, the process of material valuation in the gendered occupation structure is generally invariant across men and women, whereas the process of symbolic valuation does seem to exhibit unique social patterning by gender. These differences reiterate the importance of discerning status processes from class ones.

By considering material and symbolic valuation processes, we can better understand the dynamics at work in the gendered occupation structure. Moreover, there is a growing momentum to consider institutions related to stratification and mobility—such as educational systems, poverty, labor markets, and social movements—as cultural objects in and of themselves. By making use of theories and methods from the sociology of culture and cognition, inequality researchers can better understand the beliefs and perceptions that guide people as they navigate and gate-keep in these institutions.

Notes

1. Although men may actually experience greater instances of promotion from predominantly female jobs (Maume 1999).
2. In fact, Duncan’s SEI is a nationwide average for each occupation that reflects a composite of an occupational prestige rating (averaged across some surveyed participants), as well as the pay and education level of the incumbents of that occupation. It is thus an impure measure of symbolic valuation of an occupation, since it includes material indicators (pay, education) as well as prestige ratings (see Warren et al. 1998).
3. Respondents rated an average of 81.5 occupations out of the 90 with which they were presented.
4. I took care to select information published in 2012 (or as close to 2012 as available) in order to accurately reflect the state of the occupation structure at that time, as these are the structural factors assumed to influence individual’s prestige judgments, which were made in 2012.
5. About 93% of occupations that were rated by GSS respondents have complete data. Occupations without complete data include military occupations (federal data are unavailable for the military sector), special occupations that are not really occupations (e.g. “street corner drug-dealer,” “businessman”), occupations that do not correspond to a single census code, and occupations that are missing reliable earnings data due to the nature of the job (e.g. actor, musician).
6. While showing the names of all 860 occupations is impossible, I labeled every 20th occupation on the x-axis to give a sense of what the aggregate view of the occupational hierarchy looks like.

7. I exclude from these calculations the nine raters who rated all occupations in their ballot the same.
8. By BIC standards, for instance, this represents a model fit improvement of 228.9, “very strong” evidence that Model 3 is the best fitting (Raftery 1995:138–9)
9. In addition to comparisons of model fit between linear and quadratic specifications in Table 4, I also test an alternate approach for nonlinearity in the effect of % female on prestige: I derive two model specifications from Kanter’s (1977) categories of sex ratios (gender skewed and gender tilted). Both specifications also support Hypothesis 1b (see Table S1 in the Online Supplement), but the quadratic specification (Model 3) remains the best-fitting model. Furthermore, a two-line test (Simonsohn 2018) showed two significant and opposite-sign slopes, consistent with a U shape.
10. As a robustness check, I also examined whether the observed effects of gender composition were being by how common that occupation is. Results are presented in Table S2 of the Online Supplement and demonstrate that while the number of total incumbents in a particular occupation does have a small, positive effect on prestige, this effect appears to be orthogonal to that of gender composition.
11. Results with separate models for male and female raters are presented in Table S3 of the Online Supplement. These results differ conceptually from those presented here by allowing each criterion (including ballot fixed effects and industry controls) to have a different weight and valence for male and female raters. Nevertheless, these results show a similar pattern to the one presented here: both men and women reward gender-segregated occupations with prestige, although men tend to favor predominantly-male jobs and women tend to favor predominantly-female jobs.
12. Additional analyses indicate that this in-group gender bias does not meaningfully differ across income and education levels.
13. Like most of the prior research on symbolic valuation of work, this work does not take a culture and cognition approach to account for potential between- and within-person differences in valuation. There are important differences in scale usage and benchmarking within populations, meaning that country-wide averages of prestige scores can obscure important patterns in symbolic valuation within that country.

Supplementary Material

Supplementary material is available at *Social Forces* online, <http://sf.oxfordjournals.org/>

About the Author

Lauren Valentino is an assistant professor in the Department of Sociology at the Ohio State University. She uses theories and methods from culture and cognition to understand how people form beliefs and perceptions about inequality and

social hierarchies in the United States. Her recent work has been published in *American Sociological Review* and *Poetics*.

References

- Altonji, Joseph G., and Rebecca M. Blank. 1999. "Race and Gender in the Labor Market." *Handbook of Labor Economics* 3(C):3143–259.
- Auspurg, Katrin, Thomas Hinz, and Carsten Sauer. 2017. "Why Should Women Get Less? Evidence on the Gender Pay Gap from Multifactorial Survey Experiments." *American Sociological Review* 82(1):179–210.
- Baunach, Dawn M. 2002. "Trends in Occupational Sex Segregation and Inequality, 1950 to 1990." *Social Science Research* 31:77–98.
- Baxter, Janeen, and Emily W. Kane. 1995. "Dependence and Independence: A Cross-National Analysis of Gender Inequality and Gender Attitudes." *Gender & Society* 9(2): 193–215.
- Beyard-Tyler, Karen, and Haring, Marilyn J. 1984. "Gender-Related Aspects of Occupational Prestige." *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 24(2): 194–203.
- Boltanski, Luc, and Laurent Thévenot. 1983. "Finding One's Way in Social Space: A Study Based on Games." *Social Science Information* 22(4–5):631–80.
- Bose, Christine E. and Peter H. Rossi. 1983. "Gender and Jobs: Prestige Standings of Occupations as Affected by Gender." *American Sociological Review* 48(3):316–30.
- Bourdieu, Pierre 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bryson, Bethany. 1996. "Anything but Heavy Metal: Symbolic Exclusion and Musical Dislikes." *American Sociological Review* 61(5):884.
- Cejka, Mary Ann and Alice H. Eagly. 1999. "Gender-Stereotypic Images of Occupations Correspond to Sex Segregation of Employment." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 25(4):413–23.
- Charles, Maria and David Grusky 2004. *Occupational Ghettos: The Worldwide Segregation of Women and Men*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Correll, Shelley J., Stephen Benard, and In Paik. 2007. "Getting a Job: Is there a Motherhood Penalty?." *American Journal of Sociology* 112(5):1297–1339.
- Crino, Michael D. and Michael C. White. 1983. "Female Participation Rates and the Occupational Prestige of the Professions: Are they Inversely Related?." *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 22(2):243–255.
- DiMaggio, Paul, and John Mohr. 1985. "Cultural Capital, Educational Attainment, and Marital Selection." *American Journal of Sociology* 90(6):1231–1261.
- DiPrete, Thomas and Claudia Buchmann 2013. *The Rise of Women: The Growing Gender Gap in Education and What it Means for American Schools*. New York, NY: Russell Sage.
- England, Paula. 1979. "Women and Occupational Prestige: A Case of Vacuous Sex Equality." *Signs* 5(2):252–265.
- England, Paula 1992. *Comparable Worth: Theories and Evidence*. New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.
- England, Paula. 2010. "The Gender Revolution: Uneven and Stalled." *Gender & Society* 24(2):149–166.
- England, Paula, Michelle Budig, and Nancy Folbre. 2002. "Wages of Virtue: The Relative Pay of Care Work." *Social Problems* 49(4):455–73.
- England, Paula, and Su Li. 2006. "Desegregation Stalled the Changing Gender Composition of College Majors, 1971–2002." *Gender & Society* 20(5):657–77.
- Glick, Peter. 1991. "Trait-Based and Sex-Based Discrimination in Occupational Prestige, Occupational Salary, and Hiring." *Sex Roles* 25(5–60):351–78.

- Fiske, Susan T. and Peter Glick. 1995. "Ambivalence and Stereotypes Cause Sexual Harassment: A Theory with Implications for Organizational Change." *Journal of Social Issues* 51(1):97–115.
- Freeland, Robert E., and Jesse Hoey. 2018. "The Structure of Deference: Modeling Occupational Status Using Affect Control Theory." *American Sociological Review* 83(2):243–77.
- Glick, Peter, and Susan T. Fiske. 1996. "The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70(3):491–512.
- Glick, Peter, and Susan T. Fiske. 2001. "An Ambivalent Alliance: Hostile and Benevolent Sexism as Complementary Justifications for Gender Inequality." *American Psychologist* 56(2):109–18.
- Gronlund, Anne, and Charlotta Magnusson. 2013. "Devaluation, Crowding, or Skill Specificity? Exploring the Mechanisms behind the Lower Wages in Female Professions." *Social Science Research* 42(4):1006–17.
- Halle, David 1993. *Inside Culture: Art and Class in the American Home*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Hass, Virginia. 2016. "Physicians Assistants and Nurse Practitioners Are Not Interchangeable." *Journal of the American Academy of Physician Assistants* 29(4):9–12.
- Hauser, Robert M., and John Robert Warren. 1997. "Socioeconomic Indexes for Occupations: A Review, Update, and Critique." *Sociological Methodology* 27(1):177–298.
- Hawkins, Robert P. and Suzanne Pingree. 1978. "Effects of Changing Proportions of the Sexes on Ratings of Occupational Prestige." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 2(4): 314–22.
- Heilman, Madeline E. 2001. "Description and Prescription: How Gender Stereotypes Prevent Women's Ascent up the Organizational Ladder." *Journal of Social Issues* 57(4):657–74.
- Hodge, Robert W., Paul M. Siegel, and Peter H. Rossi. 1964. "Occupational Prestige in the United States, 1925-63." *American Journal of Sociology* 70(3):286–302.
- Hughes, Everett Cherrington. 1945. "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status." *American Journal of Sociology* 50(5):353–59.
- Jacobs, Jerry A. 1989. *Revolving Doors: Sex Segregation and Women's Careers*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Jasso, Guillermina. 1994. "Assessing Individual and Group Differences in the Sense of Justice: Framework and Application to Gender Differences in the Justice of Earnings." *Social Science Research* 23(4):36–406.
- Jasso, Guillermina. 2006. "Factorial Survey Methods for Studying Beliefs and Judgments." *Sociological Methods & Research* 34(3):334–423.
- Jasso, Guillermina, and Peter H. Rossi. 1977. "Distributive Justice and Earned Income." *American Sociological Review* 42(4):639–51.
- Jasso, Guillermina, and Murray Webster Jr. 1997. "Double Standards in Just Earnings for Male and Female Workers." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 60(1):66–78.
- Jasso, Guillermina, and Murray Webster Jr. 1999. "Assessing the Gender Gap in Just Earnings and its Underlying Mechanisms." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 62(4):367–80.
- Jasso, Guillermina, and Eva M. Meyersson Milgrom. 2008. "Distributive Justice and CEO Compensation." *Acta Sociologica* 51(2):123–43.
- Jost, John T. and Aaron C. Kay 2005. "Exposure to Benevolent Sexism and Complementary Gender Stereotypes: Consequences for Specific and Diffuse Forms of System Justification." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 88(3):498–509.
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. 1977. "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women." *American Journal of Sociology* 82(5):965–90.

- Kessler-Harris, Alice 1990. *A Woman's Wage: Historical Meanings and Social Consequences*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
- Lamont, Michèle 2012. "Toward a Comparative Sociology of Valuation and Evaluation." *Annual Review of Sociology* 38:201–21.
- Liben, Lynn S., Rebecca S. Bigler, and Holleen R. Krogh. 2001. "Pink and Blue Collar Jobs: Children's Judgments of Job Status and Job Aspirations in Relation to Sex of Worker." *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology* 79(4):346–63.
- Lieberson, Stanley 2000. *A Matter of Taste: How Names, Fashion, and Culture Change*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lin, Nan, and Wen Xie. 1988. "Occupational Prestige in Urban China." *American Journal of Sociology* 93(4):793–832.
- Lizardo, Omar and Sara Skiles 2016. "Cultural Objects as Prisms Perceived Audience Composition of Musical Genres as a Resource for Symbolic Exclusion." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 2:2378023116641695.
- Lynn, Freda B., and George Ellerbach. 2017. "A Position with a View Educational Status and the Construction of the Occupational Hierarchy." *American Sociological Review* 82(1):32–58.
- MacKinnon, Neil J. and Tom Langford. 1994. "The Meaning of Occupational Prestige Scores: A Social Psychological Analysis and Interpretation." *Sociological Quarterly* 35(2):215–245.
- Magnusson, Charlotta. 2009. "Gender, Occupational Prestige, and Wages: A Test of Devaluation Theory." *European Sociological Review* 25(1):87–101.
- Magnusson, Charlotta. 2010. "Why Is there a Gender Wage Gap According to Occupational Prestige." *Acta Sociologica* 53(2):99–116.
- Maume, David J. 1999. "Glass Ceilings and Glass Escalators: Occupational Segregation and Race and Sex Differences in Managerial Promotions." *Work and Occupations* 26(4):483–509.
- Morgan, Stephen L., Dafna Gelbgiser, and Kim A. Weeden. 2013. "Feeding the Pipeline: Gender, Occupational Plans, and College Major Selection." *Social Science Research* 42(4):989–1005.
- Pager, Devah. 2003. "The Mark of a Criminal Record." *American Journal of Sociology* 108(5):937–975.
- Pager, Devah, Bruce Western, and Bart Bonikowski. 2009. "Discrimination in a Low-Wage Labor Market: A Field Experiment." *American Sociological Review* 74(5):777–799.
- Peterson, Richard A. and Albert Simkus 1992. "How Musical Tastes Mark Occupational Status Groups". In *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, pp. 152–68. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Powell, Brian and Jerry Jacobs 1984. "Gender Differences in the Evaluation of Prestige." *The Sociological Quarterly* 25:173–90.
- Raftery, Adrian E. 1995. "Bayesian Model Selection in Social Research." *Sociological Methodology* 25:111–63.
- Rosenfeld, Rachel A. 1980. "Race and Sex Differences in Career Dynamics." *American Sociological Review* 45(4):583–609.
- Sewell, William H., Robert M. Hauser, and Wendy C. Wolf. 1980. "Sex, Schooling, and Occupational Status." *American Journal of Sociology* 86(3):551–83.
- Shaffer, David R., April Gresham, E. Gilmer Clary, and Thomas J. Theilman. 1986. "Sex-Ratios as a Basis for Occupational Evaluations: A Contemporary View." *Social Behavior and Personality* 14(1):77–83.
- Simonsohn, Uri. 2018. "Two Lines: A Valid Alternative to the Invalid Testing of U-Shaped Relationships with Quadratic Regressions." *Advances in Methods and Practices in Psychological Science* 1(4):538–55.
- Smith, Tom W. and Jaesok Son 2014. "Measuring Occupational Prestige on the 2012 General Social

- Survey." *GSS Methodological Report No. 122*. Retrieved March 2, 2015. <http://gss.norc.umd.edu/documents/reports/methodological-reports/MR122%20Occupational%20Prestige.pdf>.
- Suchner, Robert W. 1979. "Sex Ratios and Occupational Prestige: Three Failures to Replicate a Sexist Bias." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 5(2): 236–39.
- Tajfel, Henri and John C. Turner 1979. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict". In *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, edited by Austin, William G., Worchel, Stephen, pp. 33–47. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing.
- Tiryakian, Edward A. 1958. "The Prestige Evaluation of Occupations in an under Developed Country: The Philippines." *American Journal of Sociology* 63(4):390–99.
- Touhey, Jonathan C. 1974a. "Effects of Additional Women Professionals on Occupational Prestige and Desirability." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 29:86–9.
- Touhey, Jonathan C. 1974b. "Effects of Additional Men on Prestige and Desirability of Occupations Typically Performed by Women." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 4(4): 330–35.
- Treiman, Donald J. 1977. *Occupational Prestige in Comparative Perspective*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Treiman, Donald J. and Kermit Terrell. 1975. "Sex and the Process of Status Attainment: A Comparison of Working Women and Men." *American Sociological Review* 40(2):174–200.
- U.S. Department of Labor. 1991. *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (Rev, 4th edn). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Vaisey, Stephen. 2009. "Motivation and Justification: A Dual-Process Model of Culture in Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 114(6):1675–715.
- Warren, John R., Jennifer T. Sheridan, and Robert M. Hauser. 1998. "Choosing a Measure of Occupational Standing: How Useful Are Composite Measures in Analyses of Gender Inequality in Occupational Attainment." *Sociological Methods & Research* 27(1):3–76.
- Weber, Max 1978. "Status Groups and Classes". In *Economy and Society*, pp. 302–9. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Wegener, Bernd 1992. "Concepts and Measurement of Prestige." *Annual Review of Sociology* 18:253–80.
- White, Michael C., Michael D. Crino, and Gerry L. DeSanctis. 1981. "Ratings of Prestige and Desirability: Effects of Additional Women Entering Selected Business Occupations." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 7(4):588–92.
- Wolf, Wendy C. and Rachel Rosenfeld. 1978. "Sex Structure of Occupations and Job Mobility." *Social Forces* 56(3):823–44.
- Wu, Xu, and Ann Leffler. 1992. "Gender and Race Effects on Occupational Prestige, Segregation, and Earnings." *Gender & Society* 6(3):376–92.
- Zelizer, Viviana A. 1993. *Pricing the Priceless Child*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Zhou, Xueguang. 2005. "The Institutional Logic of Occupational Prestige Ranking: Reconceptualization and Reanalyses." *American Journal of Sociology* 111(1):90–140.