Ethnicity, Gender, and Social Mobility in 1910
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Ethnicity, Gender, and Social Mobility in 1910

The belief that the social class position an individual inherits at birth is not itself a prime determinant of subsequent personal achievement is a cherished part of American democratic tradition. Social historians attempting to measure whether the mobility opportunities so eagerly sought by immigrants were in fact realized have looked at the occupations of immigrant men and their sons. Evidence from such diverse areas as Boston, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and New York City indicates that at the turn of the century many

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men did experience upward occupational mobility; some groups, notably blacks, did not fare as well as did white immigrants, and not all white immigrants experienced the same rates of occupational improvement (Bodnar et al. 1982; Lieberson 1980; Model 1988; Thernstrom 1964, 1973; Zunz 1982). This essay turns to the first decade of the twentieth century to explore some of the factors contributing to socioeconomic mobility.

Even though studies of immigrant adaptation are often framed in terms of family adjustment, little empirical work has examined how gender roles were manipulated by immigrant families to achieve security and success. While there were some practical reasons for restricting previous mobility studies to men, historical work also suggests the need to integrate women into the framework. The scholarly literature does provide evidence of job mobility for women: second-generation women improved their occupational standing over first-generation women (Diner 1983; Glenn 1990). Moreover, research also suggests that daughters influenced the occupational pursuits of their brothers (Goldin 1981; Sassler 1995).

This essay has two objectives. First, we document the degree of status transmission from fathers to their coresident children. Second, we explore the way that gender shaped intergenerational status transmission. To carry out this work we estimate a series of multivariate statistical models. Our analysis makes use of representative microlevel data from the 1910 census Public Use Sample. We introduce several innovations. First, we examine status transmission from fathers to *daughters* as well as sons. Second, we introduce family contextual variables. Third, the analysis compares both "old" and "new" ethnic groups with longer-term white and black residents of the United States, delineating how ethnicity influenced parental transmission of occupational status to sons and daughters and how it varied with increasing generation in the country. Our article concludes with a discussion of how ethnicity, family composition, and gender roles together shaped mobility opportunities for immigrants and their offspring in the early twentieth century.

A Review of the Socioeconomic Mobility Literature

In the 1960s, Stephan Thernstrom and other historians began challenging the notion that opportunities for social mobility made class distinctions in

America more ambiguous than in Europe. Studies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century found that sons whose fathers held positions in the lower strata had a better chance of improving their occupational status than sons with higher-status fathers; sons whose fathers held higher-level occupations, however, were more likely to maintain their father's occupational standing, rather than experiencing downward mobility (Thernstrom 1973; Kessner 1977; Model 1988; Zunz 1982). After examining gross amounts of upward and downward mobility, Thernstrom and others found intergenerational status inheritance to be rather weak (Griffen and Griffen 1978; Kessner 1977; Thernstrom 1973). Ethnicity and generation, they argued, determined occupational position more than parental occupation.[1] Such studies usually looked at no more than five occupational classes, thus limiting potential variation in the occupational prestige distributions of fathers and sons.

When sociologists and economists turned their attention to intergenerational stratification of historical populations, they applied new techniques that allowed researchers to disentangle factors contributing to intergenerational mobility. Instead of classifying occupations into various strata or classes, one new approach translated occupations into a continuous measure of social status by attaching modern socioeconomic scores to occupations in historical data (Chiswick 1991; Landale and Guest 1990; Model 1988). This allowed status transmission to be modeled at the individual level. The ensuing results, while highlighting various personal and parental traits important in determining class status, were often contradictory. Landale and Guest (1990) found that in the late nineteenth century, fathers' socioeconomic index (SEI) scores were a significant predictor of adult sons' status. Ethnicity was also an important determining factor, but generation was not. Model (1988) and Chiswick (1991) also highlighted the importance of ethnicity, but Model reports that paternal SEI scores were not statistically significant in a multivariate analysis of intergenerational mobility among Italians and Jews living in New York City in 1910.

The bulk of these studies, both those based on occupational strata and others using multivariate analyses, focused on one particular city—New York City, or Detroit, or Pittsburgh, or Boston. While area studies yield much rich information, the ethnic and generational mix and employment context varied widely from city to city, making generalization about status transmission difficult. Those using the National Panel Study (NPS) were the first to examine a nationally representative population (Guest et al. 1989; Landale

and Guest 1990). The construction of the NPS, however, precludes the comparison of a wide range of ethnic groups, since the sample only links men found in both the 1880 and 1900 U.S. census records; the bulk of immigrants from southern, eastern, and central Europe arrived *after* 1880 and are therefore not captured. An aggregate comparison of foreign stock in 1910 with ancestry groups in 1980 suggests an appreciable assimilation, or leveling of the playing field, for most European stock groups (White and Sassler 1995). Still, existing research does not disentangle how parental status, nativity, and ethnicity among both "old" and "new" immigrants affect intergenerational transmission of status at the individual level.

A second major drawback of the more recent studies of status transmission is the omission of a family context. While family size and household composition are standard components of historical research on educational attainment or labor force participation (for example, see Goldin 1981; Horan and Hargis 1991; Perlmann 1988; Walters and Briggs 1993; Sassler 1995), they are missing in the stratification research. Yet evidence from other studies demonstrates that larger families had greater economic need and that siblings were competitors for scarce household resources (Goldin 1981; Perlmann 1988; Sassler 1995). Working brothers or sisters could also provide assistance in obtaining a job (Hareven 1982). Omitting variables to control for the family situation, then, suggests that status transmission occurs in a kinship vacuum. Therefore, the influence of differences in family size and composition would be visible indirectly through ethnicity.

This oversight is further highlighted by the exclusion of women in the study of status transmission. Because of women's exclusion, we know little about how families allocated household resources among family members, nor can we tell the extent to which gender distinguished children's pursuits. That daughters as well as sons worked in the paid labor force and contributed to the family economy is well documented (Glenn 1990; Goldin 1981, 1990; Hareven 1982; Lamphere 1987). The extent of parental status transmission to daughters, however, is completely absent in the historical stratification literature. We also know little about how the presence of daughters shaped the occupational attainment of sons. Much historical writing argues that daughters contributed to improving their brothers' occupational position, working to enable them to extend their schooling or to apprentice (Ryan 1981; Smith 1985; Zunz 1982). Findings from empirical studies, however, do not support

these assertions (Jacobs and Greene 1994; Perlmann 1988; Sassler 1995). The presence of sisters could be detrimental to sons' occupational attainment if brothers worked to enable daughters to remain in the home, as some studies have found (Goldin 1981; Sassler 1995). It is therefore important to look at the effect of gender trade-offs within the family, and how these trade-offs influence status attainment, as well as parental transmission of status to daughters as well as sons.

Our analysis of the extent of status transmission from fathers to children and how this was mediated by generation, ethnicity, family composition, and gender is embedded in a conventional status attainment model. The predictive power of father's status is of particular interest. We expect the coefficient for father's status to be positive and significant. However, we anticipate that the coefficient on father's status will be stronger in the equation for sons than for daughters, reflecting hypothesized gender-specific strategies and differential labor market opportunity.

Because occupational status improves with time in the labor market, we expect that a child's age will have a positive effect on socioeconomic status. Conversely, we expect that those from larger families would have inferior status outcomes. Larger families had greater need for resources. The presence of young children and adolescents often pushed older siblings into the paid labor force, sometimes at cost to working-age children's educational attainment (Glenn 1990; Horan and Hargis 1991; Walters and Briggs 1993). Young children themselves had limited options, as their ability to engage in wage work was restricted until age 15 (Guest and Tolnay 1983). Although working-age siblings could enable additional investment in the human capital accumulation of individual children, they also represent competition for familial resources. Historical evidence also suggests that parents established a household norm for working-age children's pursuits (Sassler 1995), rather than apportioning activities according to ability; working siblings could therefore detract from the educational attainment and occupational status of an individual child. The presence of both young and working-age siblings is therefore expected to diminish the SEI outcomes of both daughters and sons. We hypothesize, further, that family composition will influence daughters more strongly than sons. Unlike sons, for whom gainful employment was normative, many working-age daughters remained at home (Goldin 1990; Sassler 1995). If daughters living in households containing working-age sons

were gainfully employed, they were likely to be from families that were under more severe economic pressure.

Immigrants who made a long-term commitment to the United States might be more interested in advancing the status of their progeny than those anticipating a return to their country of origin. A father's citizenship status affected children's educational prospects; groups with high rates of return migration, such as Poles and Italians, were less likely to become naturalized and often sent children to work at early ages (Perlmann 1988). Home ownership was viewed as a particularly important measure of success for many of the new immigrant groups, like Italians, Poles, and Slavs (Bodnar et al. 1982), as well as for the Irish (Thernstrom 1973). The presence of a father who has naturalized or is a home owner is expected to have a positive effect on child's status.

Because the population residing in the United States in the early years of the twentieth century was so heterogeneous, we expect considerable differences in aggregate outcomes by ethnic origin and generation. The Irish and Germans dominating the immigrant influx to the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century were later supplemented by arrivals from the Scandinavian countries, followed in the 1880s by southern, eastern, and central Europeans (Cohn 1995; Kessner 1977; Watson 1994). Because of their longer duration in the country, many of the Irish and Germans (the "old" immigrants) were second- or even third-generation by 1910, in sharp contrast to the predominantly first-generation new immigrants, such as Italians, Poles, and Jews. Time to adapt to the norms of American life, learn the skills required to obtain better jobs, and establish assistance networks and institutions provided the old immigrants with many advantages that the newer arrivals did not have. We therefore expect the conventional ordering to emerge, with native whites having the highest-status occupations, followed by old immigrants, new immigrants, and blacks. Consistent with the basic assimilation model, we expect third-generation sons and daughters to do better than the second generation, who will do better than the first.

Predicting ethnic differences is more difficult, especially once father's status is controlled. For the most part, we expect the old-new-black ordering will still hold. Discrimination severely undermined the chances of African Americans, who were systematically excluded from unions and tracked into separate and unequal schooling and jobs (Bodnar et al. 1982; Lieberson

1980); being black is expected to have a negative influence on occupational outcomes. Among white ethnics, rates of mobility varied even among those arriving in the country at approximately the same time, shaped by literacy and ability to speak English, familiarity with manufacturing, ethnic networks in America, and experience with discrimination and segregation (Kessner 1977; Lieberson 1980; Steinberg 1981; Thernstrom 1973; White et al. 1994). The literature regularly asserts that Germans improved their status more rapidly than did the Irish (Griffen and Griffen 1978; Lieberson 1980; Thernstrom 1973), although Landale and Guest (1990) do not concur. Extant findings are more consistent for the new immigrant groups, with Jews improving their occupational status more rapidly than either Italians or Poles (Kessner 1977; Lieberson 1980; Model 1988; Thernstrom 1973). We therefore expect Jews to have higher occupational outcomes than other new ethnic groups.

The ethnic context of gender strategies is of particular interest in this analysis. We expect to see differences emerge across ethnic groups in the degree to which father's status is transmitted to daughters (vs. sons) and the extent to which daughters' and sons' activities are substitutes. Since this is uncharted territory, however, we offer no specific hypothesis about the several relevant coefficients estimated.

Data and Methods

Data are drawn from the 1910 census Public Use Sample, a nationally representative 1-in-250 sample of individuals recorded in household units. Because the number from the total Public Use Sample is quite large, we drew a subsample of the population consisting of a random 25% sample of the native white of native parentage population and combined it with a 100% sample of blacks and of the foreign-born and their offspring.

We model status transmission with individual-level data, focusing on never-married sons and daughters age 15 and over who were living in their father's household.[2] To construct this sample of coresident children, aggregate household characteristics were assigned to all male household heads and attached to a separate file consisting of sons; the process was repeated to obtain a daughters file. Attached to each child's record are data on the father, such as whether he was naturalized, whether he owned or rented the family dwelling, and his occupation.[3] Aggregate family data provide the number of

coresident siblings, obtained by counting all children in the household and subtracting one, as well as the age and sex of siblings. The study is limited to urban areas including 2,500 or more people, as employment and schooling opportunities were far more diverse in these areas and they served as magnets for the new immigrants flooding into the United States at the turn of the century. Our sample consists of 4,382 sons and 2,882 daughters who were gainfully employed and also resided in a household headed by their father. Since we use the criterion of gainful employment to decide our population universe, these workers could be of any age. The vast majority of the gainfully employed, coresident sons and daughters fall between the ages of 15 and 35. For ease of exposition, our references to "adults" will include all these individuals.

Census questions on place of birth, parents' place of birth, and mother tongue enable us to ascertain ethnic membership and nativity. Those who are foreign-born are considered first-generation Americans, while American-born individuals with at least one foreign-born parent are termed second-generation. Our individual-level analysis enables us to examine an unprecedented third generation for ethnic groups,[4] because children are linked to their fathers and information is available on fathers' parents. We can therefore discern those with at least one foreign-born grandparent, the third generation, from adult children who are fourth-generation or higher and have two native-born grandparents. We refer to the fourth generation (and all higher-order generations) as native stock.

We examine several of the old immigrant groups: Germans, Irish, British, French Canadians, Scandinavians,[5] and other northern and western Europeans, groups who came preponderantly before the waves of the 1880s. Among the new immigrant groups we count Italians, Poles, Jews, and other central and eastern Europeans. Blacks and mulattos serve as representatives of longer-term residents,[6] while the native stock are the reference group. We utilize census questions on both birthplace and mother tongue to define the various ethnic groups. The information on mother tongue also enables us to ascertain the ethnic membership of linguistic groups not currently residing in their homeland, such as Poles (speaking Polish), or those who did not have a national territory, such as Jews (speaking Yiddish).[7] Where mother and father differ in ethnic origin, respondents have been assigned to the father's ethnic group, although endogamy rates were extremely high for

both new and old immigrant groups at the turn of the century (Pagnini and Morgan 1990).[8]

Measurement Issues

Our dependent variable is the mean SEI score of never-married coresident sons and daughters. The socioeconomic index is a continuous variable whose value is assigned from information on occupations. The use of such indices in sociology dates back to the mid-1960s, received broad acceptance with the works of Blau and Duncan (1967), and continues to be used even today in the study of immigrant assimilation (Myers 1995). The Duncan socioeconomic index combines prestige scores of various occupations, based on the relative merits in terms of goodness, worth, status, and power, with census occupational scores obtained by averaging the rankings of occupations arrayed by median education and income levels. Data for these estimations are from the 1950 census and the 1947 National Opinion Research Center (NORC) prestige study. The strength of the SEI is that it translates a nominal trait (occupation) into a continuous measure, enabling researchers to use conventional regression (OLS) techniques for analysis.

The scores utilized in this essay rely on work done by the research team that assembled the 1910 Public Use Sample (Strong et al. 1989). They assigned to each worker two occupation codes, one representing the verbatim occupation reported in 1910 and another representing the closest approximation to a 1980 occupation as used in the *Dictionary of Occupation Titles* and the 1980 census. To obtain our SEI value we assigned each reported occupational code its SEI score based on the revised SEI work completed by Stevens and Cho (1985). Occupations requiring education or extensive job experience had the highest scores, followed by white-collar positions, manufacturing jobs, unskilled labor, and service work.[9]

Unfortunately, information on income and education level is not available in the 1910 census. We do know, however, that contemporary studies validate the close relationship among education, occupation, and income. A question inevitably arises about the accuracy of utilizing contemporary socioeconomic index scores, given the vast changes that make the occupational structure of 1910 so different from that of the present. Though historians continue to be leery of applying modern notions of occupational prestige

retrospectively, the Duncan SEI scores are reasonably robust to change over time (Hauser 1982; Hodge et al. 1964; Landale and Guest 1990; Nakao and Treas 1994; Treiman and Terrell 1975). For example, Nakao and Treas (1994) demonstrate that despite temporal change and methodological factors differentiating scales, the occupational hierarchy is so robust that interscale correlations remain remarkably high, and different scales tend to produce similar results in substantive application. Recent historical research spanning the period from 1890 to 1990 demonstrates that change is reflected most in the shifting distribution of persons within occupations, not by alterations in the relative standing of those occupations (Sobek 1996). While there will be inaccuracies, we believe most of these will be random with respect to the overall ranking. This means that we will see lower explained variance than for a perfectly compatible index.

How adequately SEI scores capture changes in women's occupational status, over time and in relation to men, is another thorny issue. Researchers generally sidestep altogether the inclusion of women in historical stratification studies by stating that gainful employment is of limited worth in determining women's economic function in the past. Historical research suggests strongly that women's domestic activity was valued highly relative to wage work (Goldin 1990; Oppenheimer 1970; Tilly and Scott 1978). While it is nearly impossible to retrospectively impute the monetary value of women's activity in the two sectors, even as it is difficult to assign the social meaning or prestige of a woman's occupation, these historical studies indicate that the returns to home labor may have exceeded external employment. The greater value of home activity does not appear to hold for unmarried women, however. They accounted for two-thirds of the total female labor force in 1910 (Goldin 1990; Oppenheimer 1970).

Nonetheless, determining the fit between 1980 SEI scores and 1910 scores for women is complicated even if we only examine never-married women. While some studies find that prestige scores overestimate women's status in the latter half of the twentieth century (Bose and Rossi 1983; Havens and Tully 1972), others demonstrate that women's mean occupational status is approximately equal to that of men (Acker 1980; DeJong et al. 1971; England 1979; Treiman and Terrell 1975)—even though earnings are not (England 1979; Featherman and Hauser 1976). We suggest that the ability to consistently identify key occupational categories for women throughout

the twentieth century (Goldin 1990) buttresses scholarly use of SEI scores to measure women's status in 1910. Our review of the most frequent occupations among women and men (later in this essay) and the SEI values assigned to those gives us additional confidence in the approach. Women and men were concentrated in different occupations in 1910, of course, but our tests indicate that this different distribution does not greatly influence the results.[10]

A technical point regarding the performance of SEI measures in regression equations in this regard is warranted. To the extent that we are interested in the *transmission* rates of father's status to sons versus daughters, we wish to compare regression *slopes* across the respective equations. A uniform over- or understatement of status for one gender—for example, a downward shift of five points—would leave the slope itself unaffected, while the intercept would change. A scale (multiplicative) difference—say, 10% across all SEI codes for women versus men—would alter the slopes but *not* the t-statistics, since OLS regression equations are robust to a linear transformation. All of this is to say that we feel fairly confident about the application of SEI scores in 1910, particularly given the efforts made to identify and code occupation by those who placed the 1910 census in machine-readable form.

Information on family members is available only for those children residing with their household head. This presents potential problems regarding selectivity. Working adults who continue to live with parents may differ systematically from those who don't in age, immigrant status, work, or school participation, as well as on unobservable traits such as independence, risk-taking, and commitment to familial obligations. While contemporary studies of coresident adult children often assert that it is the *least* successful who remain in the parental home (Glick and Lin 1989), this does not appear to be the case for adult children who lived with their parents at the turn of the century. Looking at the mean SEI scores of unmarried children who lived with their parents demonstrates that they were not negatively selected on work ability or status attainment (Appendixes A and B). Rather, the reverse can be inferred. Sons and daughters who remained in the parental home and delayed marriage are no worse off than those who married young, those who left the nest to live with relatives, and young adults who lived as boarders, in terms of their occupational status level. In fact, unmarried coresident women seem to be noticeably better off than other women. This

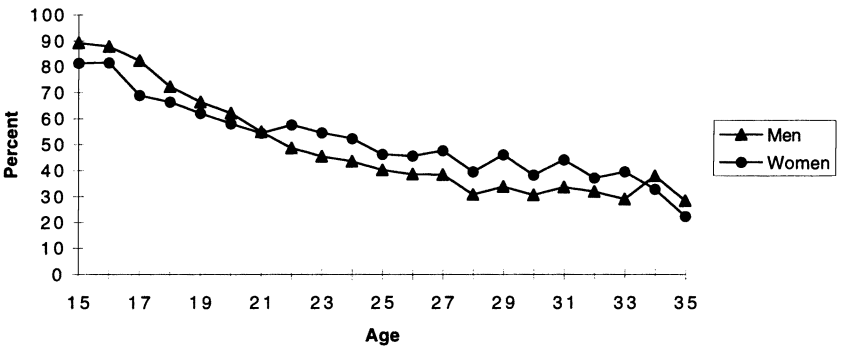

Figure 1 Percentage of never-married adults living with parents, by sex

differential appears to operate less for men, though evidence suggests that coresident sons benefited in other ways by remaining in the parental home (Sassler 1996).[11]

Over half of all never-married women (50.6%) and nearly half (46.0%) of all never-married men lived in their father's household. The fraction of never-married young adults living in the parental home diminishes with increasing age, as can be seen in Figure 1. Notably, young men are more likely than women to live with parents at the youngest ages, though this pattern reverses around age 21. The proportion of never-married adults living with parents varied widely by ethnic group; men and women from the new immigrant groups were far less likely to be living with parents into their late twenties and thirties than representatives of the old immigrant groups.[12] Unmarried German, Jewish, and French Canadian adults demonstrated the greatest propensity to live with parents, while blacks were least likely to remain in the parental home (Table 1). Blacks and mulattos were most likely to be living in female-headed households, but over a quarter of Irish, German, and other northwestern Europeans also lived in households headed by their mother. How different the transmission of status is in female-headed households is an important question but one that is beyond our present scope.

Results

Means and standard deviations for variables used in the regression analysis are presented in Table 2. The mean SEI score for never-married coresident

Table 1 Proportion of never-married adults living with parents, by sex and ethnic group

	Father-headed household		Mother-headed household	
	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters
British	51.1	55.4	22.4	21.1
Irish	48.5	42.7	33.9	33.9
German	60.1	61.8	24.7	25.2
French Canadian	69.1	69.8	17.9	22.2
English Canadian	48.5	48.2	15.8	20.7
NW European[a]	50.0	50.6	17.2	28.1
Scandinavian	36.4	36.0	15.9	14.3
Italian	29.8	69.5	9.5	8.9
Polish	32.7	51.0	14.6	15.6
Jewish	55.2	68.1	12.1	15.0
CE European[b]	26.6	44.6	16.4	14.1
Black	30.1	31.1	37.0	36.8
Mulatto	39.1	37.0	30.6	40.1
Native stock	53.0	53.4	9.6	9.7
Total	46.0	50.6	20.9	22.0

[a]NW European = northern and western European.
[b]CE European = central and eastern European.

sons is 26.45, while for daughters it is 27.81. The mean SEI scores of sons are about the same as those of their fathers. That sons show no gains over their fathers may stem from their youth and inferior labor market experience, which would tend to depress skill levels and occupational status. Daughters, on the other hand, had mean SEI scores more than two points higher than those of their fathers. Since the mean age of daughters and sons is about the same, daughters' higher aggregate status (versus sons) is not due to greater labor market experience. Rather, women are concentrated in fewer occupations than their male counterparts, and the evidence suggests that these were generally higher-status positions.

Table 3 lists the top 10 occupations for all never-married coresident sons and daughters. Over half of all daughters, 51.7%, worked in their respective 10 occupations, compared to only 37.7% of all coresident sons. Sons were more likely to work in manual occupations, while daughters frequently held

Table 2 Means and standard deviations for variables in regression analysis

	Sons		Daughters	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
SEI score	26.45	13.41	27.81	15.33
Age	21.65	5.73	21.32	5.66
Father's SEI score	26.99	15.00	25.75	13.90
Head naturalized	.58	.49	.58	.49
Home owned	.46	.50	.43	.49
No. of children 0–14	1.27	1.61	1.28	1.64
No. of brothers 15+	.95	1.05	.97	.68
No. of sisters 15+	.85	.95	.91	.94
British	.10	.29	.09	.29
Irish	.16	.36	.19	.39
German	.27	.45	.26	.44
French Canadian	.03	.16	.03	.18
English Canadian	.04	.19	.04	.19
Other NW European	.03	.16	.02	.15
Scandinavian	.04	.20	.04	.21
Italian	.07	.25	.04	.20
Polish	.05	.21	.05	.21
Jewish	.08	.27	.10	.29
Other CE European	.05	.22	.06	.23
Black	.04	.19	.04	.19
Mulatto	.02	.14	.02	.13
Native stock	.03	.16	.02	.15
Generation				
First	.21	.40	.19	.39
Second	.64	.48	.68	.47
Third	.06	.24	.06	.23
Nonwhite	.06	.24	.05	.22
N	4,382		2,882	

white-collar positions. As a result, the difference in mean SEI scores for sons and daughters who worked in the 10 most common occupations is quite large and is significantly different at the .001 level.[13] Furthermore, Table 3 also indicates that the status distribution of women's 10 key occupations was more varied (s.d. = 17) than was the case for men (s.d. = 9). These results suggest two considerations. The first is that SEI scores may overstate how women's jobs compare with men's.[14] The second is that women who worked were far

Table 3 Mean SEI scores for the 10 most frequent occupations of coresident sons and daughters in 1910

SONS			
Rank	Job title	*N*	SEI
1	Laborer	504	16.19
2	General office clerk	204	35.11
3	Sales worker	190	31.95
4	Machinist	142	24.03
5	Misc. material moving	136	17.98
6	Machine operator	112	18.70
7	Bookkeeper, accountant	111	44.13
8	Messenger	95	20.46
9	Carpenter	80	21.43
10	Printing machine operator	80	26.84
Mean		1,654	24.213
Standard deviation			8.636
% of all sons			37.7%

DAUGHTERS			
Rank	Job title	*N*	SEI
1	Stenographer	244	50.66
2	Textile sewing machine operator	205	14.83
3	Sales worker	178	31.95
4	Machine operator, not specified	174	18.70
5	Dressmaker	143	18.63
6	Bookkeeper, accounting clerk	142	44.13
7	Teacher, elementary school	118	68.99
8	Private household cleaner	108	14.01
9	General office clerk	97	35.11
10	Misc. apparel and fabric worker	81	21.87
Mean		1,490	32.284
Standard deviation			16.957
% of all daughters			51.7%

more selective than men and were more likely to be distributed around the tails of the occupational distribution. The majority of all sons worked in the paid labor force; among coresident women from higher-status (or higher-generation) families, perhaps only those with a strong career orientation and employment in prestigious occupations worked outside the home.

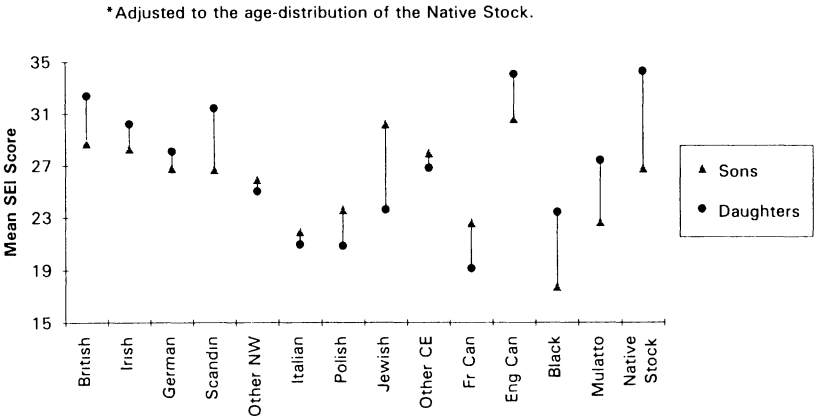

Figure 2 Difference in mean and SEI scores for sons and daughters
Adjusted to the age distribution of the native stock.

The hierarchy of mean SEI scores of fathers and sons largely supports the expected ordering, although Jewish and English Canadian fathers and sons appear higher on the ladder than would be predicted from knowing only time of arrival (results not shown). Black and mulatto sons are concentrated at the bottom of the occupational ladder. The old/new hierarchy is even more clearly demonstrated by daughters. Relative to their fathers' SEI levels, daughters from the old groups had higher mean scores, while daughters from the new groups generally scored lower. Black and mulatto daughters had higher mean scores than many of the new immigrant daughters, even though their fathers had among the lowest scores; this suggests that they had greater access to skilled jobs than did black or mulatto men, both fathers and sons, and were also more skilled than the new immigrant daughters.

Gender and ethnic differences in mobility patterns are more evident upon comparing sons' and daughters' mean SEI scores (Figure 2). Daughters from the old groups had higher SEI scores than did sons, and black, mulatto, and native stock daughters also outperform sons from these groups. Only among the new immigrant groups do sons have higher mean SEI scores than daughters. The bivariate results suggest that daughters from the old groups who worked in the paid labor force were disproportionately engaged in high-status occupations. To determine in more detail how this was so,

and whether these ethnic group differences are themselves accounted for by other personal and familial characteristics, we turn to our multivariate analysis.

We use ordinary least squares, taking son's or daughter's status to be a function of personal characteristics, family background, and ethnicity. Variable groups are entered and tested for their collective explanatory power. First, we enter father's socioeconomic index. Second, we add family background and individual characteristics, as well as 13 dummy variables for ethnic group membership. Third, we examine the effect of interacting ethnicity and generation. Each of the sets of added variables significantly explains variance at conventional levels.

Regression estimates for never-married coresident working sons age 15 and over are presented in Table 4. The results indicate that for every unit increase in father's SEI, we predict about a quarter to a third of a point increase in son's SEI. The result is highly significant. Indeed, when entered alone, father's SEI has a coefficient of .313 and can explain 13% of the variation in coresiding son's SEI, a considerable amount of occupational transmission.[15]

The impact of father's SEI score declines upon introduction of variables controlling for family composition, resources, and ethnicity, yet father's SEI easily remains the most important predictive variable in the equation. The collection of family and personal background traits is highly significant as a group. Sons living with fathers who had naturalized had significantly higher mean SEI scores on average than sons with foreign-born fathers who had not become citizens; in addition to indicating a commitment to the United States, naturalization may also pick out individuals who are differentially successful and thereby have elected to become citizens. A second form of investment in the United States, home ownership, does not influence sons' SEI scores either positively or negatively.

Family composition influences sons' attainment levels. Sons' mean occupational scores diminish significantly with each additional younger sibling. While the presence of working-age brothers reduces sons' occupational attainment scores, the presence of working-age sisters has no significant effect (although the sign of the coefficient is negative). If trade-offs between sisters' domestic activities and brothers' productive labor occurred, such exchanges apparently did not serve as a detriment to sons' status attainment. Our findings for sons point to the importance of fertility reduction for the

Table 4 Regression results predicting sons' SEI scores

Variables	Model I	Model II	Model III	Generation
Father's SEI score	0.313***	0.274***	0.267***	
Head naturalized		1.063*	0.932*	
Home owned		0.446	0.155	
No. of children 0–14		−0.856***	−0.828***	
No. of brothers 15+		−0.554**	−0.434*	
No. of sisters 15+		−0.170	−0.119	
Sons' age		0.368***	0.390***	
Ethnic Group (Native Stock = Ref.)				
British		1.907	0.809	First
			1.166	Second
			7.999***	Third
Irish		2.461	−0.786	First
			2.160	Second
			3.533	Third
German		0.686	0.672	First
			0.333	Second
			1.662	Third
French Canadian		−1.032	0.645	First
			−2.533	Second
			4.505	Third
English Canadian		3.818*	−0.919	First
			5.977***	Second
			−6.194	Third
Other NW European		−1.196	−5.840*	First
			0.409	Second
			−3.212	Third
Scandinavian		1.399	0.593	First
			1.360	Second
Italian		−1.464	−3.541*	First
			0.241	Second
Polish		−0.159	−0.415	First
			−0.370	Second
Jewish		4.143**	2.091	First
			7.291***	Second
Other CE European		1.379	−0.856	First
			2.381	Second
Mulatto		−0.011	−0.366	

Table 4 Continued

Variables	Model I	Model II	Model III	Generation
Black		−4.233**	−4.546**	
Constant	17.841***	11.154***	11.079***	
R^2	0.127	0.191	0.200	

*p < .05.
**p < .01.
***p < .001.

occupational improvement of men as well as women. Smaller families could probably invest more in a son's schooling or training than larger families.

Although controlling for ethnic membership does add significantly to the explanation of variability, few groups demonstrate a significant difference from native stock whites. All ethnic effects are measured with dummy variables, so the value of each estimated coefficient indicates the increment (or decrement) to status for a person in that group, net of the other controls in the model. We find that Jewish and English Canadian sons have SEI scores significantly higher than would be predicted on the basis of their father's SEI value and other family background characteristics, relative to fourth- or higher-generation whites (the native stock). Black sons, on the other hand, score 4.2 points lower than predicted by other characteristics.

Variation from native stock sons becomes more apparent upon disaggregating ethnic groups by generation, which also contributes significantly to the model while highlighting where intergenerational improvement occurred. For example, at the aggregate level British sons are not significantly different from the native stock (Model II); by the third generation, British sons had mean status attainment scores that were almost eight points higher than their native-stock counterparts, net of other variables (Model III). Most other ethnic groups demonstrate clear improvement, even if the coefficients are not significant. The most rapid gain in status attainment is demonstrated by Jewish and English Canadian sons, who by the second generation scored 7.29 and 5.98 points higher than the native stock. While the magnitude is not as great, Italian and other northwestern European sons also experienced improvement over the generations; whereas the mean scores of first-generation sons from these groups were significantly lower than those

Table 5 Regression results predicting daughters' SEI scores

Variables	Model I	Model II	Model III	Generation
Father's SEI score	0.317***	0.270***	0.268***	
Head naturalized		2.065***	1.652*	
Home owned		1.898***	1.777***	
No. of children 0–14		−0.736***	−0.664***	
No. of brothers 15+		−0.384	−0.268	
No. of sisters 15+		−0.639*	−0.504	
Daughters' age		0.425***	0.456***	
Ethnic Group (Native Stock = Ref.)				
British		0.899	−4.585	First
			−0.669	Second
			3.782	Third
Irish		−2.655	−7.625*	First
			−2.469	Second
			−2.862	Third
German		−5.006***	−11.194***	First
			−4.808**	Second
			−2.119	Third
French Canadian		−11.193***	−12.972***	First
			−10.446***	Second
			−14.222	Third
English Canadian		0.480	0.721	First
			0.691	Second
			−4.895	Third
Other NW European		−7.957***	−7.448	First
			−8.249**	Second
			−5.544	Third
Scandinavian		−0.563	−4.558	First
			0.236	Second
Italian		−9.830***	−10.362***	First
			−9.566***	Second
Polish		−8.333***	−9.868***	First
			−7.937***	Second
Jewish		−5.203***	−8.834***	First
			1.554	Second
Other CE European		−6.789***	−4.445	First
			−7.633***	Second
Mulatto		−2.404	−2.599	

Table 5 Continued

Variables	Model I	Model II	Model III	Generation
Black		−7.469***	−7.687***	
Constant	19.349***	16.132***	15.495***	
R^2	0.086	0.185	0.197	

*p < .05.
**p < .01.
***p < .001.

of the native stock, among second-generation sons from these groups the gap had diminished to nonsignificance. Contrary to Landale and Guest's (1990) results, generation as well as ethnicity appears to be a significant factor in determining adult sons' status levels.

We now turn to an examination of the transmission of socioeconomic levels from fathers to daughters, an area previously unexamined in the ethnic mobility literature. The results presented in Table 5 indicate that, as with sons, for every unit increase in father's SEI we predict about a quarter to a third of a point increase in daughters' status, and this effect is highly significant. Father's status alone is not as good a predictor for daughters' SEI as it is for sons, however, explaining only 9% of the variation in coresiding daughters' SEI, compared to almost 13% for sons.

Introducing measures of family structure and ethnicity reduces the magnitude of the apparent transmission of status from father to child, raising explained variance to about 20% for both daughters and sons. As hypothesized, family composition and household resources account for more weight in determining daughters' socioeconomic index scores than sons'. Measures of long-term paternal investments have a strongly positive influence on daughters' SEI. Even after controlling for ethnic and familial differences, daughters with a naturalized father have SEI scores that are 1.7 points higher, on average, than those daughters with foreign-born fathers who had not become citizens. Unlike their brothers', daughters' SEI status is also significantly improved by the stability and wealth implied in an owned dwelling.

As expected, family size reduces daughters' SEI status significantly, although young siblings have a greater negative influence on *sons'* attainment than on daughters. The presence of working-age brothers is no longer

significant after controlling for ethnicity, while holding both ethnicity and generational status constant removes the significance of working-age sisters. Contrary to our hypotheses, family composition coefficients appear more salient for coresident working sons than for daughters.

Ethnicity is significant for most of the groups examined (Model II), though none have a predicted status that significantly exceeds the native stock. White fourth- and higher-generation daughters outperform other groups by a wide margin; German and Jewish daughters are closest to the native stock, with mean scores about 5 points lower, while other groups deviate by 6 to 10 points. Although black daughters have mean scores significantly different from that of the reference population, they are not at the bottom of the ladder but instead place above several white ethnic groups. The greatest negative effect appears for French Canadian daughters, predicted to have mean scores over 11 points lower than that of native stock daughters.

As with sons, generational improvement in mean status scores among working daughters is clearly apparent upon examining Model III. Whereas first-generation Irish daughters are predicted to have mean scores over seven points lower than native stock daughters, by the second generation the difference is no longer significant (though still negative). Both first- and second-generation German daughters are significantly different from the native stock, but the magnitude of the difference is sharply reduced. Nevertheless, our results suggest that Irish daughters closed the gap between themselves and the native stock more rapidly than did German daughters. Most of the new immigrant daughters, first- and second-generation Italians, Poles, and French Canadians, have mean SEI scores well below those of the native stock; little narrowing of the gap between mean SEI scores is apparent. Jewish daughters follow a different pattern than other new immigrant groups, experiencing much more rapid status mobility; while the mean SEI score for foreign-born Jewish daughters is significantly lower than that of native stock daughters, by the second generation the difference is no longer significant (and the coefficient is positive). Finally, black daughters do not appear to be as disadvantaged relative to the native stock as some of the new immigrant groups, who continue to have mean SEI scores lower than that of black daughters even into the second generation.

Gender Differences in the Effects of Family Resources and Ethnicity

The mechanisms distinguishing the transfer of socioeconomic status differed for sons and daughters. Pooled models with gender specific interactions (not shown) reveal that family factors alone are not sufficient for explaining daughters' status differences. Despite prevailing gender norms affirming caring for others as women's primary responsibility, the presence of younger siblings does not exert significantly different effects on the SEI attainment of coresident sons and daughters. Even after disaggregating younger siblings into those under age 10 and adolescents ages 10 to 14, no significant gender difference emerges. The possibility does remain that younger siblings influence daughters' roles in other ways not captured in this analysis, perhaps by increasing their likelihood of remaining at home to provide domestic help. These results also demonstrate that family composition negatively influences the attainment of sons as well as daughters, highlighting the need to incorporate family contextual variables into stratification studies focusing on men's attainment.

Two important variables do influence sons' and daughters' SEI scores in significantly divergent ways: age and home ownership. While age has a positive and significant effect on both sons' and daughters' SEI scores, the trajectory of SEI improvement for daughters is not nearly as steep as it is for sons. With each additional year of age, daughters' SEI scores increase .807 point *less* than do their male counterparts (comparison significant at the .05 level). At older ages the status (and presumed wage) gap between daughters and sons therefore expands; daughters obtain less in return for experience than sons.[16] On the other hand, daughters gain substantially more than sons if their father owned the home in which they lived: home ownership increases daughters' mean SEI scores by 2.97 points more than it does for sons (significant at the .001 level).

Ethnic Differences in Status Transmission

The amount of father's status transmitted to sons and daughters varies widely by ethnic group, as indicated by separate regression models presented in Tables 6 and 7. Among the old immigrant groups and native stock, daugh-

Table 6 Regression results predicting male children's SEI scores for selected ethnic groups

	British	Irish	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Black	Native stock
				Model A				
Heads' SEI score	.226***	.302***	.364***	.167***	.262***	.554***	.028	.268***
R^2	.070	.100	.170	.060	.090	.290	.000	.100
				Model B				
Heads' SEI score	.191***	.282***	.340***	.162***	.200***	.528***	.028	.263***
Head naturalized	−.111	.062	1.737*	−1.440	3.411*	.024	NA	NA
Home owned	.403	1.488	−.039	−1.739	−.110	−1.527	1.677	.554
No. of siblings 0–14	−1.442**	−.624	−.801**	−.337	−1.474**	−.869*	−.221	.785
No. of brothers 15+	−1.338+	−.483	−.705+	−.067	.967+	.757	−1.150+	−1.183
No. of sisters 15+	−.462	−.253	.176	.276	−.932	1.305	1.229+	1.156
Age	.635***	.265***	.260**	.491*	.761**	.227	.218+	.519*
Generation (lst = Ref)								
Second	.407	1.756	−.869	5.534***	4.662*	.394	NA	NA
Third	5.638*	2.175	.794*	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Constant	11.343***	13.958***	12.587***	7.480+	7.770*	7.100	13.344***	7.295
R^2	.190	.120	.190	.090	.190	.320	.030	.090

+p < .10.
*p < .05.
**p < .01.
***p < .001.

Table 7 Regression results predicting female children's SEI scores for selected ethnic groups

	British	Irish	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Black	Native stock
				Model A				
Heads' SEI score	.334***	.337***	.389***	.005	.084	.387***	.136	.305*
R^2	.070	.090	.130	.000	.010	.100	.010	.070
				Model B				
Heads' SEI score	.349***	.310***	.348***	−.048	.058	.399***	.141	.276*
Head naturalized	4.091	1.305	.303	2.877	7.656***	−2.280	NA	NA
Home owned	.504	3.173***	−.274	−2.795	3.123	−1.069	11.917***	−1.915
No. of siblings 0–14	−1.689*	−.427	−1.432***	.405	.215	−.257	−.882	−6.186
No. of brothers 15+	−1.783	−.477	−.319	.181	1.186+	.765	−3.161*	4.220
No. of sisters 15+	.947	−.452	−.400	.675	−.321	.548	−1.535	3.091
Age	.512*	.448***	.296***	.661*	.133	.220	.348	.400
Generation (lst = Ref)								
Second	4.050	4.526	6.365***	3.270	5.820***	3.093	NA	NA
Third	9.334*	4.053	6.721*	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Constant	7.242***	7.087	8.720*	4.228	15.220*	7.632	13.212+	17.494+
R^2	.140	.140	.170	.100	.240	.110	.190	.070

+ $p < .10$.
* $p < .05$.
** $p < .01$.
*** $p < .001$.

ters' mean SEI scores increase more with each unit increase in father's scores than do sons'; the reverse is found for the new immigrant groups. This may in part be due to the effects of age, as women from the old groups remained in the labor force for longer periods of time than the new immigrant women.

Father's status alone explains between 7 to 17% of variation in most coresiding son's SEI scores but accounts for 29% of the variation among Polish sons. In fact, Polish sons demonstrate a very close adherence to the occupational standing of their fathers; rather than family factors, the social class position Polish children inherit at birth is a good predictor of their own status. The predictive power of father's status compared to family factors is also dominant for Irish, German, Italian, black, and native stock sons, and German, Polish, and native stock daughters.

Household and family factors add considerably to the explanatory power of the model for Jewish, Italian, and black daughters, especially in comparison to sons, as well as British daughters and sons. Knowing father's status and family configuration explains almost one-fourth of the variation in Jewish daughters' scores. Looking at the effect of sibling composition, we see that young siblings have large negative effects on the SEI scores of British, German, Jewish, and Polish sons, as well as British and German daughters; the presence of working-age brothers also exerts negative effects on the attainment of British and German sons, though these are only significant at the .10 level. Young siblings exert a negative effect on the status attainment of British and German daughters as well. Such results suggest that family size differences contributed to greater within-group inequality among the old immigrant groups than the new and that fertility reduction was part of a mobility strategy. Among blacks, working-age brothers were detrimental to both sons and daughters, while sisters were beneficial to sons (though these results are only significant at the .10 level). Nonetheless, these findings suggest that brother-sister trade-offs were of greater importance for blacks. Perhaps black daughters worked to enable their brothers to attend school, or perhaps their brothers could not obtain employment.

Measures of long-term commitment to the United States are significant for very few ethnic groups but have large effects on those offspring's status attainment. Living with a father who had taken out citizenship papers dramatically increased the SEI scores of Jewish sons and daughters; Jewish

daughters living with a naturalized head had mean SEI scores almost eight points higher than those residing with foreign-born heads who did not become citizens. Father's naturalization also had a positive effect on German sons' scores. Home ownership had a large positive effect for Irish and black daughters. There is no evidence, as previous historical work suggests, that home ownership had a negative effect on the status attainment of Irish sons, although among Italians and Poles the direction of the coefficient for home ownership is negative.

Discussion and Conclusions

"Rags to riches" success stories aside, in the early years of the twentieth century a father's social position did play an important role in offspring's occupational attainment. Children with higher-status fathers were much more likely to attain a higher status themselves. Of particular note is the finding that father's status is clearly transmitted to daughters as well as sons. In fact, our sample of daughters, gainfully employed and coresident, actually experiences more intergenerational improvement in socioeconomic status than our companion group of sons. Although this study examines only coresident children, substantial proportions of unmarried young adult men and women remained in the home in 1910, both contributing to and benefiting from the family economy.

We offered a few basic hypotheses at the outset. First, we argued that father's status was important in predicting occupational status of both sons and daughters. This is clearly so. Our regression equations demonstrate that for every unit increase in father's socioeconomic index we predict about one-quarter to one-third unit increase in the index for their children. These effects are powerful and retain their statistical significance even in the presence of controls for other family and ethnic group characteristics.

Second, we argued that transmissibility of status from father to son would exceed that for father to daughter. We developed this expectation from the historical literature and some inferences from sociological work on stratification. Contrary to our expectation, we found *no difference* in the rates (regression coefficients) for the transmission of father's status to sons versus daughters. In our model, which pools over ethnic groups and controls for

age, family background, ethnicity, and generation, we find almost identical coefficients and proportions of variance explained for the outcomes of young men and women.

Third, we argued that the presence of both young and working-age siblings would diminish SEI outcomes for sons and daughters. This hypothesis was borne out by our findings. The presence of young children sharply reduces status outcomes for sons and daughters. Similar though less powerful effects exist for siblings of working age. We considered, further, whether family composition would influence daughters' outcomes more than sons' outcomes, but we found little evidence to support this view. Models estimated separately by ethnic group produce results consistent with this overall pattern, although earlier we discussed the differential influence of family composition on specific ethnic groups.

Fourth, we argued that a father's home ownership and naturalization would promote economic advancement of his children, since these characteristics point to a deeper commitment to American residence. Our results support this hypothesis but demonstrate that naturalization and ownership effects are much stronger for status outcomes of daughters.

Finally, we argued for the need to incorporate women specifically, and family structure more generally, into stratification studies. Our findings highlight the importance of looking at the family context and intrafamily trade-offs, particularly for men. Sons' attainment is constrained by the presence of young siblings as well as working-age brothers. Fertility reduction would therefore serve to benefit men as well as women, diminishing competition for household resources that negatively affected occupational status. Siblings are not interchangeable in their effects on sons and daughters, but further study is needed to determine exactly how intrafamilial exchanges affect men's and women's status attainment.

It appears that the old immigrant groups' mobility rates were more strongly influenced by women's activities, particularly gainful employment, than were the new arrivals'. Among daughters who worked outside the home, the link between the level of individual attainment and inherited position is decidedly stronger among the old immigrant daughters; furthermore, the mean SEI scores of daughters from the old groups often exceeded those of sons from the same groups. The old immigrant working daughters were undoubtedly concentrated in higher-status positions, such as stenography,

teaching, and other white-collar jobs; those without access to such occupations may well have chosen not to enter the labor force if faced with a choice.[17] As a result, the old immigrant families benefited to a greater extent from the continued presence of daughters in the home, at least when they worked, than did the new immigrant groups. Not only did their daughters contribute to the family economy for longer periods of time, as they married later than women from the new groups, but overall they also had higher-status positions that paid more. We therefore suggest that the inputs of working daughters from the old groups in fact contributed to the maintenance of the old/new hierarchy.

The ideology of upward mobility is powerful in the United States, particularly as a contemporary reflection on the experience of ethnic groups of the past. Our results show that the ideology of mobility was borne out by the experience of many whites of European ancestry but that it did not capture the experience of blacks in the early years of the twentieth century. These findings also show clearly the value of including the experience of women in the mobility landscape. Far from standing at the sides of their brothers, fathers, and husbands, women were unquestionably major actors, both as recipients of intergenerational status transmission and as participants in family strategies for advancement in the American setting.

Appendix A Top three occupations and total mean SEI score for men, by relation to head and age group

	15–19		20–24		25–29		30–34	
Head	Too few cases ($N < 15$)		Laborer[a]	16.19	Supervisor[b]	55.83	Laborer[a]	16.19
			Machinist	24.03	Manager/admin.	54.76	Supervisor[a]	55.83
			Material mover	17.98	Machinist	24.03	Manager/admin.	54.76
Mean SEI score*		23.35		24.22		27.05		28.97
Single child	Laborer[a]	16.19	Laborer[a]	16.19	Laborer[a]	16.19	Laborer[a]	16.19
	Sales worker	31.95	Office clerk	35.11	Machinist	24.03	Machinist	24.03
	Office clerk	35.11	Machinist	24.03	Sales worker[c]	50.68	Sales worker[c]	50.68
Mean SEI score*		23.55		26.96		31.18		31.39
Married child	Too few cases ($N < 15$)		Laborer[a]	16.19	Laborer[a]	16.19	Laborer[a]	16.19
			Machinist	24.03	Supervisor[b]	55.83	Bookkeeper[d]	44.13
			Carpenter	21.43	Material mover	17.98	Machinist	24.03
Mean SEI score*		23.50		25.46		31.14		32.93
Extended rel.	Laborer[a]	16.19	Laborer[a]	16.19	Laborer[a]	16.19	Laborer[a]	16.19
	Sales worker	31.95	Machinist	24.03	Construction	15.80	Machinist	24.03
	Machine operator	18.70	Tailor	18.46	Material mover	17.98	Carpenter	21.43
Mean SEI score*		22.17		22.58		24.04		24.62
Boarders	Laborer[a]	16.19	Laborer[a]	16.19	Laborer[a]	16.19	Laborer[a]	16.19
	Construction	15.80	Construction	15.80	Construction	15.80	Construction	15.80
	Sales worker	31.95	Janitor	15.10	Carpenter	21.43	Carpenter	21.43
Mean SEI score*		19.84		21.99		23.00		23.88

[a]Except construction.
[b]And proprietor, sales.
[c]Mining, manufacturing, and wholesale.
[d]Also accounting and auditing clerk.

Appendix B Top three occupations and total mean SEI score for women, by relation to head and age group

	15–19		20–24		25–29		30–34	
Head	Too few cases ($N = 11$)		Launderer/ironer	19.31	Launderer/ironer	19.31	Launderer/ironer	19.31
			Cook[a]	16.93	Personal service	26.67	Housekeeper	16.51
			Personal service	26.67	Cook[a]	16.93	Dressmaker	18.63
Mean SEI score*		22.17		22.58		24.04		24.62
Single child	Sewing mach. op.	14.83	Stenographer	50.66	Stenographer	50.66	Teacher (elem.)	68.99
	Stenographer	50.66	Sewing mach. op.	14.83	Teacher (elem.)	68.99	Dressmaker	18.63
	Machine operator	18.70	Teacher (elem.)	68.99	Dressmaker	18.63	Sales worker	31.95
Mean SEI score*		23.97		30.57		33.67		34.46
Married child	Too few cases ($N = 14$)		Launderer/ironer	19.31	Launderer/ironer	19.31	Sewing mach. op.	14.83
			Servant, cleaner	14.01	Servant, cleaner	14.01	Launderer/ironer	19.31
			Cook[a]	16.93	Winding machine op.	11.80	Servant, cleaner	14.01
Mean SEI score*		17.05		21.22		21.36		25.15
Extended rel.	Servant, cleaner	14.01	Machine operator	18.70	Servant, cleaner	14.01	Teacher (elem.)	68.99
	Sewing mach. op.	14.83	Sewing mach. op.	14.83	Sewing mach. op.	14.83	Bookkeeper[b]	44.13
	Stenographer	50.66	Servant, cleaner	14.01	Stenographer	50.66	Sales worker	31.93
		22.20		24.68		27.84		32.17
Boarders	Servant, cleaner	14.01	Servant, cleaner	14.01	Servant, cleaner	14.01	Servant, cleaner	14.01
	Sewing mach. op.	14.83	Sewing mach. op.	14.83	Reg. nurse ($N = 28$)	45.99	Reg. nurse ($N = 15$)	45.99
	Waitress	22.38	Dressmaker	18.63	Stenographer	50.66	Cook[a]	16.93
Mean SEI score*		20.58		23.75		28.58		29.19

[a] Private household.

[b] Also accounting and auditing clerk.

Notes

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1 These studies spanned various time periods and were conducted in various cities. The impact of ethnicity and class might differ over time and by city. In his thorough study of Detroit, for example, Zunz (1982) finds that ethnicity was most salient in the closing decades of the nineteenth century in determining opportunity structures and residential arrangements but that in the early years of the twentieth century, class superseded ethnic origins. Floor and ceiling effects may have played a role in determining the pattern of outcomes, but it is doubtful that the influence was very great. Model (1988) does give some attention to this issue when examining mobility tables in a sample drawn from census manuscripts.

2 The factors contributing to living with parents varied widely for the married and never-married; as a result, we focus here only on never-married coresident children.

3 Although a substantial proportion of households were headed by women, children in female-headed households are not included in our sample because the mean SEI score of the mother is not believed to be a good predictor of children's status attainment.

4 For each exposition we will speak of first-, second-, and higher-generation "immigrants," although we recognize that only the first is composed of foreign-born settlers.

5 The category "Scandinavian" groups respondents and their parents from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, where country-specific sample sizes are insufficient.

6 In 1910, enumerators were told to distinguish between blacks and mulattos—those with mixed ancestry. Because of the occupational and residential differences between blacks and mulattos, we have maintained the distinction. The majority of adult children recorded as mulatto in the census had mulatto parents; only small proportions had mixed parents (one black, one white). We find about three times as many blacks as mulattos in the aggregate sample, and approximately twice as many blacks as mulattos among our sample of coresident children living with at least a father in urban areas.

7 Details of the classification scheme are available from the authors. Utilizing Yiddish mother tongue as a means of identifying the Jewish population enables us to

capture a substantial proportion of the members of a religious and cultural group. Religion has never been asked in the United States census. Utilizing mother tongue rather than Russian origin to identify the Jewish population increases our ability to designate as Jews those immigrating from other countries. A major drawback to this approximation is that it does not capture non-Yiddish-speaking Jews residing in America.

8 Although it is common to assign children of mixed parentage to the mother's group, we follow White et al. (1994) and suggest that father's ethnicity played a greater role in residential location and, therefore (due to the operation of industrial clustering), occupational choices. Among members of the third generation, father's ethnic origin has precedence in determining children's ethnic designation unless the head's father is American-born while the head's mother is foreign-born; in these cases, the child is assigned to the grandmother's ethnic group.

9 Among the jobs with highest mean scores were financial manager (63.6), architect (77.9), and mining engineer (74.2). Other white-collar occupations had lower mean SEI scores, such as billing clerk (30.3), file clerk (28.7), and typist (26.7). Mean scores of machine operators such as dressmakers (18.6), tailors (18.5), and textile sewing machine operators (14.8) were lower yet; in fact, manufacturing jobs often scored lower than unskilled laboring occupations such as carpenter (21.4), paperhanger (22.7), and roofer (18.10). At the lowest end of the occupational scale were service workers, such as cooks (16.9), housekeepers and butlers (16.5), and maids and housemen (14.9).

10 For comparability we use the male SEI scores noted by Stevens and Cho (1985). These are correlated at 0.9 with "combined" scores. Comparison with descriptive statistics for most frequent occupations and alternative regression analysis indicate that both sets of scores tell the same story.

11 One reviewer argued that results from this table suggest that our population of coresident working daughters is more selective than that of sons. We do not disagree. Other research on living arrangements of young women in 1910 finds that gainful employment significantly increased daughters' likelihood of leaving the parental nest (Sassler 1996); however, the employment opportunities for unmarried women living apart from family were more constrained, as many employers sought to ensure that their female workers were properly supervised. It is important to recall that we are interested in modeling transmission of status and the accurate estimation of coefficients in regression models predicting transmission.

12 Women from the new immigrant groups were also more likely to marry than women from the old groups and did so at earlier ages (Landale and Tolnay 1993; Sassler forthcoming).

13 This result is based on a two-sample t-test for the persons whose occupations appear in Table 3. Bose and Rossi (1983) found similar results in the early 1970s; they compared the 10 jobs with the highest concentrations of men and women with all occupations and found the average status of the 10 most common women's jobs

to have mean scores that were significantly higher than the average score for all women's positions.

14 To allay concerns about the applicability of the SEI to the female labor force, we reexamined Table 3 using combined SEI scores (results not shown). Some individual occupations change scores appreciably (for example, stenographer goes from a score of 50.66 to 29.94); most scores, however, change only modestly. More important, the mean SEI score for daughters in the top 10 occupations shifts from 32.28 to 26.69 when "combined" scores are utilized; for sons, the shift is from 24.21 to 23.17. Daughters still have higher SEI scores than sons, although the gap is reduced by half.

15 The coefficient for father's status in Model I is practically identical with that reported in Landale and Guest's (1990) regression analysis based on matched father-son data from 1880 and 1900.

16 Looking at the wage rates for young men and women working in Chicago's men's clothing factories for 1907–8, Glenn found similar results. While girls between the ages of 14 and 18 kept pace with the earnings of boys of the same age, after age 18 the earnings of men moved ahead; from age 22 on, women's median weekly earnings fell to between two-thirds and three-fourths of what men earned (Glenn 1990: 119, Table 4).

17 The likelihood of allocating daughters to other activities varied widely by ethnic group, suggesting ethnic-specific strategies regarding the use and control of women's activities. Among the Irish, for example, second-generation daughters were significantly more likely to work in the paid labor force than remain at home; the reverse is evident among German daughters (Sassler 1995). Still, not all parents weighed such options; among working daughters, 4 of the top 10 occupations (textile operator, machine operator, private household cleaner, and miscellaneous apparel and fabric worker) were not white-collar.

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