# Skill specificity of upper-secondary training occupations and the gender pay gap

Miriam Grønning<sup>1</sup>, Irene Kriesi<sup>1</sup>, Stefan Sacchi<sup>2</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Swiss Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training SFIVET, 3052 Zollikofen, Switzerland; E-Mail: miriam.groenning@ehb.swiss; irene.kriesi@ehb.swiss
- <sup>2</sup> Department of Social Science, University of Bern, 3012 Bern, Switzerland, E-Mail: stefan.sacchi@soz.unibe.ch

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#### Abstract

Gender disparities in wages are still fairly large. On average, women earn less than men from the beginning of their careers. This article investigates whether young men and women with vocational education and training receive different returns for occupation-specific and general skills, a topic that has hitherto received little attention. Theoretically, we draw on a culturalist approach as well as on the varieties of capitalism approach. The analyses are based on a combination of detailed occupation-level data on the specificity of training occupations and individual-level data from the Swiss Labour Force Survey on the incomes of upper-secondary vocational diploma holders. The results of multilevel regression models show that men and women's incomes are affected by a complex interplay between gender and skill endowment. Occupation-specific vocational skills only secure high income in the early career only for men who trained in male-typed or gender-neutral occupations. Women profit from a high proportion of general knowledge in their training. Furthermore, we find evidence for a general devaluation of female-typed skills. In sum, the findings suggest that employers' discriminatory remuneration practices, a general devaluation of female-typed skills, and young people's rational skill investment decisions contribute jointly to the gender gap in income.

**Keywords:** Gender Pay Gap, Skill Specificity, General Education, Occupational gender segregation, Vocational Education and Training, Varieties of Capitalism, Devaluation Theory

# Berufliche Spezifität und Einkommensunterschiede zwischen Männer und Frauen

## Zusammenfassung

Geschlechtsspezifischen Lohnunterschiede sind nach wie vor bedeutend. Im Durchschnitt verdienen Frauen bereits ab dem Beginn ihrer Berufslaufbahn weniger als Männer. Wir untersuchen in diesem Beitrag, ob junge Frauen und Männer mit Berufsbildung unterschiedliche Renditen für berufsspezifische und allgemeine Kenntnisse erhalten, ein Thema, das in der bisherigen Forschung wenig Beachtung gefunden hat. Theoretisch stützen wir uns sowohl auf die Devaluierungstheorie als auch auf die Varieties of Capitalism Theorie. Detaillierte Indikatoren für die berufliche Spezifität der Ausbildungsberufe sowie Registerdaten für das Einkommen der Befragten werden den Individualdaten der Schweizerischen Arbeitskräfteerhebung zugespielt. Die Ergebnisse der Mehrebenenmodelle zeigen, dass das Einkommen von Personen mit einer Berufsausbildung in den ersten Erwerbsjahren von einem komplexen Zusammenspiel zwischen Geschlecht und Kompetenzausstattung beeinflusst wird. Berufsspezifische Kenntnisse erhöhen das Einkommen nur für Männern mit männlich konnotierten oder geschlechtsneutralen Ausbildungsberufen. Frauen profitieren von einem hohen Anteil an allgemeinbildendem Unterricht während ihrer Ausbildung. Darüber hinaus finden wir Hinweise auf eine generelle Abwertung von weiblich konnotierten Kenntnissen. Die Ergebnisse deuten darauf hin, dass diskriminierende Vergütungspraktiken der Arbeitgeber, eine allgemeine Abwertung der weiblich konnotierten Kompetenzen und rationale Ausbildungsentscheidungen junger Menschen gemeinsam zum durchschnittlich geringeren Einkommen der Frauen beitragen.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Gender Pay Gap, Berufliche Spezifität, Allgemeinbildung, Geschlechtersegregation, Berufsbildung, Varieties of Capitalism, Devaluierungstheorie

#### 1 INTRODUCTION

Gender disparities in wages are still fairly large in most Western countries. On average, women earn less than men, even when comparing individuals with the same education level, experience, and working hours (e.g. Blau and Kahn, 2017; Grönlund and Magnusson, 2013). This also holds for Switzerland, where sizeable income disparities between men and women occur already at labour market entry (e.g. Bertschy, et al., 2014; Combet and Oesch, 2019). In this paper, we focus on the role of skills in the gender pay gap and draw on devaluation theory and the varieties of capitalism approach. Both theoretical perspectives propose that by sorting into different occupations, men and women also acquire different skill sets, which in turn can explain some of the income disparities. The culturalist perspective argues that gender segregation is accompanied by a devaluation of female-typed skills and women's work (e.g. England, 1992; Kilbourne, et al., 1994). Numerous studies have shown that female-dominated occupations pay lower wages than gender-integrated or male-dominated ones (e.g. Bertschy, et al., 2014; Busch, 2013; England and Li, 2006). Within a rational choice perspective, an alternative but rarely tested explanation is proposed by the varieties of capitalism (VOC) approach. This approach focuses on the distinction between firm-specific, occupation-specific, and general skills and argues that young men and women earn different wages because men invest more in well-paid specific skills and women in lower paid general ones. Furthermore, men and women receive different returns for the same skills (Estévez-Abe, 2005, 2012; Tam, 1997).

In Switzerland, vocational education and training (VET) imparts a large proportion of occupation-specific skills as well as some firm-specific and general skills. However, the skill mix differs considerably between the numerous training occupations within VET (Grønning, et al., 2018). VET may therefore produce income inequalities by channelling young men and women into gender-typed training occupations, which may also differ in their proportions of specific and general training. Against this background, we ask two related questions: a) Do the returns to specific and general skills depend on the gender type of the training occupation? b) Are the returns to skills gendered? In other words, do young men and women receive equal returns for the same types of skills?

At labour market entry gender differences in specific and general skills develop because men often undergo upper-secondary level vocational training, which provides specific skills, whereas women often enter baccalaureate school, which provides general knowledge (Eurostat, 2017). Sparse evidence from Denmark and Germany implies that even within VET, women tend to choose school-based vocational training programmes more frequently than men (Estévez-Abe, 2012; Protsch and Solga, 2016). Furthermore, Heiniger and Imdorf (2018) find for Switzerland that men sort into training occupations with a stronger linkage to the labour market and thus a higher level of specificity than the training occupations frequently chosen by women. We contribute to this literature in two respects. First, by exploiting the heterogeneity in Swiss VET to systematically assess the gender differences in skills, we go beyond the simple distinction between school-based and apprenticeship-based training. Second, the VOC literature has hitherto relied solely on country comparisons to test their theoretical framework. However, the mechanisms proposed by this approach describe how

different education programmes within a country can influence individuals' skill endowment and thus their incomes. Therefore, we test the proposed mechanisms at an individual level.

To analyse the income levels of men and women with a VET diploma, we use the Swiss Labour Force Survey from 2003 to 2016. We combined it with data on the specificity level of the training occupations, which we collected from VET ordinances and curricula. This curricula-based data enables us to measure general and specific skills more precisely than the dichotomous measurements used in most research hitherto (Coenen, et al., 2015; Hanushek, et al., 2017; Korber and Oesch, 2019). Furthermore, by including a range of control variables at the occupational level and using multilevel regression methods, we can isolate the effect of general and specific training from other potentially confounding characteristics of the training occupation.

### 2 SKILLS IN SWISS VET AND LABOUR MARKET ENTRY

In Switzerland, about two thirds of a birth cohort enters VET, which consists of approximately 230 three- or four-year training programmes. At completion, they receive a federal VET diploma. The training occupations are governed collectively by the confederation, the cantons, and professional organizations. Thus, within each training occupation curricula and ordinances are standardized at a national level. Close to 90% of those in upper secondary VET finish a dual training programme, where training is provided in three locations: at the workplace, in inter-company courses and in vocational schools. In all training programmes, a large part of the skills and knowledge imparted during VET is occupation specific and highly labour market relevant because of the high involvement of employers in both setting the curricula and providing training (Wettstein, et al., 2017). However, all training programmes also impart firm-specific and general skills, although to varying degrees. Whereas some programmes impart predominantly occupation-specific skills, others teach larger proportions of general education (Grønning, et al., 2018). Although all apprentices also acquire some firm-specific skills, this skill type does not play a dominant role.

Taken together, the dominant features of the VET system result in school-to-work transitions that follow what has been termed employment logic (Gangl, 2003; Iannelli and Raffe, 2007); VET diploma holders generally need little on-the-job training after vocational training and thus have favourable income prospects when working in their trained occupation (e.g. van de Werfhorst, 2002), although the average income prospects vary between training occupations (Goggel and Zwick, 2012). Employment in any occupation other than the trained one immediately after labour market entry often entails substantial wage penalties (Müller and Schweri, 2015). This reduces the incentive to change occupation and invest in different skills (Imdorf, et al., 2014). As a result, labour market allocation and initial income are strongly determined by the training occupation (Buchs, et al., 2015; Kriesi, et al., 2010).

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The reasons are, first, that large firms imparting a lot of firm-specific skills, are infrequent in the Swiss labour market (Swiss Federal Statistical Office (BFS), 2018). Second, the high level of curriculum standardization prevents firms from emphasizing firm-specific skills.

#### 3 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

# 3.1 Types of skills and sorting into occupations

The culturalist perspective and the VOC perspective focus on two different skill dimensions held responsible for the gender wage gap: the gender type and the specificity of skills. Within the first perspective, some skills and tasks are considered to have a feminine or masculine connotation, while others are less associated with gender (Charles and Bradley, 2009). Because occupations represent bundles of tasks that often have similar gender connotations, occupations and their corresponding skill sets can be classified as female-typed, male-typed, or gender-neutral (Anker, 1997).

The VOC approach draws upon human capital theory which distinguishes between occupationspecific, firm-specific, and general skills (Becker, 1964). These skills differ by their transferability between employers or between occupations (Becker, 1964) and the rate at which they decline or lose their value, termed the atrophy rate (Estévez-Abe, 2012; Polachek, 1981). General skills can be defined as skills with high transferability and low atrophy rates. They can be deployed across a wide range of occupations and situations within and outside the sphere of work, and they are less affected by technological and market changes. Thus these skills hardly depreciate. Firm-specific skills are limited to one employer; they are not transferable and decline rapidly when not used. Occupation-specific skills are skills specific to one particular occupation, but they are transferable between employers within specific industries and occupations (Nawakitphaitoon, 2014). Further, because they are more affected by technological development and decline during times out of the workforce, they have higher atrophy rates than general skills (see also Polachek, 1981). Hitherto, the transferability of skills, also termed broadness, has been scrutinized (e.g. Forster and Bol, 2018; Müller and Shavit, 1998). However, the relationship between skill atrophy and specificity and its consequences for gendered skill acquisition has hardly been discussed in the literature (for an exception see Estévez-Abe, 2012)

Table 1 provides an overview of the two skill dimensions and shows how specific skills and general skills can be female-typed, gender neutral, or male-typed. However, more than half of the general skills taught in Swiss VET are female-typed.

## [Table 1 here]

In line with their emphasis of differing skill dimensions, these two theoretical strands claim that either cultural beliefs or rational decisions shape the sorting of men and women into different occupations. Seen from a culturalist perspective, socialization processes and young individuals' expression of gender identity follow gendered schemata (Charles and Bradley, 2009; Ridgeway and Correll, 2004). These gendered schemata are also internalized by gatekeepers such as parents, job counsellors or employers, who offer advice on the choice of training occupation or, in the case of employers, may be reluctant to hire apprentices of the "wrong" gender. Thus, women are channelled into female-typed occupations and men into male-typed occupations (Buchmann and Kriesi, 2012; Kriesi and Imdorf, 2019). In contrast, the rational choice approach argues that occupational choices are based on the returns to firm-specific, occupation-specific, and general skills, which differ between men and women. This assumption is supported by the varieties of

capitalism (VOC) approach proposed by Estevéz-Abe (2005, 2009, 2012). She claims that individuals seek to maximize their lifetime earnings while minimizing the risk of losing their investment in education (see also Becker, 1964). For women, both work-family reconciliation and anticipated discrimination impact this cost-benefit calculation. First, women have a higher likelihood of working part-time and of experiencing discontinuous working trajectories due to unpaid care and household work. Second, employers are less willing to hire women for qualified and well paid gender-integrated and male-dominated jobs, because statistically they have a higher likelihood of reducing working hours, missing worktime, and leaving work, resulting in less productive time (Aigner and Cain, 1977; Arrow, 1973). Thus, investment in firm- and occupation-specific skills, which are more prone to erode, represents a higher risk for women than for men (Polavieja, 2008; Tam, 1997). General skills, which provide flexibility on the labour market and attenuate statistical discrimination, represent a safer and more cost-efficient investment for women. Men do not anticipate job interruptions or discrimination and therefore do not perceive similar risks of their skills depreciating or declining. It is therefore safer and more profitable and consequently rational for men to invest in specific skills. In sum, these skill properties induce men to sort into education programmes with high proportions of specific training and women into programmes with high proportions of general education (Estévez-Abe, 2012).

We argue that in a context where female-typed and male-typed occupations both vary in their levels of specificity, the rational choice approach and the culturalist approach can complement each other. Men might sort or be sorted into more specific occupations and women into more general occupations within the range of occupations perceived as acceptable for their gender identity (see Gottfredson, 1981 for a discussion of "acceptable range").

#### 3.2 Returns to skills

Because different types of skills yield different returns, the sorting of men and women into training occupations imparting different skill sets can affect the gender pay gap. The culturalist approach argues that women earn less than men because their work has a lower cultural value and thus also lower monetary value (England, 1992; Kilbourne, et al., 1994). Consequently, women's performance and knowledge are generally less valued and lower paid than men's in all spheres of life (quantitative devaluation) (see also Hausmann, et al., 2015). A further version of this approach, qualitative devaluation theory, assumes that the devaluation mainly pertains to female-typed skills and occupations. Consequently, and irrespective of the worker's gender, training providing femaletyped skills should yield lower returns than training providing male-typed and gender-neutral skills. This argument is supported by findings showing that both female-dominated occupations (England and Li, 2006; Leuze and Strauß, 2009) and female-typed skills (Busch, 2013; Grönlund and Magnusson, 2013; Liebeskind, 2004) yield lower returns than male-dominated occupations and male-typed skills (For a contrary result see Leuze and Strauß, 2016). Because specific training in female-typed occupations will provide predominantly female-typed skills and specific training in male-typed occupations will provide mostly male-typed skills, this argument implies that specific training in female-typed occupations should have a weaker positive effect on income than specific training in gender-neutral or male-typed occupations (H1).

Higher income in male-typed occupations could also arise because these training occupations impart a high proportion of well-paid occupation-specific skills, while female-typed training occupations impart higher proportions of less profitable general skills, as argued within the VOC framework. Occupation-specific skills are immediately deployable and employers do not face high costs for on-the-job training when diploma holders enter employment in the occupations they trained in. This leads to high productivity immediately after labour market entry. Workers are paid according to their productivity and training costs (Becker, 1962; Mincer, 1974). Thus, high levels of occupationspecific human capital impact income positively at labour market entry, irrespective of the gender type of the specific skills. The positive effect of specific vocational training and vocational skills on income has been confirmed in a number of studies (Eggenberger, et al., 2018; Hanushek, et al., 2017; Jonker, et al., 2006). Further, practical training at the workplace has been argued to impart individuals with more immediately deployable specific skills than school-based training, which leads to higher earnings (Jonker, et al., 2006; Polidano and Tabasso, 2014). Accordingly, we hypothesize that the more occupation-specific training individuals have during VET, the higher their income will be at the beginning of their careers. This effect should be comparable in female-typed, male-typed, and gender-neutral occupations (H2).

General skills are of less immediate practical use when entering a new job. Therefore, individuals with mainly general skills cannot achieve the same productivity level at labour market entry as individuals with mainly specific skills. However, general skills are transferable between occupations, which enhances opportunities for further learning and development (Hanushek, et al., 2017) and do not depreciate (Estévez-Abe, 2005). Individuals thus remain flexible both within their establishment and on the labour market. Research comparing those with a general and a vocational upper secondary degree find an increasingly positive effect of general education over the life course (Korber and Oesch, 2019; Lavrijsen and Nicaise, 2017). Because we focus on individuals at the beginning of their careers, we hypothesize that *general education should have a positive but smaller effect on income than specific training, irrespective of the gender type of the occupation (H3)*.

# 3.3 Gendered returns to different types of skills

The relationships between skills and income hypothesized above do not take gender into account. However, men and women may receive different returns for the same skills. The varieties of capitalism and the cultural approach differ somewhat in their explanations of this disparity.

One strand within the culturalist approach, expectation state theory, argues that the returns to female-typed, male-typed, and gender-neutral skills depend on individuals' gender. It is argued that status characteristics determine how we evaluate men and women's competences and performance (Berger, et al., 1977). Status characteristics are cultural beliefs about the social value of competences and personality attributes. They can be diffuse (e.g., men are generally more competent than women; see also England, 1992) or skill-specific. The latter affect expectations about the performance of specific tasks and determine how we evaluate men and women's skills and abilities (Correll and Ridgeway, 2006). Men are expected to be best at performing male-typed tasks, and women are expected to be best at performing female-typed tasks. Moreover, individuals possessing gender-atypical skills are considered to be less competent than those possessing

gender-typical skills. The only empirical evidence we are aware of concerning this relationship is a study by Busch (2013), who finds that the lower income for men in female-typed occupations is related to men performing female tasks in these jobs. Accordingly, women who trained in femaletyped occupations and men who trained in male-typed occupations are likely to benefit more from their occupation-specific training than employees who trained in gender-atypical occupations. Therefore, we hypothesize that the returns to specific training in male-typed training occupations should be higher for men than for women, and the returns to specific training in female-typed occupations should be higher for women than for men (H4a). Furthermore, because the skills imparted during general education are predominantly female-typed, women should benefit the most from general education. This should be the case both in male-typed occupations and in gender neutral and female-typed occupations. Thus, we hypothesize that the returns to general education should be higher for women than for men, irrespective of the gender type of the training occupation. (H5a). However, another strand within the culturalist approach, quantitative devaluation theory, argues that the gender type of the occupation should not matter for the returns to skills (England, 1992). If women's work is less valued than men's work in general, as this perspective argues, men should receive higher returns to both general education (H4b) and specific training (H5b) irrespective of the gender type of the training occupation.

The VOC approach focuses on employers' investment rationale. It argues that employers have higher costs when losing employees with specific skills than when losing employees with general skills (Polachek, 1981; Tam, 1997). Search costs and costs for introductory on-the-job training for positions requiring specific skills are generally higher than those for positions at a similar qualification level requiring more general skills. Furthermore, because occupation-specific skills are more prone to depreciate than general skills the productivity losses associated with work interruptions and low working hours will be higher for those with specific skills than for those with general skills (Fuller, 2008). Employers with a demand for specific skills will therefore prefer to invest in male rather than female workers. Accordingly, specific training should yield higher returns for men than for women (H6). VOC predicts similar returns for men and women for general skills, because these skills are less prone to depreciate. Thus, the returns to general education should not differ between the genders (H7). Table 2 summarizes the hypotheses according to the VOC and culturalist approaches. Because the two approaches propose different causal mechanisms, hypothesis 4a contradicts hypothesis 6 and hypotheses 5a and 5b contradicts hypothesis 7. Although the proposed mechanisms differ, hypotheses 4b and 6 predict the same outcome.

[Table 2 here]

### 4 DATA, MEASURES AND ANALYTICAL STRATEGY

### 4.1 Data and sample

Our analysis draws on two main data sources. We pool the waves of the Swiss Labour Force Survey (SLFS) between 2003 and 2016. The SLFS is a representative sample of the permanent Swiss adult population, and respondents are surveyed for up to five consecutive years. We combine this data with register data on income from the Social protection on the labour market statistical project

(SESAM). Register data reduces the frequent bias in self-reported income. Because we focus on the early career, we only consider employed individuals who had a maximum of ten years of experience on the labour market after VET.<sup>2</sup> Half of the sample had no more than three years of experience and about two thirds had no more than five years (for further descriptive statistics see Table A1 in the Appendix). We further restricted our sample to individuals who completed an upper secondary dual or school-based VET programme of three or four year duration between the years 2000 and 2016 while between the ages of 17 and 25 years.<sup>3</sup> Self-employed respondents and those working abroad at the time of the surveys were excluded from the sample. Furthermore, respondents holding a tertiary-level degree were excluded because information on their initial training programme was lacking.

The SLFS data was combined with data on the specificity of each training occupation, which was collected from federal VET ordinances and curricula. They give detailed and comparable information on the number of lessons in the learning locations. The main variation in the specificity measures is between the training occupations. A smaller part of the variation is time dependent and due to revisions of the documents during the period in question (Grønning, et al., 2018). The individual-level SLFS data was combined with the occupational-level data by using the title of the training occupation and the year of completion of the training. An accurate match with one of the 550 current or repealed ordinances was ensured by using the eight-digit occupational code of the training occupation in the SLFS (over 20 000 occupational titles), which serves as a basis for the Swiss Standard Classification of Occupations (SSCO2000) (BFS, 2003). The final sample includes 8473 observations based on 6136 individuals who trained in 215 different training occupations.

#### 4.2 Measures

The dependent variable is the log of the yearly (pre-tax) gross labour income in the year of the interview.<sup>4</sup> We dropped observations belonging to the highest or lowest wage percent. For respondents working part-time we calculated full-time wage equivalents based on their employment percentage (yearly income\*(100/employment percentage). In order to control for a potential misspecification we included a dummy variable capturing part-time work.

At the individual level, the main explanatory variable is the gender of the respondent (Women: 1, Men: 0). At the occupation level, the *gender type of the training occupation* is identified with data from the Swiss census 2000 and based on the five-digit level of the SSCO2000. It distinguishes between female-typed (< 70% female employees in the occupation), gender-integrated (30-70% females), and male-typed (> 30% females) training occupations.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ideally, we would restrict our sample to the year directly after labour market entry. However, because insufficient sample sizes would limit the statistical power of our analyses, we extend our observation window to the first ten years. Tests using different cut-off points, including between two and ten years of experience, show that the findings are robust irrespective of the number of years included.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A small minority (N=197) receive their diploma before their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday. We retain them in the sample because early completion, for example due to early primary school enrolment, is possible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> No other income sources are included.

As yet, no consensus has arisen about how to operationalize skill specificity. The dichotomy between workplace- and school-based training programmes used in early comparative research (Jonker, et al., 2006; Wolbers, 2007) disregards the heterogeneity within education tracks (Forster and Bol, 2018). A subsequent strand of research took this critique into account by focussing on the broadness of single education programmes, i.e. the transferability of the skills imparted. This concept is operationalized by measuring mobility rates between occupations (e.g. Forster and Bol, 2018; Vogtenhuber, 2014), subjective assessments of the transferability of skills (e.g. Coenen, et al., 2015; Muja, et al., 2019), and the similarity of learning objectives in curricula (Eggenberger, et al., 2018). Underlying these measures is the assumption that the sum of skills imparted is equal in all training programmes. However, some training programmes might provide large amounts of both skill types while others might provide little of either. Furthermore, these operationalisations rely solely on the transferability of skills, while the atrophy rate is neglected. However, atrophy is a crucial aspect of skill specificity in explaining gendered returns to skills. More transferable skills are not necessarily less subject to technological or market change. To answer our research question, both aspects should therefore be taken into account. Using information from VET curricula, allows us to distinguish between less transferable skills prone to depreciate (i.e. specific skills) and transferable skills that are highly unlikely to depreciate (i.e. general skills). Furthermore, we are able to simultaneously include continuous measures of both general and specific skills in the analysis.

The variable general education captures the number of days in general education in vocational school per week. This includes language lessons and lessons in history, ethics, society, politics, law, and economics. The aim of these lessons is to provide apprentices with competences that enable them to "navigate in their personal life context and in society as well as to handle private and professional challenges" (State Secretariat for Education, 2006, p. 1). Although some of the knowledge is more relevant in some training occupations, such as ethics in healthcare and languages in tourism, the teaching focuses on skill development independently of the occupation. Thus, these skills have a low atrophy rate. General education ranges between 0,24 and 1,10 days a week (Table A1). The variable for occupation-specific training is the average number of specific training days per week across all three training locations (see section 2). In the firm apprentices acquire practical occupation-specific skills through training and work experience. Basic theoretical occupation-specific knowledge is provided in vocational school. Intercompany courses teach practical skills which are not provided in the firm due to safety reasons or firm specialization. These specific skills need to be updated continuously through work experience to avoid depreciation. Occupation-specific training ranges between 3,60 and 5,08 days a week.<sup>5</sup> The construction of both skill measures followed two rules: 1) Eight lessons are equal to one day of training. 2) One year is equal to 47 weeks of training.

We control for potential occupation level confounders of the relationship between types of skills and wages. Because occupation-specific demand and supply of labour are highly relevant to the wage-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Legally a working week (including vocational school and intercompany courses) cannot exceed 5.5 days.

setting process within occupations (Brunner and Kuhn, 2014), we include an indicator measuring respondents' occupation-specific job opportunities when they entered employment at their current workplace. The index captures the ratio of annual occupation-specific job openings (two-digit level of SSCO2000) for diploma holders and unemployed with a vocational diploma weighted by the access probability of the opening with a given credential (see Sacchi, et al., 2016 for details). The Swiss Job Monitor Data (Sacchi, 2014) was used to measure the demand side, i.e. job openings, while administrative records of all unemployed, the placement services and labour market statistics, were used to estimate the supply side. Higher numbers on the index are associated with better opportunities. In order to account for variation in intellectual requirements and student heterogeneity between the training occupations, we used Stalder's (2011) classification of the intellectual requirement level, ranging from low requirements (1) to high requirements (6). Unclassified occupations were given the rating of a similar occupation within the same occupational field with the same training duration. Further, we included a dummy for *vertical differentiation*, which indicates whether there is a two-year training programme leading to a federal certificate within the same occupation. Last, we included the share of large firms (>100 employees) in each training occupation.<sup>6</sup> Large firms provide higher quality training than do smaller firms because they often have internal labour markets and train apprentices to meet their own demand for a qualified workforce (Soskice, 1994).

Individual-level control variables include information on *marital status* (single, married/civil union or divorced/separated), if respondents have *children* under the age of 15, *migration background* (born outside of Switzerland or foreign citizenship), if the respondents participated in *further education* (baccalaureate or tertiary degree) at the time of the survey, and if they had completed a *school-based training programme* or one or more *degrees* at upper secondary level.<sup>7</sup> This last variable distinguishes the majority who completed one federal diploma from those who also completed a two-year training programme leading to a federal certificate and those who also completed a baccalaureate<sup>8</sup> or several federal diplomas. Experience, working conditions, and firm characteristics are controlled for by including the number of *months since graduation*, *tenure* in months (excluding time during apprenticeship), *managerial position*, *frequent overtime*, *part-time-work* (less than 80%), *fixed-term contract*, *size of firm*, and seven geographical *labour market regions*. In addition, we measured *change in occupation* since training by comparing the two-digit SSCO2000 code of the training occupation and the current occupation and *workplace change* since the apprenticeship by comparing tenure and time since training.

### 4.3 Analytical strategy

First, to assess whether men and women tend to sort into occupations that impart different proportions of specific and general skills we look at the distribution of skills by gender with kernel density plots. This provides a valid picture of the distribution across the whole range. Second, we

The calculations are based on the two-digit SSCO2000 classification and a pooled dataset of the SAKE waves from 2003 to 2016.

The results remain stable when individuals with school-based VET are excluded.

Because only a tiny proportion of VET diploma holders also holds an academic baccalaureate, we combine them with those holding a vocational baccalaureate (22 observations).

analyse men and women's returns to skills by running random intercept models. These analyses enable us to account for the person-years as well as for the clustering of individuals into training occupations, thus reducing the risk of assuming a significant relationship where there is none (Gross, 2016). Due to the change in SLFS panel rotation in 2010, more than half of the respondents are observed at one time point only. Nevertheless, we include the person-years in our model because correlated measurement errors are likely for those surveyed several times. Our random intercept models are based on the following specification:

$$Y_{ijk} = \beta_p X_{pijk} + \beta_1 (Gender)_{jk} + \beta_q Z_{qjk} + \beta_2 (Gender Type)_k + \beta_3 (Specific Training)_k + \beta_4 (General Education)_k + \beta_r A_{rk} + v_k + \mu_{ik} + \varepsilon_{ijk},$$

where  $Y_{ijk}$  is the logged early income in year i for person j, who trained in occupation k. We have p control variables X, which vary between the years within each person (e.g. part time work, tenure), q control variables Z, which vary at the individual level (e.g. migration background), and r control variables A, which vary at the occupational level. The term  $\beta_1$  is the effect of gender and  $\beta_2$  to  $\beta_4$  are the effects of our main explanatory variables at the occupational level: the gender type of the occupation, specific training, and general education. Finally,  $v_k$  and  $\mu_{jk}$  are the error terms at the occupational and individual level, while  $\varepsilon_{ijk}$  is the residual error term.

For the regression analysis, all continuous variables were grand mean centred. Model 1 includes the gender type of the occupation, gender, and the control variables. In Model 2, we add our specificity measures. Next, we test an interaction effect between the gender type of the occupation and specific training (Model 3) and the gender type of the occupation and general education (Model 4). Last, Models 5 and 6 estimate interactions between the gender type of the training occupation, the respondents' gender and the skill type. Models 1 and 2 are depicted in Table 3. Models 3 to 6 are shown in Table A2 in the Appendix. The predicted income values (log) are illustrated in Figure 2 (Models 3 and 4) and Figure 3 (Models 5 and 6).

### 5 RESULTS

5.1 Descriptive results – gender differences in skills

In the first step, we examine the association between gender and skill specificity of the training occupation. Figure 1 shows kernel density plots for occupation-specific and general skills. They illustrate that the range of general and specific training is considerable. Training occupations vary substantially in the degree to which they impart specific and general skills and knowledge. It is important to consider this heterogeneity in specificity within the VET system when assessing the impact of specific and general training on labour market outcomes.

[Figure 1 around here]

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Until 2010, respondents were surveyed annually for five consecutive years. From 2010 onwards, individuals were interviewed four times over a period of 18 months. We use only annual data for both time periods. For individuals surveyed after 2010, we therefore have a maximum of two observations.

Furthermore, the range of specific training is similar for the group of female-typed (3,60 to 4,76 specific training days a week), male-typed (3,60 to 5,05 days of specific training), and neutral training occupations (3,60 to 5,08 days of specific training) (results not shown). Thus, some female-typed occupations are very specific while some male-typed training occupations rather emphasize general education. However, in absolute numbers men and women sort into occupations with different levels of specific and general education and training. Women tend to sort into training occupations which emphasize general education and provide the least specific training, while men predominantly sort into training occupations with more specific training and only a basic level of general education.

### 5.2 Multivariate results – income differences between men and women

We find that women have a significantly lower income than men when including gender as the only covariate in a regression model without random intercepts for occupations ( $\beta$  women = -0,094, se = 0,009; model not shown). We can thus confirm previous findings that women on average earn less than similarly qualified men during the first years of their careers (Bertschy, et al., 2014; Combet and Oesch, 2019). At first glance, the gender pay gap of 9,4 percentage points is smaller than the average income difference between men and women within the vocationally qualified Swiss workforce (Kaiser and Möhr, 2019). A likely reason is the young age and still fairly homogenous work experience of the respondents in our sample. However, the difference is substantial if we consider that most of our respondents have not yet begun families, so employment patterns do not yet differ by gender due to family considerations. Furthermore, an initial difference will have lasting implications, because entry conditions influence individuals' long-term wage trajectories (Brunner and Kuhn, 2014).

The effect of gender decreases to -0,026 (se = 0,014) when including random intercepts for the occupations in the model (model not shown). Thus, a comparison of the effect of gender in the models with and without random effects for the training occupation suggests that the gender pay gap is three times as large if we do not account for the sorting into training occupations. As previous research leads us to expect, the overwhelming part of the gender pay gap in early career is due to women entering lower-paid occupations (Bertschy, et al., 2014). After including the control variables, the gender pay gap increases to 4,7 percentage points (model not shown). Adding the gender-type of the occupation (Model 1, Table 3) and the measures for occupation-specific and general training (Model 2) reduces the gender pay gap somewhat. However, women remain disadvantaged even when comparing men and women's income in occupations with the same gender type and the same amount of general education and occupation-specific training.

[Table 3 around here]

## 5.3 Multivariate Results – The Returns to Different Types of Skills

Turning to the income differences between occupations, the intra-class correlation coefficient of the null model indicates that 11,5% of the total variance in income can be attributed to differences between the training occupations (Table 3). Thus, allocation into training occupations matters for income during the first years of labour market entry. Considering the variance only at the occupation

level, we find that the control variables explain 74,7% of the variation at this level (model not shown). The gender type of the occupation can explain a further substantial part: 6,9%, of the differences in average income between the occupations (see R<sup>2</sup> at the occupation level in Model 1; 0,816-0,747 = 0,069). Including the general and specific training in Model 2 does not change the explained variance at the occupation level substantially. Thus, the specificity of the training explains only a minor part of the differences in income levels between the occupations.

In accordance with previous research, we find that individuals in female-typed occupations earn significantly less than those in male-typed occupations (Model 1) (e.g. England and Li, 2006; Leuze and Strauß, 2009). This is also the case when we control for skill specificity (Model 2). Thus, the lower income in female-typed occupations is not due to the training in these occupations being less occupation-specific.

To answer our first research question, whether the returns to specific skills depend on the gender type of the occupation, we include an interaction between the gender type of the training occupation and specific training and general education (Model 3 and 4 in Table A2, Figure 2). This allows us to test hypotheses 1 to 3. First, if we compare the level of the effects in Figure 2, we find that individuals who trained in female-typed occupations earn significantly less than individuals who trained in male-typed occupations, independent of the level of specific or general training. Individuals with an average number of days of specific training and general education earn 9,4 percentage points less in a female-typed occupation than in a male-typed occupation. The income in gender-neutral training occupations is slightly lower than in male-typed occupations. However, the difference is not significant in either of the models.

## [Figure 2 around here]

Second, we consider the slopes of the effects of specific training (Figure 2, left side) to assess whether the returns to occupation-specific skills depend on the gender type of these skills. Specific training has a positive effect on income in all occupations. This is consistent with the VOC assumptions that occupation-specific skills gained during training enhance labour market entrants' productivity and thus lead to higher wages. It is also in line with research showing that people with vocational upper-secondary education have an income advantage at the beginning of their careers over those with general upper-secondary education (Hanushek, et al., 2017). However, an increase in occupation-specific training pays off less in female-typed and gender-neutral occupations than in male-typed occupations. One more day of specific training in a female-typed occupation is associated with an increase in income of 3,6 percentage points, while the corresponding increase in a male-typed occupation is 12,1 percentage points. Thus, as hypothesis 1 predicts, the returns to specific skills are higher in male-typed occupations than in female-typed occupations, which is in line with the culturalist approach. Consequently, we cannot confirm our second hypothesis that specific skills pay off equally in male-typed gender-neutral and female-typed occupations, as predicted by the VOC approach.

Third, we consider the slopes of the effects of general education (Figure 2, right side). General education has a positive effect on income in all occupations. However, the slope is steeper in female-typed and gender-neutral occupations than in male-typed occupations. In female-typed occupations, one more day of general education is associated with an income increase of 16,7 percentage points, while the corresponding increase in male-typed occupations is 6,4 percentage points. Thus, the rational-choice argument that specific skills pay more than general knowledge during the early career holds only in male-typed occupations. In female-typed and gender-neutral occupations, the reverse is the case. Women in female-typed and gender-neutral occupations receive higher returns for general education than for specific training. Therefore, we cannot confirm our third hypothesis that general education yields lower returns than specific training, irrespective of the training occupation. In sum, the results in Figure 2 suggest that male-typed and to some extent gender-neutral skills have a higher value on the Swiss labour market than female-typed skills. This evidence points towards a devaluation of skills considered to be female, and contests the prediction of the VOC approach that specific female-typed skills are as valuable as specific male-typed skills.

## 5.4 Multivariate results – unequal returns to skills for men and women

In this section, we analyse our second research question, whether men and women receive different returns to the same type of skills (see Models 5 & 6 in Table A2, Figure 3 and Table 4). To test whether men have higher returns to specific skills than women (hypotheses H4a, H4b and H6), we interact the gender of the employees with the gender type of the training occupation and the specific training. The results on the left side in Figure 3 show that men profit more from male-typed specific skills than women. In male-typed training occupations, men and women with four days of specific training are paid equally, while in occupations with five days of specific training a week, men have no less than 14,0 percentage point higher income than women. The higher returns to specific skills for men than for women is also manifest in gender-neutral occupations, although not as pronounced and not statistically significant. For those who trained in female-typed occupations, we see the opposite trend. Men with high levels of female-typed specific skills earn less than men with low levels of female-typed specific skills, while for women the level of female-typed specific skills has no effect on income. However, the difference between the genders in female-typed occupations is not significant.

# [Figure 3 around here]

The results in Figure 3, left side, leads us to reject our sixth hypothesis, based on VOC, that specific training has a positive effect on income independent of the gender type of the skills. It seems that the value of occupation-specific skills depends on the fit between the gender of the job incumbent and the job itself, which is in line with the culturalist approach (H4). Thus, men are rewarded for acquiring male-typed skills and penalized for acquiring female-typed skills. Furthermore, employers seem to be particularly reluctant to invest in women for jobs requiring substantial male-typed occupation-specific skills, possibly because they doubt their abilities to perform within a male-typed domain.

### [Table 4 around here]

To test whether the returns to general education differ between men and women (H5a, H5b and H7), we interact the employee's gender with the gender type of the training occupation and general education. The results in Figure 3, right side, show that in male-typed occupations, general education is associated with higher income for women but not for men. Men and women in female-typed and gender-neutral occupations receive positive and similar returns to general education. Furthermore, the income differences between men and women in these two types of occupations are not significant.

The pattern in Figure 3 (right side), supports a combination of the VOC and culturalist approaches. The comparable returns to general skills for women and men in female-typed and gender-neutral occupations is in line with hypotheses H7 and the VOC approach. Thus, in female-typed and neutral occupations the amount of general education has virtually no influence on the gender pay gap. This result suggests that employers are willing to invest in women with a lot of general skills, possibly because these skills are flexible and do not depreciate when employees are out of the workforce. Nevertheless, the higher returns to general education for women than for men in male-typed occupations could in part also be due to employers' expectations that women with a lot of general skills will perform better than men with the same amount of general skills, because these skills are female-typed.

Taken together, the results in Figure 3 show that over most of the skill distribution, women have lower income levels than men in both male-typed and gender-neutral occupations. Only in female-typed occupations do men not have higher incomes. However, the slopes show that the returns to skills are not consistently higher for men than for women, as proposed by quantitative devaluation theory. Thus, we cannot confirm our hypotheses H4b or H5b. Furthermore, the results confirm the findings in Figure 2 that the largest difference in income is between male-typed and female-typed occupations, with male-typed occupations yielding the highest returns (see also discussion in section 5.2). This is in line with the qualitative devaluation theory, which claims that female-typed skills have less value on the labour market than male-typed skills.

# 6 CONCLUSION

The persistent gender pay gap is widely discussed both in academia and amongst the broader public. The unequal distribution of men and women across occupations has been identified as one possible reason. However, the mechanisms which explain the relationships between gender, occupations, and income are still insufficiently explored. By analysing whether young men and women receive different returns for general and specific skills and whether these returns depend on the gender type of the occupation, we aimed at shedding more light on this gap.

In summary, we are able to confirm that, in Swiss VET, men train more often in programmes imparting large proportions of occupation-specific skills, whereas women more often choose programmes with larger proportions of general education. Second, workers in male-typed occupations have a higher income than workers in female-typed occupations. Third, high

occupational specificity increases young people's income after labour market entry, although only for men in male-typed and to a lesser extent gender-neutral occupations. Fourth, a high proportion of general education pays for both women and men in gender-neutral and female-typed occupations. Fifth, the correspondence between gender and gendered occupation-specific skills pays for both men and women.

Taken together, these findings show that the incomes of men and women in their early careers are affected by a complex interplay between gender and occupation-specific skill endowment. However, the sole recourse to either cultural devaluation theory or the varieties of capitalism approach falls short in explaining the patterns observed, which suggests that various forces are at work simultaneously. At first glance, the lower returns of women for most skills and types of occupation is in line with quantitative devaluation, which claims that women's work is generally devalued irrespective of their skills. However, the finding that men receive even lower returns than women for general education and for female-typed occupation-specific skills runs counter to this explanation. The result that male and female workers in male-typed occupations have higher incomes than their counterparts in female-typed occupations supports the qualitative devaluation thesis, which assumes that female-typed skills and work are generally devalued and thus pay less. This mechanism seems to be reinforced for men who acquire female-typed skills and therefore experience a mismatch between their gender and the gender type of their occupation. Similarly, women are penalized for a lack of (female-typed) general skills. Women with little general knowledge and a high proportion of female-typed occupation-specific skills even experience a general devaluation of their occupation-specific skills and an additional penalty due to a lack of expected general skills. This supports the assumption that performance and competence expectations are particularly low for men with low-valued female-typed specific skills and for women with only a limited amount of general education. These lead to lower incomes for both groups.

The wage penalty for women may also be due to mechanisms proposed by the VOC approach. A lack of transferable skills, which do not decline or depreciate over time, could signal higher productivity losses, because women are expected to take more time off work than men. Thus, for employers to acknowledge women's skill level and adjust their wages accordingly, our results suggest that their skills must be both female-typed and general. Both the devaluation of female-typed skills and the high returns to general skills for women suggest that the overall gender pay gap in Switzerland could decline if more men invested in (occupation-specific or general) female-typed skills. Furthermore, our results suggest that different returns to the same skills for men and women shape the allocation of young individuals into different training occupations. The findings are in line with the rational choice argument that men and women invest in the skills that provide the highest returns. Men acquire male-typed or gender-neutral occupation-specific skills, which yield the highest returns at labour market entry. Women benefit less from these skills, and thus enter occupations imparting more general knowledge. However, our results do not rule out that employers act as gatekeepers and hinder young women and men from entering certain occupations (Fuller, et al., 2005). It is likely that both mechanisms are at work and reinforce each other.

The result for specific training also indicates that, at least in Switzerland, the prevalent empirical finding that vocational skills secure high wages in the early career (Hanushek, et al., 2017; Jonker, et al., 2006) only holds for young men who trained in male-typed or gender-neutral occupations. We find no evidence that women or men who trained in female-typed occupations benefit from highly specific training. As a consequence, the gender pay gap in Switzerland could even rise if a higher proportion of women invested in male-typed (or gender-neutral) specific skills.

Our results and conclusions pertain to upper-secondary VET in a country where VET and the labour market are strongly linked and occupationally segmented. Recent studies imply that the relationship between skills acquired during education and gendered labour market outcomes is weaker in countries with weaker linkage (Imdorf, et al., 2014; Smyth and Steinmetz, 2015). In countries where VET is less prevalent or is school-based rather than firm-based, the gender pay-gap could be less pronounced, because the education system imparts more general education, which is more favourable for women. A comparative design would be needed to investigate this question further. In addition, our results could be biased because we use a proxy for experience, time since training. However, this is mitigated by the fact that the respondents in our sample are rather young (mean age 23), mostly unmarried (87%), and without family obligations (92%). Last, we cannot control a potential selection bias into tertiary education by gender. Given that, on average, men with vocational education and training still have higher transition rates to higher education (Buchmann, et al., 2007), this may lead to an underestimation of women's income disadvantage. Further research based on longitudinal data that is necessary to overcome these data restrictions.

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Table 1: Two skill dimension with examples from Swiss VET

	Specific Skills	General Skills
Female-typed skills	Health, social, beauty care	Language, ethics
Neutral skills	Graphic design, laboratory methods	Searching for and recording information
Male-Typed skills	Construction, using specific software	Financial reporting, understanding legal documents

Table 2: Expected male-female differences in the returns to specific and general skills: Overview of hypotheses 4 to 7.

	Гуре of skill	Male- Typed	Gender- Neutral	Female- Typed	Hypothesis	s Rationale
	Specific	ð	3 9	\$	4a	Gendered expectations of men and women's abilities
alist ach	General	\$	3 9	8	5a	General skills mostly female-typed
Culturalist Approach	Specific and general	3	8	3	4b and 5b	General devaluation of women's work
ach	Specific	3	8	3	6	Gendered expectations of family- related work interruptions
VOC- Approach	General	∂ ₽	3 9	₫ ₽	7	No impact of expected interruptions (low skill depreciation)

Legend: ? returns for men are higher / ? ? equal returns / ? returns for women are higher

Table 3: Determinants of Income

	Mode	el 1	Mode	12
	Coef.	Std.Err.	Coef.	Std.Err.
Main explanatory Variables				
Gender Type of Occupation (Ref: Male-Typed				
Occupation)				
Gender Neutral Occupation	-0,023	0,022	-0,021	0,022
Female-Typed Occupation	-0,075 ***	0,017	-0,072 ***	0,017
Occupation-Specific Training (Days per week)			0,130*	0,057
General Education (Days per Week)			0,154	0,090
Women	-0,032 **	0,012	-0,030 *	0,012
Variance Components				
Variance between Occupations	0,004 ***	0,001	0,004 ***	0,001
(Null Model: 0,022***)	0,004	0,001	0,004	0,001
Variance between Individuals	0,076 ***	0,003	0,076 ***	0,003
(Null Model: 0,114***)	0,070	0,003	0,070	0,003
Variance within Individuals	0,054 ***	0,002	0,054 ***	0,002
(Null Model: 0,058***)	0,054	0,002	0,034	0,002
ICC Occupation Level (Null Model: 0,115)	0,031		0,028	
ICC Individual Level (Null Model: 0,587)	0,566		0,568	
R <sup>2</sup> Occupational Level <sup>1</sup>	0,816		0,831	
N Person-Years		84	73	
N Persons		61	36	
N Occupations			15	

Random Intercept Models; Significance level: \*p≤0,05; \*\*p≤0,01; \*\*\*p≤0,001

<sup>1</sup>Raudenbush and Bryk (2002) R<sup>2</sup> at the occupation level. Control variables included at the occupation level: Job opportunities, intellectual requirement level, vertical differentiation, share of large firms

Control variables included at the individual level: migration background, children, marital status, frequently working overtime, number of diplomas, in further education, school-based training, months since graduation, tenure, management position, firm change since graduation, change ion occupation, fixed term contract, part time work, firm size, region. For full model see Table A2 in the appendix.

Table 4: Summary of Results

Type of skill	Male-Typed	Gender Neutral	Female-Typed
Specific	3	(♂)	(♀)
General	\$	ð <del>\$</del>	3 9

Legend: ? returns for men are higher / ? approx. equal returns / ? returns for women are higher. Results in parentheses are not statistically significant.

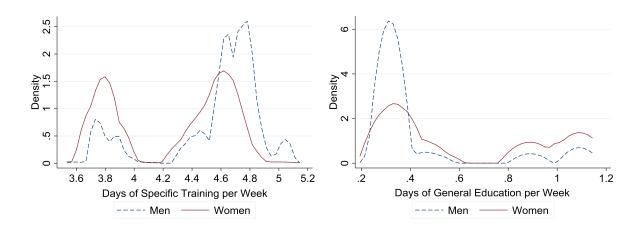
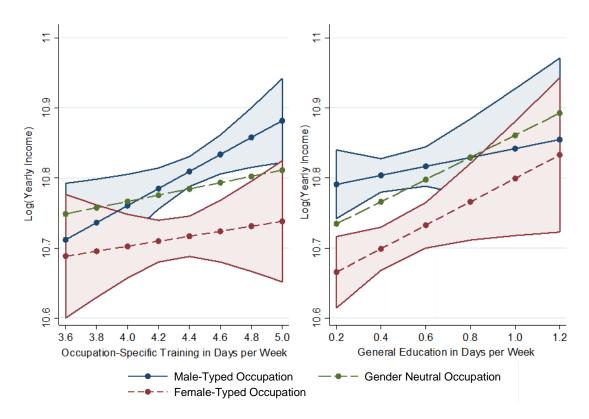
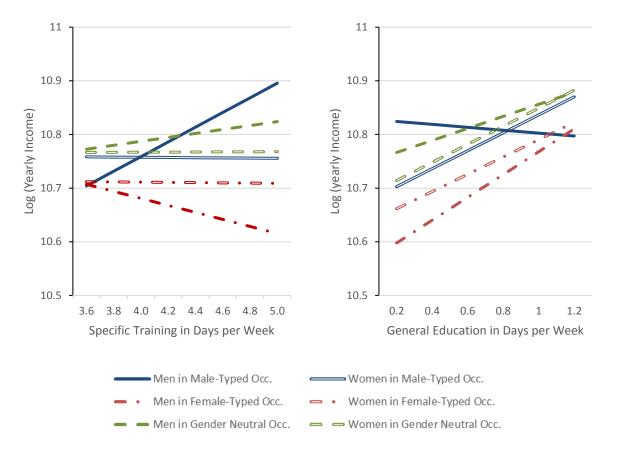


Figure 1: Occupation-Specific Training and General Education in Swiss Training Occupations



Linear Prediction based on Models 3 and 4, Fixed Portion, Predictive Margins with 90% Cis for Male- and Female-Typed Occupations

Figure 2: Predicted Income of Occupation-Specific Training and General Education in Female-, Male-Typed and Gender Neutral Training Occupations



Linear Prediction based on Model 5 and 6, Fixed Portion

Figure 3: Predicted Income of Occupation-Specific Training and General Education for Men and Women in Male-, Female-Typed and Neutral Training Occupations.

Table A1: Descriptive Statistics

	Men					Women					Total				
	Mean	Sd	Min	Max	N	Mean	Sd	Min	Max	N	Mean	Sd	Min	Max	N
Log of Income	10,85	0,41	8,84	11,72	4596	10,75	0,43	8,82	11,70	3877	10,81	0,42	8,82	11,72	8473
Occupation-Specific Training (Days per week)	4,54	0,37	3,60	5,08	4596	4,25	0,40	3,60	5,08	3877	4,41	0,41	3,60	5,08	8473
General Education (Days per week)	0,44	0,26	0,24	1,10	4596	0,62	0,33	0,24	1,10	3877	0,52	0,31	0,24	1,10	8473
Gender Type															
Male-Typed Occupation	0,76		0	1	3476	0,17		0	1	653	0,49		0	1	4129
Neutral Occupation	0,16		0	1	717	0,28		0	1	1078	0,21		0	1	1795
Female-Typed Occupation	0,09		0	1	403	0,55		0	1	2146	0,30		0	1	2549
Job Opportunities	0,25	0,16	0,03	1,16	4596	0,19	0,10	0,03	0,65	3877	0,22	0,14	0,03	1,16	8473
Intellectual Requirement Level (Stalder)	3,25	1,63	1	6	4596	3,70	1,69	1	6	3877	3,46	1,68	1	6	8473
Vertical Differentiation (EBA)	0,21		0	1	984	0,35		0	1	1363	0,28		0	1	2347
Share of Large Firms in Occupation	0,26	0,11	0,04	0,60	4596	0,28	0,11	0,04	0,60	3877	0,27	0,11	0,04	0,60	8473
Migration Background	0,41		0	1	1885	0,36		0	1	1401	0,39		0	1	3286
Children	0,07		0	1	324	0,10		0	1	380	0,08		0	1	704
Marital Status															
Single	0,89		0	1	4071	0,85		0	1	3296	0,87		0	1	7367
Married/partner	0,11		0	1	505	0,14		0	1	554	0,12		0	1	1059
Divorced	0,00		0	1	20	0,01		0	1	27	0,01		0	1	47
Number of Diplomas															
one Federal Diploma	0,89		0	1	4077	0,89		0	1	3454	0,89		0	1	7531
Federal Certificate & Diploma	0,01		0	1	50	0,01		0	1	45	0,01		0	1	95
Several Diplomas	0,10		0	1	469	0,10		0	1	378	0,10		0	1	847
School-based Training	0.05		0	1	238	0.05		0	1	197	0.05		0	1	435
in further Education	0,17		0	1	770	0,18		0	1	707	0,17		0	1	1477
Months since Graduation	43,07	30,88	0,20	120,00	4596	40,65	30,52	0,20	119,93	3877	41,96	30,74	0,20	120,00	8473
Tenure	24,96	24,12	-	119,57	4596	23,20	23,03	0,00	116,13	3877	24.15	23,65	0.00	119,57	8473
Management Position	0,34	,	0	1	1576	0,29	-,	0	1	1139	0,32	-,	0	1	2715
Firm Change since Graduation	0,65		0	1	2992	0,69		0	1	2669	0,67		0	1	5661
Change in Occupation	0,28		0	1	1282	0,23		0	1	906	0,26		0	1	2188
Fixed-Term Contract	0,09		0	1	400	0,10		0	1	397	0,09		0	1	797
Part time work (<80)	0.05		0	1	229	0,15		0	1	597	0,10		0	1	826

Table A1 continued

	Men				Women				Total					
	Mean Sd	Min	Max	Ν	Mean	Sd	Min	Max	Ν	Mean	Sd	Min	Max	N
Frequently working overtime														
No	0,63	0	1	2880	0,69		0	1	2661	0,65		0	1	5541
Yes	0,37	0	1	1687	0,31		0	1	1198	0,34		0	1	2885
Missing	0,01	0	1	29	0,00		0	1	18	0,01		0	1	47
Firm size														
very small (<9)	0,24	0	1	1120	0,31		0	1	1189	0,27		0	1	2309
Small (10-19)	0,18	0	1	809	0,18		0	1	685	0,18		0	1	1494
Medium (20-99)	0,33	0	1	1539	0,26		0	1	1009	0,30		0	1	2548
Big (>100)	0,22	0	1	1018	0,23		0	1	905	0,23		0	1	1923
Missing	0,02	0	1	110	0,02		0	1	89	0,02		0	1	199
Region														
Zuerich	0,16	0	1	756	0,21		0	1	815	0,19		0	1	1571
Lake Geneva	0,14	0	1	630	0,12		0	1	469	0,13		0	1	1099
Espace Mittelland	0,18	0	1	850	0,21		0	1	833	0,20		0	1	1683
Northwest CH	0,12	0	1	571	0,13		0	1	489	0,13		0	1	1060
East CH	0,17	0	1	762	0,13		0	1	513	0,15		0	1	1275
Central CH	0,17	0	1	777	0,14		0	1	554	0,16		0	1	1331
Ticino	0,04	0	1	200	0,04		0	1	145	0,04		0	1	345
Missing	0,01	0	1	50	0,02		0	1	59	0,01		0	1	109

Table A2: Determinants of Income

	Mod	el 1	Mode	12	Mode	13	Mode	14	Mode	15	Mode	el 6
	Coef.	Std.Err.										
Gender Type of Occupation (Ref: Male-Typed Occupation)												
Gender Neutral Occupation	-0,023	0,022	-0,021	0,022	-0,027	0,022	-0,028	0,022	-0,014	0,026	-0,015	0,026
Female-Typed Occupation	-0,075***	0,017	-0,072***	0,017	-0,095***	0,020	-0,094***	0,019	-0,165***	0,041	-0,153***	0,040
Occupation-Specific Training (Days per week)			0,130*	0,057	0,121*	0,058	0,100+	0,058	0,137*	0,058	0,089	0,058
General Education (Days per Week)			0,154+	0,090	0,084	0,093	0,064	0,097	0,040	0,095	-0,027	0,102
Women	-0,032**	0,012	-0,030*	0,012	-0,022+	0,012	-0,022+	0,012	-0,061**	0,021	-0,062**	0,021
Occupation-Specific Control Variables												
Job Opportunities	0,104**	0,035	0,100**	0,035	0,098**	0,036	0,099**	0,036	0,094**	0,036	0,093**	0,035
Intellectual Requirement Level (Stalder)	0,018**	0,006	0,023**	0,007	0,023**	0,007	0,022**	0,007	0,024***	0,007	0,023**	0,007
Vertical Differentiation	-0,035**	0,013	-0,035**	0,014	-0,035**	0,013	-0,035**	0,013	-0,035**	0,013	-0,035**	0,013
Share of Large Firms in Occupation	0,244***	0,067	0,257***	0,067	0,235***	0,067	0,229***	0,068	0,232***	0,067	0,223***	0,068
Individual Control Variables												
Migration Background	0,005	0,010	0,006	0,010	0,005	0,010	0,005	0,010	0,003	0,010	0,003	0,010
Children	-0,055**	0,019	-0,056**	0,019	-0,056**	0,019	-0,056**	0,019	-0,055**	0,019	-0,055**	0,019
Marital Status (Ref. Single)												
Married/partner	0,014	0,016	0,014	0,016	0,014	0,016	0,014	0,016	0,013	0,016	0,013	0,016
Divorced	0,042	0,057	0,043	0,057	0,043	0,057	0,043	0,057	0,044	0,057	0,043	0,057
Frequently working overtime (Ref:No)												
Yes	0,024**	0,008	0,024**	0,008	0,024**	0,008	0,024**	0,008	0,023**	0,008	0,023**	0,008
Missing	-0,093+	0,049	-0,092+	0,049	-0,092+	0,049	-0,093+	0,049	-0,093+	0,049	-0,094+	0,049
Number of Diplomas (ref. one Federal Diploma)	)											
Federal Certificate & Diploma	0,045	0,042	0,045	0,042	0,043	0,042	0,043	0,042	0,039	0,042	0,039	0,042
Several Diplomas	0,084***	0,014	0,083***	0,014	0,083***	0,014	0,083***	0,014	0,082***	0,014	0,082***	0,014
in further Education	0,030**	0,010	0,030**	0,010	0,031**	0,010	0,031**	0,010	0,030**	0,010	0,030**	0,010
School-Based Training	-0,115***	0,021	-0,114***	0,021	-0,115***	0,021	-0,115***	0,021	-0,110***	0,021	-0,109***	0,021
Months since Graduation	0,003***	0,000	0,003***	0,000	0,003***	0,000	0,003***	0,000	0,003***	0,000	0,003***	0,000
Tenure	0,002***	0,000	0,002***	0,000	0,002***	0,000	0,002***	0,000	0,002***	0,000	0,002***	0,000
Management Position	0,045***	0,009	0,045***	0,009	0,044***	0,009	0,045***	0,009	0,044***	0,009	0,044***	0,009
Firm Change since Graduation	-0,031**	0,010	-0,030**	0,010	-0,030**	0,010	-0,030**	0,010	-0,029**	0,010	-0,029**	0,010
Change in occ.	-0,015	0,010	-0,015	0,010	-0,015	0,010	-0,015	0,010	-0,014	0,010	-0,014	0,010
Fixed-Term	-0,330***	0,013	-0,330***	0,013	-0,330***	0,013	-0,330***	0,013	-0,329***	0,013	-0,330***	0,013
Part time work (<80)	0,116***	0,014	0,117***	0,014	0,119***	0,014	0,119***	0,014	0,122***	0,015	0,122***	0,015

Table A2 continued

	Mode	el 1	Mode	12	Mode	13	Mode	14	Mode	15	Mode	el 6
	Coef.	Std.Err.										
Firm size (ref. very small (<9))												
Small (10-19)	0,057***	0,012	0,057***	0,012	0,057***	0,012	0,057***	0,012	0,057***	0,012	0,057***	0,012
Medium (20-99)	0,080***	0,011	0,080***	0,011	0,080***	0,011	0,080***	0,011	0,080***	0,011	0,080***	0,011
Big (>100)	0,130***	0,012	0,129***	0,012	0,130***	0,012	0,130***	0,012	0,130***	0,012	0,130***	0,012
Missing	0,004	0,025	0,004	0,025	0,004	0,025	0,004	0,025	0,005	0,025	0,004	0,025
Region (Ref: Zuerich)												
Lake Geneva	-0,022	0,016	-0,023	0,016	-0,025	0,016	-0,025	0,016	-0,028+	0,016	-0,028+	0,016
Espace Mittelland	-0,024+	0,014	-0,025+	0,014	-0,026+	0,014	-0,026+	0,014	-0,027+	0,014	-0,027+	0,014
Northwest CH	0,013	0,016	0,012	0,016	0,013	0,016	0,013	0,016	0,012	0,016	0,012	0,016
East CH	-0,063***	0,015	-0,064***	0,015	-0,064***	0,015	-0,064***	0,015	-0,065***	0,015	-0,065***	0,015
Central CH	-0,021	0,015	-0,021	0,015	-0,021	0,015	-0,021	0,015	-0,023	0,015	-0,023	0,015
Ticino	-0,130***	0,025	-0,130***	0,025	-0,131***	0,025	-0,131***	0,025	-0,132***	0,025	-0,132***	0,025
Missing	-0,092**	0,035	-0,093**	0,035	-0,094**	0,035	-0,094**	0,035	-0,094**	0,035	-0,095**	0,035
Interaktion Effects												
Male Occupation*Specific Training												
Mixed Occupation*Specific Training					-0,077	0,051			-0,100	0,063		
Female Occupation*Specific Training					-0,086*	0,037			-0,202**	0,071		
Male Occupation*General Education												
Mixed Occupation*General Education							0,094	0,069			0,139+	0,085
Female Occupation*General Education							0,104*	0,044			0,240**	0,086
Male Occupation*Women												
Mixed Occupation*Women									0,025	0,030	0,027	0,030
Female Occupation*Women									0,118**	0,044	0,110*	0,043
Women*Specific Training									-0,139**	0,046		
Male Occupation*Specific Training*Women												
Mixed Occupation*Specific Training*Women									0,103	0,072		
Female Occupation*Specific												
Training*Women									0,202**	0,078		
Women*General Education											0,194**	0,060
Male Occupation*General Education*Women												
Mixed Occupation*General Education*Women											-0,138	0,097
Female Occupation*General											-0,130	0,097
Education*Women											-0,246*	0,096
Intercept	10,846***	0,019	10,845***	0,021	10,843***	0,021	10,844***	0,021	10,839***	0,021	10,840***	0,021

# Table A2 continued

	Mode	el 1	Mode	12	Mode	l 3	Mode	l 4	Mode	l 5	Mode	16
	Coef.	Std.Err.										
Variance Components												
Variance between Occupations (Null Model: 0,022***)	0,004***	0,001	0,004***	0,001	0,004***	0,001	0,004***	0,001	0,003***	0,001	0,003***	0,001
Variance between Individuals (Null Model: 0,114***)	0,076***	0,003	0,076***	0,003	0,076***	0,003	0,076***	0,003	0,076***	0,003	0,076***	0,003
Variance within Individuals (Null Model: 0,058***)	0,054***	0,002	0,054***	0,002	0,054***	0,002	0,054***	0,002	0,054***	0,002	0,054***	0,002
ICC Individual Level (Null Model: 0,587)	0.566		0.568		0.569		0.569		0.569		0.569	
R <sup>2</sup> Occupational Level <sup>1</sup>	0.816		0.831		0.841		0.842		0.845		0.847	
N Person-Years	8473		8473		8473		8473		8473		8473	
N Persons	6136		6136		6136		6136		6136		6136	
N Occupations	215		215		215		215		215		215	

Random intercept models (Model 1 and 2) and random slope models (Model 3-6); Significance level:  $+ p \le 0.10$ ;  $*p \le 0.05$ ;  $**p \le 0.01$ ;  $**p \ge 0.01$ ; \*\*