than those for men, which have fallen dramatically. In the years ahead, the aging of the first generation of American women who have developed a strong labor force attachment is likely to provide upward pressure on the participation rates of women age 55 and over.

The declines in participation among older workers over the last several years are particularly noteworthy, because they occurred despite increased protection against forced retirement and the prevailing high rates of inflation. The main causes of the long-term declines in participation among the elderly have been documented,³ and the declines in the last 2 years may have been intensified by the weakening economy. The changing age distribution of the older population seems to have played, at most, a very small part in these important labor force trends.

----- FOOTNOTES------

¹The effect of these influences on the unemployment rate was discussed in a series of articles in the March 1979 *Monthly Labor Review*. See Paul O. Flaim, "The effect of demographic changes on the Nation's unemployment rate"; Glen G. Cain, "The unemployment rate as an economic indicator"; and Joseph Antos and others, "What is a current equivalent to unemployment rates of the past?"

² It should be kept in mind that the "aging" of the older population is limited by the use of the noninstitutional population in the calculations. Nursing home residents, who make up most of the institutional elderly, are concentrated in the oldest age groups and the vast majority are women.

³See, for example, Philip L. Rones, "Older men—the choice between work and retirement," *Monthly Labor Review*, November 1978, pp. 3-10; or Joseph F. Quinn, *The Microeconomics of Early Retirement: A Cross Sectional View* (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1975).

Occupational changes and tenure, 1981

NANCY F. RYTINA

The labor force is characterized by a relatively high degree of occupational change. Studies have shown that most workers are employed in occupations which differ from those of their fathers.¹ Occupational shifts are also quite common over the course of a worker's career. The occupation held by a worker in midlife often differs from the first occupation after leaving school.²

Although the volume of occupational mobility that occurs within a given year is much smaller, it provides an indication, on a current basis, of recent trends. When assembled over time, data on 1-year mobility shows changes that are important for purposes of developing vocational and higher educational programs.

Studies of 1-year occupational mobility based on data from the Current Population Survey (CPS) of January 1966, 1973, and 1978 indicated that about 1 in 10 of all workers in each year were employed in a different occupation than in the previous year.³ Much of the occupational change was concentrated among persons under age 30 who tend to "job shop" as they obtain exposure to various kinds of work.

This report presents an update of these previous studies. The data shown are based on information obtained in the January 1981 Current Population Survey and relate to the occupations of workers in that month and in January 1980. Workers who changed occupations are defined as those employed in both January 1980 and January 1981, but in a different "three-digit" census occupation in January 1981 than the occupation reported for January 1980. For example, a person employed as a typist in 1981 and as a stenographer in 1980 would be defined as having changed occupations, although the change occurred within the major occupational grouping—clerical workers. The occupational mobility rate used in this report refers to the number of workers who changed occupations as a proportion of the total number employed in January of 1980 and 1981.4

This study also presents new information on occupational tenure based on the years spent in the current occupation. These data are limited to persons employed in both January 1980 and 1981. Workers in the same "three-digit" census occupation in January 1981 as in January 1980 were asked how many years, altogether, they had "been doing that kind of work." Persons who had changed occupations were assigned to the tenure category of less than 1 year.

The data on both occupational mobility and tenure are subject to a number of limitations. Besides those normally associated with sample surveys (sampling variability and nonresponse), there may be errors associated with the retrospective reporting of the occupation a year earlier and the number of years in the same occupation.5 Because occupation is reported only for the months of January 1980 and January 1981, any temporary changes in occupation that occurred during the year will not be reflected in the survey results. Since the tenure question was asked only of persons in the same occupation in January 1980 and 1981, the tenure data exclude persons employed in January 1981 but not January 1980, as well as any years spent in the occupation prior to 1980 for persons not in the same occupation in both January 1980 and 1981. Moreover, the information on tenure was collected in a combination of single and multiyear intervals, thus making it difficult to obtain reliable estimates of mean or median tenure.6

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Workers who changed occupations

Of the 88.3 million employed workers 18 years of age and over and not in school in January 1981, 9.5 percent reported employment in a different occupation in January 1980. Eighty-one percent had been in the same occupation and the remaining 9 percent had either been unemployed or not in the labor force the previous January. The occupational mobility rate stood at 10.5 percent. Both the distribution of labor force status in the previous year and the mobility rate are not much different from the CPS data reported for 1966, 1973, and 1978.

In 1981, as in earlier years, age was the factor most associated with occupational change. Of the total 8.4 million workers who shifted occupations between January 1980 and January 1981, 70 percent were under age 35, although this age group accounted for only 46 percent of the labor force in January 1981.

Not surprisingly, occupational mobility rates declined sharply with age (table 1). The rate for workers age 35 to 44 was less than one-fourth as high as that for workers 18 and 19 years of age. High rates of occupational mobility among young workers are accounted for by a number of factors. Upon completion of school, young persons often try several fields of employment before settling into a career. Also, as many of them make changes in residence and living arrangements, they also change occupations. In contrast, occupational change among older workers occurs less frequently because of attachments to a particular occupation or the risks of losing income, job security, and pension rights, which might accompany an occupational shift.

Mobility rates by age were much the same as in the earlier CPS surveys. Standardizing the mobility rates by age in 1966 and 1981 suggests that the slightly higher rate observed in 1981 (10.5 versus 8.8) was almost entirely a result of the increased proportion of young persons in the work force.⁷

Differences in occupational mobility by sex are quite small relative to age differences. For both men and women, mobility rates decreased with age (table 1). Women, however, have a slightly higher mobility rate than men (11.4 versus 9.9 percent). Since 1966, the mobility rate for women has risen substantially, up from 6.6 percent. An increase is to be expected because of the entry into the labor force of women from younger age groups which have always had higher mobility rates. However, standardizing for age indicates that over 70 percent of the increase was attributable to changes in mobility within specific age groups.8 The rise in the rate of occupational change for women reflects their shift into professional and managerial occupations as well as their increased employment in clerical jobs where the rate of occupational change has traditionally been high. In contrast, the mobility rate for men in 1981 was at the same level as in 1966. The 1981 male rate, however, probably would have been slightly lower were it not for the increase in the proportion of young men in the labor force.

Occupational mobility rates do not differ much by race and ethnicity. Among men, the rate is slightly higher among Hispanics partly because they are younger than either whites or blacks. The rate for white women is higher than that for either black or Hispanic women and this difference is evident among most age groups.

The reason given for changing one's occupation is one factor which is not strongly related to age (table 2). Close to 43 percent of all workers reported better pay as the most important reason for shifting occupations.⁹ Better pay is cited more frequently than any other reason among all age, sex, race, and ethnic groups except workers ages 55 and over. A larger percentage of older workers cited "other" reasons (presumably retirement from the previous occupation) than better pay. The recession of 1980 may have some bearing on the fact that

nd Hispanic o Characteristic	Total emp in Januar		Sta	Occu-			
	Number (in thousands)	Percent	Same occu- pation	Different occu- pation	Unem- ployed	Not in labor force	pational mobility rate ¹
Total, 18 years and over,							
not in school	88,334	100.0	81.0	9.5	3.3	6.1	10.5
Men							
Total, 18 years and over, not in							
school	50,502	100.0	83.8	9.2	3.2	3.7	9.9
18 and 19 years	1,581	100.0	43.3	21.4	8.5	26.8	33.1
20 to 24 years	6,202	100.0	63.5	19.3	7.1	10.1	23.3
25 to 34 years	14,735	100.0	82.4	11.6	3.2	2.7	12.4
35 to 44 years	10,746	100.0	89.1	7.2	2.4	1.3	7.4
15 to 54 years	9,047	100.0	92.6	4.3	2.2	.9	4.4
55 to 64 years	6,503	100.0	93.2	3.4	1.5	1.8	3.5
65 years and over	1,688	100.0	91.9	1.5	1.2	5.5	1.6
White	45,460	100.0	84.1	9.3	3.0	3.6	10.0
Black	4,199	100.0	82.0	8.1	5.3	4.6	9.0
Hispanic origin	2,755	100.0	79.0	11.0	4.4	5.7	12.2
Women							
Total, 18 years and over, not in							
school	37,832	100.0	77.2	10.0	3.5	9.3	11.4
18 and 19 years	1,449	100.0	37.8	21.8	8.9	31.4	36.6
20 to 24 years	5,754	100.0	61.9	18.0	6.0	14.2	22.5
25 to 34 years	10,916	100.0	73.8	11.9	3.9	10.4	13.9
35 to 44 years	7,970	100.0	82.3	8.1	2.5	7.1	8.9
45 to 54 years	6,526	100.0	87.5	5.4	2.3	4.8	5.8
55 to 64 years	4,212	100.0	91.9	2.6	1.5	4.1	2.7
65 years and over	1,005	100.0	90.1	1.6	.7	7.6	1.8
White	33,022	100.0	76.8	10.3	3.1	9.8	11.9
Biack	4,050	100.0	80.7	7.5	6.3	5.5	8.4
Hispanic origin	1,804	100.0	74.5	7.8	5.6	12.1	9.5

 Table 2. Reasons for occupational change for persons employed in a different occupation in January 1981 than January 1980, by sex, age, race, and ethnicity

 IPercentage distribution

Workers who changed occupations	Number (in thousands)	Total	Change from job heid in school	Better pay, full-time work	Lost job, laid off	Dissatisfied, underutilized	Working conditions	Other	Not answered
Total, 18 years and over, not in									
school	8,430	100.0	3.6	42.5	11.4	9.0	7.8	21.0	4.6
White	7,643	100.0	3.7	42.2	11.2	9.4	7.8	21.3	4.5
Black	642	100.0	3.3	45.0	14.5	5.9	7.8	17.6	5.9
Hispanic	443	100.0	1.6	42.0	11.4	8.5	9.6	20.8	5.9
Men, total	4,656	100.0	2.9	42.9	13.5	8.7	6.7	20.3	4.9
18 to 24 years	1,537	100.0	6.3	44.5	15.2	9.2	6.8	13.8	4.2
25 to 34 years	1,716	100.0	2.2	44,9	12.2	8.9	6.9	20.1	4.9
35 to 44 years	769	100.0	3	44.5	14.2	9.0	5.8	21.4	4.9
45 to 54 years	389	100.0	0	36.3	11.7	7.5	7.8	29.4	7.3
55 years and over	245	100.0	.0	23.8	12.9	4.9	7.0	45.1	6.3
Women, total	3,774	100.0	4.5	42.0	8.8	9.5	9.0	21.9	4.3
18 to 24 years	1,352	100.0	10.3	40.0	9.2	9.0	7.5	19.4	4.6
25 to 34 years	1,302	100.0	1.9	43.6	7.7	11.4	8.9	21.7	4.8
35 to 44 years	644	100.0	1.0	49.2	8.8	4.9	11.5	21.8	2.9
45 to 54 years	352	100.0	.0	36.1	10.9	13.3	10.8	24.3	4.6
55 years and over	124	100.0	.0	27.0	10.3	5.9	8.4	46.5	1.9

nearly 11 percent of all workers cited either job loss or layoff as the reason for changing occupations.

In addition, the length of time spent with the current employer is closely associated with occupational mobility. About 90 percent of all workers who changed occupations had less than a year of tenure with their current employer, compared with 10 percent of all workers who remained in the same occupation. (See article on job tenure, page 34.)

An indication of how mobility rates varied by the occupation of the employed in 1981 is provided in table 3. For both sexes, mobility rates are generally highest in those occupations with large percentages of young workers. For example, nonfarm laborers have a high mobility rate and over 50 percent of all workers moving into that occupation were under age 25. Similarly, large percentages of young workers shifted into the clerical and service occupations. An exception is the high mobility rate for women employed as managers. Almost one-fourth of women moving into this occupation were 35 to 44 years of age, in part reflecting an expansion in employment opportunities for women in management.

Some of the occupations with lower rates of mobility are those requiring high levels of education (professional) or other specialized training (craft). Declining employment opportunities in farming and the attachment to the land of those who have remained in this occupation explain the very low mobility rates for farmers and farm managers.

Evidence regarding the occupational origins and destinations of workers who changed occupations is provided in table 4, which shows the occupational distribution in January 1980 for each occupation in January 1981. It is apparent that workers who changed occupations came largely from the same occupational grouping, that is, from related occupations. For example, among professionals, 43 percent of the men and 37 percent of women had been employed in a professional occupation in January 1980. The degree of intraoccupational group shifting was also quite high for men employed as managers, craftworkers, and operatives, except transportation equipment operatives. For women, intraoccupational group shifting was particularly high among clerical workers, operatives (except transportation equipment operatives), and service workers. About

Table 3.Occupation1980 and January 11occupation and sex	981 of emplo		
[Numbers in thousands]		 	
	Men	We	omen
	Number	 Number	

		len	Women			
Occupation	Number employed, both January 1980 and 1981		Number employed, both January 1980 and 1981	Occupational mobility rate ¹		
Total, 18 years and						
over, not in school	46,990	9.9	32,983	11.4		
Professional, technical, and						
kindred workers	8,063	6.8	6,329	9.1		
tors, except farm	7,597	8.8	2,854	13.5		
Salesworkers	2,892	10.9	1,912	13.8		
Clerical and kindred workers .	2,951	13.6	11,691	12.5		
Craft and kindred workers	10,069	8.3	626	10.8		
Operatives, except transport . Transport equipment	5,174	12.7	3,294	9.6		
operatives	2,631	9.4	225	8.5		
Laborers, except farm	2,477	18.6	354	16.6		
Private household workers	23	(2)	616	9.6		
private household	3,504	12.3	4,814	11.5		
Farmers and farm managers . Farm laborers and	1,108	2.5	115	1.6		
supervisors	503	13.0	152	7.8		

employed in a different occupation in January 1981 than January 1980. ² Data not shown where base is less than 75.000. 60 percent of women in clerical work in January 1981 had come from that occupational group. This results partly from the high degree of skill interchangeability and employment turnover that occurs within clerical occupations.

Also, most of the shifts between occupational groupings tended to occur within the same broad fields, for example, white-collar and blue-collar occupations. About 80 percent of women and 66 percent of men employed in white-collar occupations had been employed in these occupations during the previous year. Similarly, over 70 percent of men in blue-collar occupations were employed in the same occupations a year earlier. In contrast, the proportion of women employed in bluecollar occupations is comparatively low. Not surprisingly, about one-half of women who shifted into blue-collar occupations came from the white-collar and service occupations.

Occupational tenure

An indication of occupational tenure is found by examining the distribution of the number of years spent in the January 1981 occupation for those who had been in the same occupation in January 1980. It should be noted that because the data on occupational tenure in this report are restricted to persons employed in January 1980 and January 1981, the occupational mobility rates shown in previous tables are equivalent to the proportion of workers with less than 1 year in the occupation.

Of the 80 million workers employed in both January 1980 and 1981, over one-third had been in the same occupation from 1 to 5 years (table 5). Adding to that figure those in the occupation less than 1 year indicates that close to one-half of all workers had been employed in their January 1981 occupation less than 5 years. Tenure in the occupation is strongly linked with age.

Table 4.	Persons who changed occupation: major occupational group in January 1981, by o	ccupation in January 1980
[Percent distril	'lbution]	

Sex and occupation in January 1981	Different occupation in January 1980 ¹		Professional, technical,	Managers and administrators.	Sales-	Clerical and	Craft	Operatives,	Transport	Laborers,	Service workers, including	Farm-
	Number (in thousands)	Percent	and kindred workers	administrators, except farm	workers	kindred workers	kindred workers	except transport	equipment operatives	except farm	private household	workers
MEN												
Total, 18 years and												
over, not in												
school	4,383	100.0	11.0	12.1	8.1	7.9	18.6	15.5	6.3	9.4	9.1	1.9
Professional, technical,										1		
and kindred workers	514	100.0	42.8	13.6	5.7	9.1	9.9	6.6	2.0	3.7	5.8	.8
Managers and administra-										1		ļ
tors, except farm	630	100.0	15.8	32.4	14.1	8.8	9.8	4.3	3.0	4.4	6.8	.5
Salesworkers	298	100.0	6.4	23.4	24.1	12.4	10.0	6.7	5.7	4.3	5.0	2.0
Clerical and kindred work-							1					
ers	383	100.0	7.6	10.0	7.8	26.6	16.4	7.8	8.8	7.0	7.8	.0
Craft and kindred workers	781	100.0	5.0	6.7	5.2	5.2	34.8	17.5	6.5	11.4	6.4	1.2
Operatives, except trans-												
port	622	100.0	2.4	3.1	5.0	2.9	20.7	35.4	8.5	12.1	8.0	1.8
Fransport equipment							1			1		
operatives	234	100.0	2.6	9.8	4.2	4.7	23.0	17.0	10.6	11.5	10.7	6.0
aborers, except farm	419	100.0	4.5	6.7	5.2	3.1	19.1	21.9	10.2	18.6	8.6	2.4
Service workers, including								ļ				
private household	412	100.0	8.0	5.1	6.6	5.6	14.3	15.8	5.1	9.7	27.2	2.7
armworkers	90	100.0	3.3	4.4	4.4	1.1	21.1	16.7	5.6	20.0	7.8	15.6
WOMEN												
							1					
Total, 18 years and												
over, not in												
school	3,604	100.0	12.0	7.4	7.7	40.3	2.1	9.2	.6	2.1	18.0	.3
Professional, technical,				1]			
and kindred workers	546	100.0	37.2	8.1	4.2	30.6	.9	3.5	.4	1.5	13.7	.0
Managers and administra-					ļ						1	
tors, except farm	367	100.0	15.2	20.0	12.8	38.3	1.4	3.1	.0	8.	8.4	.0
Salesworkers	257	100.0	9.7	12.8	10.5	39.3	.8	5.4	.0	3.1	18.3	.0
Clerical and kindred work-	1			1					1			
ers	1,388	100.0	6.5	4.9	7.6	59.8	1.8	4.5	.8	1.4	12.2	.6
Crafts, operatives including					1	1]	1			
transport, nonfarm												
laborers, total ²	447	100.0	5.1	3.1	3.6	18.1	6.9	35.1	1.8	5.6	20,1	.4
Operatives, except trans-									1	1		
port	306	100.0	2.3	2.6	2.6	14.0	6.9	42.1	2.0	5.6	21.7	0.3
Service workers, including									1			
private household	585	100.0	6.0	5.5	9.7	23.1	1.2	11.4	.3	2.6	39.7	.7
Farmworkers	14	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)

Table 5. Occupational duration of persons employed in both January 1980 and 1981 by age, sex, race, and ethnicity

[Numbers in thousands]

Characteristic	in t Januai	nployed ooth ry 1980 1981	Less than	1 up to 5	5 up to 10	10 up to 25	25 years or more	
	Number	Percent	1 year	years	years	years		
Total, 18 years and over,								
not in school	79,973	100.0	10.5	36.9	19.2	24.6	8.7	
Men	46,990	100.0	9.9	32.5	19.0	27.2	11.4	
Women	32,983	100.0	11.4	43.4	19.5	20. 9	4.8	
White	71,225	100.0	10.7	36.4	19.0	24.8	9,1	
Black	7,355	100.0	8.7	40.6	20.6	24.5	5.6	
Hispanic	3,964	100.0	11.2	48.4	19.2	18.0	3.4	
18 to 24 years		100.0	24.9	68.8	6.4	(1)	(')	
25 to 34 years	23,219	100.0	13.0	47.2	27.7	12.0	(i)	
35 to 44 years	17,550	100.0	8.0	29.5	22.0	38.7	1.6	
45 to 54 years	14,829	100.0	5.0	22.3	17.3	38.9	16.5	
55 years and over	12,757	100.0	2.9	16.5	13.9	33.9	32.9	

Workers under age 35 were concentrated in the 1 to 5 years category, while the majority of workers age 35 and over had been in the same occupation 5 years or more.

Men had more years in the same occupation than women. The sex difference is especially pronounced at 10 years or more in the occupation. Although women have continued to gain on men in year-round employment, they experience greater job turnover. This stems partly from personal and family priorities, but also because women have remained segregated in occupations which have high rates of turnover.

In terms of race and ethnicity, the distribution of occupational tenure is relatively similar between blacks and whites compared to Hispanics. Among blacks and whites, approximately 50 percent were in the same occupation for less than 5 years, compared to almost 60 percent among Hispanics. The lower occupational tenure of Hispanics can be attributed to some degree to their lower average age and greater likelihood of employment in service, laborer, and farm occupations.

The number of years in the same occupation varied by the January 1981 occupation. Much like the incidence of occupational change, tenure of less than 5 years is more common in occupations requiring less training (operatives and laborers), transferable skills (clerical work), or high employment growth (managers for women). In contrast, tenure is relatively high in occupations with either declining employment opportunites (farmers and farm managers) or where specialized skills and lengthy training are involved (professionals for both sexes and craftworkers for men).

This report has provided an update on patterns of occupational change between 1980 and 1981 and described the distribution of occupational tenure among various demographic groups. With the January 1981 CPS, it is also possible to examine how occupational change and tenure relate more specifically to the economic status of workers. For example, the occupational categories used here were broad and conceal sex, race, and ethnic differences in employment that might be uncovered by focusing on detailed occupations. In terms of earnings, findings from a recent study using these data suggest that the lower tenure of women accounts for just 4 percent of the male-female earnings gap.¹⁰ The January 1981 CPS data can be used to explore further these and other labor force topics.

¹See Elton Jackson and Harry J. Crockett, "Occupational Mobility in the United States: A Point Estimation and Trend Comparison," *American Sociological Review*, February 1964, pp. 5–15; Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, *The American Occupational Structure* (New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967); and David L. Featherman and Robert M. Hauser, *Opportunity and Change* (New York, Academic Press, 1978).

² See William H. Sewell, Robert M. Hauser, and Wendy C. Wolf, "Sex, Schooling and Occupational Status," *American Journal of Soci*ology, November 1980, pp. 551–583; Rachel A. Rosenfeld, "Race and Sex Differences in Career Dynamics," *American Sociological Review*, October 1980, pp. 583–609.

¹For reports using earlier CPS data see Samuel Saben, "Occupational mobility of employed workers" (January 1965-66), Monthly Labor Review, June 1967, pp. 31-38, reprinted as Special Labor Force Report 84; James J. Byrne, "Occupational mobility of workers" (January 1972-73), Monthly Labor Review, February 1975, pp. 53-59, reprinted as Special Labor Force Report 186; and Carl Rosenfeld, "Occupational mobility during 1977" (January 1977-78), Monthly Labor Review, December 1979, pp. 44-48, reprinted as Special Labor Force Report 231.

⁴ This rate measures the proportion of workers who entered the occupation, not the proportion leaving the occupation held in 1980. This is only one of a number of possible measures of mobility, and it was selected because it is the same measure used in the previous studies. See footnote 3.

⁵ See Paula J. Schneider, "Evaluation of the Occupation One-Year Ago Item in the January 1973 CPS," *Proceedings of the Social Statistics Session of the American Statistical Association*, 1977.

^b The categories included 1 up to 2 years, 2 up to 3 years, 3 up to 4 years, 4 up to 5 years, 5 up to 10 years, 10 up to 25 years, and 25 years or more.

¹ The 1981 mobility rates by age were standardized on the 1966 age distribution resulting in a standardized mobility rate of 9.3. Reversing the procedure, the 1966 mobility rates by age were standardized on the 1981 age distribution which resulted in a standardized mobility rate of 10.8. The average of the "rate effect" and the "age effect" shows that 97 percent of the difference between the reported mobility rates of 8.8 in 1966 and 10.5 in 1981 was due to differences in the age distributions in the 2 years. See Evelyn M. Kitagawa, "Components of the Difference Between Two Rates," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*. December 1955, pp. 1168–94. Other standardization techniques are discussed in Henry S. Shryock and Joseph Siegel, *The Methods and Materials of Demography, Vols. I and II* (Bureau of the Census, 1971). Another possible source of difference between the 1966 and 1981 rates is that there were fewer three-digit occupations listed in the 1966 CPS.

^{*} Based on age standardization. See footnote 5.

[°] This category also includes changing occupations for advancement opportunities and full-time work.

¹⁰ See Nancy F. Rytina, "Tenure as a factor in the male-female earnings gap," *Monthly Labor Review*, April 1982, pp. 32–34.