# OCCUPATIONAL EARNINGS BEHAVIOR AND THE INEQUALITY OF EARNINGS BY SEX AND RACE IN THE UNITED STATES\*

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This paper examines differences in earnings by occupations, and within occupations by sex and by race. on the basis of the 1/100 Public Use Samples of the 1960 and 1970 U.S. Population Censuses. It employs interval analysis to establish 32 categories of occupations with similar characteristics. Little relation was found between mean earnings of occupational groups and the degree of earnings inequality within them. When the figures are examined by sex, it was found that men, on average. earned over twice as much as women in both years, but women's earnings were more unequally distributed (as measured by the Gini coefficient). Women are concentrated in the traditional "female" occupations, which tend to be those at the bottom of the earnings scale, and men have a monopoly of the higher paid occupations. But mean earnings for men exceeded those for women in all occupational groups except one, even in the primarily female occupations. Standardizing first for occupational distribution and then for earnings by occupation, it was found that earnings differences between males and females within occupation had a greater impact on the overall male-female earnings ratio than did differences in occupational distribution by sex. In contrast, when the figures are examined by race, the change in occupational distribution (primarily the movement of blacks out of farming and of blacks and Spanish speakers out of personal services) was the major factor. There was also a considerable degree of earnings inequality within demographic groups. The degree of inequality was in the main reduced when the demographic groups were subdivided into occupations, but it was still substantial. Additional factors like time worked, schooling, and experience must be taken into consideration in understanding this phenomenon.

### I. Introduction

Attention has recently focused on occupational selection and exclusion and differences in occupational compensation as a major determinant of differentials in earnings between social groups in the United States. In 1958, F. G. Adams, using the 1950–53 University of Michigan Survey of Consumer Finances, found that a five category breakdown of occupation into managerial and professional, clerical and sales, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled and service resulted in significant coefficients for each of the categories in explaining individual earnings [1]. In 1960 Lee Soltow looked at changes in the coefficients of concentration brought about by shifts in the occupational distribution and shifts in the educational distribution between 1900 and 1956 for employed male civilians and discovered that the former effect was of greater importance than the latter [10].

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More recently, Harriet Zellner found that 50 percent of employed women in 1960 were concentrated in occupations where they represented 80 percent or more of total employment [14]. Francine Blau Weisskoff discovered a similar concentration of women by occupation in 1969 and argued that an abundance of supply relative to demand in female occupations tended to bring down female earnings [11]. Malkiel and Malkiel found that among 272 professional employees of a single corporation women received less pay than men with similar credentials [8]. Fuchs showed that the ratio in hourly earnings between white males and females, adjusted for differences in age and schooling, increased slightly between 1959 and 1969 [4]. Moreover, constructing a segregation index, Fuchs calculated that the level of sex segregation in professional occupations declined somewhat between 1950 and 1970 and that about half of this decline was due to decreasing segregation within occupations and about half from the relatively faster growth of the less segregated occupations.<sup>1</sup>

Using 1960 Census data, Jack Gibbs found significant differences in the occupational distribution of whites and blacks in every state in the country [6]. Barbara Bergman argued that discrimination concentrates blacks into certain occupations and excludes them from others, resulting in lower pay for blacks because of their large supply relative to demand in those occupations [2]. Richard Freeman found that the percentage of non-whites working as managers rose from 7 to 13 between 1960 and 1970, while the percentage of whites employed in a managerial capacity rose from 19 to only 22 [3]. Finis Welch discovered a significant narrowing of the earnings differential between whites and blacks between 1959 and 1966 and attributed it to a tightening of the labor market [12]. Haworth, Gwartney and Haworth calculated that about half the rise in the non-white to white median earnings ratio between 1959 and 1969 was due to the exiting from the labor force of lower paid older blacks and the entrance of higher paid younger blacks, and about half was due to an improvement in black productivity factors [7].

Two main factors have been cited in the literature in analyzing the differential in earnings between males and females and between whites and blacks. The first, which we shall call "occupational differentiation", attributes part of the differential to differences in the occupational distributions of the respective groups, and the second, which we shall call "occupational earnings inequality", ascribes the rest to differences in mean earnings between the respective groups within occupations. Using data from the 1960 and 1970 Census Public Use Sample, we shall quantify the importance of each of these two factors in the determination of the overall earnings differential by sex and race, and consider this in relation to the degree of earnings inequality by demographic and occupational group.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See [5]. Fuchs included nurses and elementary school teachers among professionals. Though the Census Bureau classified them as such, nurses and elementary school teachers both rank low in the ordering of occupations by mean earnings, casting some doubt on the wisdom of their inclusion in this class and the meaningfulness of Fuch's results. See Section 3 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Though respondents recorded earnings for years 1959 and 1969 respectively, occupations were recorded for years 1960 and 1970, and we shall consistently refer to years 1960 and 1970 in the results.

### II CATEGORY CONSTRUCTION

In order to analyze earnings behavior by social and occupational group, it was first necessary to construct the groups. For a naturally dichotomous variable like sex, no problem arose, but for multi-category variables like race and occupation it was necessary to solve the problem of how to combine the categories to simplify the analysis without distorting the results by introducing an "aggregation bias". The technique we employed is called "interval analysis" and was originally developed by Nancy and Richard Ruggles for matching micro data sets [9]. The procedure is to combine those categories of a variable which have conditional distributions of other variables that are similar. Since the variable of interest in this study was earnings, groups were formed by combining categories of a variable with similar distributions of earnings. A correlation coefficient was used to measure the closeness of the distributions, and categories were merged into a group if and only if the correlation between the earnings distributions of each pair of categories exceeded a pre-specified correlation level.<sup>3</sup>

In the case of race, different correlation levels were tried until the categories of the variable bifurcated into two groups. The resulting groups consisted of (non-Spanish) whites, Japanese, and Chinese on the one hand, and blacks, Spanish-Americans (Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans), Filipinos and others, on the other hand. In the case of occupation, the technique was modified, because the variable has 296 raw categories in the 1960 Public Use Sample, making the computer cost of forming all possible groupings prohibitive. An iterative procedure was thus adopted, with only what appeared to be, *prima facie*, similar occupations compared, like engineers and physics professors. Three passes were made at correlation level 0.80, and the 296 occupations "collapsed", successively, into 113, 64 and 32 groups. The final groupings are shown in Appendix 1.7

### III. RESULTS

### A. Occupational Statistics

Table 1 presents statistics on the distribution of earnings by occupation for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>See [13], section 2, for a fuller discussion of this technique.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>The 1960 Census 1/100 Public Use Sample stratified on race was used, with wage earnings divided into 26 size classes in intervals of \$1,000 up to \$24,999 and \$25,000 and above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>The variable "race" as used in the Census Public Use Sample seems to refer more to cultural differences than to ethnological differences. For this reason, Spanish-Americans were included in the list of racial categories.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>The 1960 Census 1/100 Public Use Sample, stratified on occupation with approximately 200 observations for each occupation, was used for this classification procedure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>New occupational categories were added in the 1970 Public Use Sample, and each of these (indicated by an asterisk in Appendix 1) was placed in the occupational group whose aggregated earnings distribution was most highly correlated with its earnings distribution.

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TABLE 1
EARNINGS STATISTICS BY OCCUPATION

			1960		1970			
		Percent Distribution	Mean Income	Gini Coefficient	Rank	Percent Distribution	Mean Income	Gini Coefficient
1 Medical Doctors		0.25	\$10,383	0.5349	2	0.24	\$17,659	0.4744
2 Air Pilots		0.04	10,255	0.3614	1	0.05	18,735	0.3179
3 Deans, Lawyers,	ludges	0.13	9,326	0.4570	3	0.17	15,396	0.3983
4 Professors, Engin		1.49	7,952	0.2622	6	2.64	11,894	0.2855
5 Brokers, Advertis	ing men	0.09	7,540	0.3939	5	0.21	12,583	0.4562
6 Government offic		5.43	7,222	0.3672	7	6.99	11,385	0.3794
7 Architects		0.12	6,985	0.3014	4	0.46	13,400	0.3047
8 Railway conducto	rs	0.19	6,962	0.1453	8	0.04	10,009	0.2020
9 Engravers, Toolm		2.65	6,366	0.2256	9	2.47	9,554	0.2296
0 Writers, Accounta	ants	1.32	5,877	0.2871	10	3.12	9,505	0.3530
1 Agents, Telegraph		1.87	5,300	0.2915	15	1.70	7,675	0.3297
2 High school teach		1.92	5,279	0.3007	16	2.80	7,222	0.3555
3 Millers		0.29	5,227	0.2198	11	0.26	8,327	0.2355
4 Plumbers, Skilled	labor	4.09	5,108	0.2295	13	0.84	7,944	0.2667
5 Motormen, Welde		1.45	4,896	0.2267	17	1.81	6,876	0.2767
6 Police, Firemen		0.94	4,763	0.2151	14	0.87	7,937	0.2604
7 Mechanics, Crafts	men	4.95	4,226	0.2654	18	5.20	6,771	0.3026
8 Technicians		1.29	4,173	0.3773	19	1.80	6,663	0.3796
9 Farmers		0.61	3,847	0.6691	12	0.82	7,955	0.5048
0 Elementary teach	ers	2.26	3,780	0.3425	20	2.26	5,514	0.4030
1 Apprentices, Ope	ratives	11.58	3,638	0.3421	24	8.08	5,003	0.3525
2 Tailors, Painters		0.93	3,466	0.3592	23	0.84	4,998	0.4279
3 Barbers, Bartende	ers ,	0.79	3,371	0.3374	26	1.31	4,386	0.4160
4 Apprentices, Driv	ers	6.16	3,249	0.4001	22	5.27	5,228	0.3795
5 Clerks, Secretarie	s	8.31	3,234	0.2946	25	8.91	4,563	0.3385
6 Textile workers		0.22	3,079	0.2410	28	0.59	3,992	0.2880
7 Typists, Cashiers,	Newsboys	18.83	2,831	0.5045	30	13.29	3,615	0.5162
8 Entertainers	-	0.49	2,740	0.5714	29	0.50	3,712	0.6272
9 Nurses		1.03	2,610	0.3882	21	1.37	5,278	0.3699
0 Armed forces		0.07	2,089	0.4458	27	0.14	4,203	0.4200
1 Milliners		1.20	1,988	0.3245	31	1.34	2,976	0.3276
2 Personal services		19.12	1,641	0.5212	32	19.72	2,668	0.5227
'All		100.00	3,628	0.4504	_	100.00	5,649	0.4573

1960 and 1970. The occupational groups are ordered by 1960 mean earnings, with the 1970 rank shown in column four. Generally, professionals and government officials ranked highest, followed by skilled labor and police and firemen, farmers and semi-skilled operatives, clerical workers, armed forces personnel, and personal service workers and unskilled labor. The "earnings ladder" was stable between the two periods, with a rank correlation of 0.96 between the 1960 and 1970 orderings.

Employment was distributed unevenly over the earnings ladder, reflecting both the technique by which the occupational groups were created and the distribution of the labor force over the raw occupational categories. Personal service workers accounted for almost 20 percent of the labor force; typists, cashiers, and newsboys almost another 20 percent; apprentices and operatives approximately 12 percent; and clerks, tellers, and secretaries over 8 percent. Together these groups made up 58 percent of the 1960 and 50 percent of the 1970 work force. Between 1960 and 1970 the occupational distribution shifted towards occupational groups with higher mean earnings. Occupations 4, 6, 10, 12 and 18 all rose as a percent of the labor force while occupations 21 and 27 declined. In 1960, 21 occupations had mean earnings exceeding the national average of \$3,628, and in 1970, 20 occupations exceeded the national average of \$5,649. The distribution was thus generally thinner on the portion of the occupational ladder above the mean than on the part below it.

Inequality in earnings by occupational group was generally less than the overall level of earnings inequality, reflecting in part the technique of category construction, where low-earnings occupations were kept separate from highearnings ones. In 1960 Gini coefficients ranged from 0.1453 to 0.6691, the median coefficient was 0.3509, and only 6 occupational groups had a Gini coefficient exceeding the national figure of 0.4504. In 1970, the range was 0.2020 to 0.6272, the median was 0.3542, and only 5 occupations exceeded the national figure of 0.4573. A slight upward shift was evident in occupational inequality between 1960 and 1970, with Gini coefficients rising in 25 occupations and falling in 7, though the net changes were, in the main, small. The rank correlation between mean earnings and the Gini coefficient by occupational group was 0.24 in 1960 and 0.34 in 1970, indicating little systematic relation between level of earnings and the degree of earnings inequality.

<sup>8</sup>1960 computations were made using the 1960 1/100 Public Use Sample stratified on occupation, with a sample size of 41,349, and 1970 computations were made using the 1970 1/100 Public Use Sample stratified on occupation, with a sample size of 63,661.

"Earnings" refer to wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses and tips. In 1960 earnings were recorded in \$100 intervals up to \$9,999; \$1,000 intervals up to \$24,999; \$25,000 or more. The midpoint of each wage class except the last was used to compute the mean. For the last interval, the Pareto equation Log N = K - A log x

was estimated for income recipients above the median, where x is the size of the individual's income and N the number of income recipients above income x.  $\hat{K} = 13.5141$ ,  $\hat{A} = -2.7836$ ,  $R^2 = .9916$ , and the estimated average income of the last income class was \$38,807. In 1970, there were 501 intervals: \$100 intervals up to \$49,999; \$50,000 and above. The Pareto equation was estimated for 1970, with the result that  $\hat{K} = 14.7710$ ,  $\hat{A} = -2.9393$ ,  $R^2 = 0.9944$ , and the estimated average income of the last income class was \$71,376.

<sup>9</sup>A strong correlation did, however, exist between annual earnings and hours worked per year by occupation. Adjusting for this, average hourly "wage rates" showed a much smaller dispersion than annual earnings. See [13] for more detail.

### B. Sex and Race Statistics

Table 2 gives statistics on earnings by sex and race.<sup>10</sup> Though slightly outnumbered in the population, 1.74 times as many men as women were employed in 1960 and 1.43 times as many in 1970. Men earned on average over twice as much annual income as women in the two periods, and accounted for 80 percent of total earnings in 1960 and 75 percent in 1970. Measured by the Gini coefficient, earnings were more unequally distributed among women than among men, though the gap narrowed somewhat between the two periods.

The number of blacks and Hispanic–Americans rose from 12 to 15 percent of the population between 1960 and 1970, mainly due to the large migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland. The percent of black and Spanish wage recipients was almost exactly equal to their population share in both years. The ratio of annual earnings of whites to blacks and Spanish was quite high in 1960, at 1.75, but declined substantially by 1970, to 1.41. For blacks alone the ratio fell from 1.85 to 1.45, and for Hispanic–Americans alone it declined from 1.30 to 1.25. Moreover, in 1960 the degree of earnings inequality was almost exactly the same for the two groups, but by 1970 blacks and Spanish had less inequality than did whites. 11

### C. Occupational and Demographic Statistics

Statistics on the distribution of male and female employment and their relative earnings and the distribution of white and black and Spanish employment and their relative earnings were computed for each occupation in 1960 and 1970 (see Appendices 2 and 3). Though 64 percent of those unemployed in 1960 were males and 36 percent females, men made up at least 80 percent of 16 of the 17 highest-paying occupational groups and women at least 45 percent of 7 of the 8 lowest-paying occupational groups. In fact, of the traditional "female occupations", 83 percent of elementary school teachers and librarians, 77 percent of clerks and secretaries, 62 percent of typists and cashiers, 98 percent of nurses, and 94 percent of milliners were women. Between 1960 and 1970, the percentage of women in the labor force rose to 41, and this increase was spread, in general, proportionately over the occupational earnings ladder.

Mean earnings for men exceeded those for women in all occupational groups except one in 1960 and 1970. Even in the primarily female occupations, men averaged substantially more income than women. Though the overall difference

### Ratio of Average Hourly Earnings

	1960	1970
Males/Females	1.604	1.532
Whites/Blacks and Spanish	1.607	1.349

See [13] for greater detail.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>The 1960 and 1970 1/10,000 Public Use Sample, with sample sizes of 6,762 and 8,555 respectively, were used to compute the results in this section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>The ratio of average hourly wage rates (computed by dividing annual earnings by hours worked per year) was considerably less than the ratio of mean annual earnings between men and women and slightly less than that between whites and blacks and Spanish.

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TABLE 2
EARNINGS STATISTICS BY SOCIAL GROUP

Variable		1960				1970			
	Percent of Wage Earners	Mean Earnings	Gini Coefficient	Ratio of Mean Earnings	Percent of Wage Earners	Mean Earnings	Gini Coefficient	Ratio of Mean Earnings	
A. Sex									
(1) Females	36.50	\$2,009	0.4515		41.20	\$3,382	0.4430	_	
(2) Males	63.50	4,565	0.3954	2.2726	58.80	7,236	0.4059	2.1391	
B. Race									
(1) Blacks, Spanish	12.05	2,193	0.4403		15.06	4,200	0.4369	_	
(2) Whites	87.95	3,830	0.4427	1.7462	84.94	5,905	0.4554	1.4059	
All	100.00	3,628	0.4504		100.00	5,649	0.4573	_	

in earnings between men and women fell slightly between 1960 and 1970, the ratio of mean earnings rose in almost two thirds of the occupational groups. Despite this, the ratio in mean earnings between males and females fell short of the overall ratio in all but four occupational groups in 1960 and six in 1970. Thus, the concentration of women in the lower-paying occupations and the higher earnings of men in almost all occupations both contributed to the overall male-female ratio of earnings, in the two periods. To assess the relative impact of each factor, we calculated ratios standardized for each factor in turn. First, standardizing for occupational distribution, we calculated the aggregate ratio of mean earnings that would result if the occupational distribution of both sexes were the same and equal to the overall occupational distribution (row 1 of Tables 3A and 3B); the remaining difference is attributable to male-female differences within occupation. Second, standardizing for differences within occupation, we calculated the aggregate ratio of mean earnings that would result if mean earnings by occupation were the same for both sexes and equal to the overall occupational means (column 1 of Tables 3A and 3B). This gives the difference attributable to differences in occupational distribution. Standardized for occupational distribution, the overall ratio of mean earnings was 1.87 in 1960, or 69 percent (0.87/1.27) of the actual level, and 1.86 in 1970, or 75 percent of the actual level. Standardized for earnings by occupation, the overall ratio was 1.36 in 1960, or 28 percent of the actual level. Thus, earnings differences between males and females within occupation had a more sizable impact on the overall male-female earnings ratio than differences in occupational distribution by sex.

TABLE 3
ACTUAL AND STANDARDIZED RATIO OF MEAN
EARNINGS BETWEEN MALES AND FEMALES

	Mean Earnings by Occupation			
		Overall	Actual	
A. 1960				
Occupational	Overall	1.00	1.87	
Distribution	Actual	1.36	2.27	
B. 1970				
Occupational	Overall	1.00	1.86	
Distribution	Actual	1.45	2.14	

Almost half of all blacks and Spanish-Americans employed in 1960 were personal service workers. The only other occupational groups more than 10 percent black and Spanish were police and firemen, farmers, tailors and painters, bus and truck drivers, and the armed forces; and of the ten highest-paying occupations, none was more than 3.8 percent black and Spanish. Between 1960 and 1970, as the percentage of blacks and Spanish in the labor force rose from 12 to 15, the percentage of service workers that were black or Spanish declined from 31 to 24. The percentage of blacks and Spanish increased in most other occupa-

tions, with the notable exception of farmers, and in 11 of the top 15 occupations the rate of increase surpassed the overall rate of increase.

Mean annual earnings for whites exceeded those for blacks and Spanish in all but 3 occupations in 1960 and 5 in 1970. However, in only 2 occupations in 1960 and 7 in 1970 was the ratio of mean earnings greater than the overall ratio of earnings between whites and blacks and Spanish of 1.75 in 1960 and 1.41 in 1970. In order to assess the relative impact of difference in mean earnings by occupation and differences in occupational distribution on the overall white to black and Spanish earnings ratio, standardized averages were computed, as in the case of sex (Tables 4A and 4B). Differences in racial composition by occupation accounted for about 56 percent (0.42/0.75) of the actual overall ratio of mean earnings in 1960 and about 49 percent (0.20/0.41) in 1970.

Between 1960 and 1970, the overall white to black and Spanish earnings ratio fell from 1.75 to 1.41, reflecting both a drop in the mean earnings ratio in about two thirds of the occupational groups and a shift of black and Spanish employment out of lower-paying occupations, particularly services and farming, toward the higher-paying ones, including many professions. In order to quantify these two effects, the overall mean earnings ratio was computed that would result if 1960 occupational mean earnings by race had remained constant but the occupational distributions had shifted to their 1970 composition (row 2 and column 1 of Table 4C), and if the 1960 occupational distributions had remained constant but occupational mean earnings by race had shifted to their 1970 levels (row 1 and column 2 of Table 4C). A shift in the occupational distributions alone would have reduced the aggregate mean earnings ratio by 0.28 or by 82 percent (0.28/(1.77–1.41)) of the actual decline in the ratio of mean earnings. This would be primarily due to the movement of blacks out of farming, where black earnings were very low in 1960, and of blacks and Spanish out of personal services, where

TABLE 4

ACTUAL AND STANDARDIZED RATIOS OF MEAN
EARNINGS BETWEEN WHITES AND BLACKS AND SPANISH

	Mean Earnings by Occupation				
	1	Overall	Actual		
A. 1960					
Occupational	Overall	1.00	1.36		
Distribution	Actual	1.42	1.75		
B. 1970					
Occupational	Overall	1.00	1.20		
Distribution	Actual	1.26	1.41		
		1960	1970		
		Actual	Actual		
C. 1960-70					
Occupational	1960 Actual	1.75	1.59		
Distribution	1970 Actual	1.47	1.41		

the overall level of earnings was low. A change in mean earnings by occupation would alone have caused a reduction of 0.16, or of 47 percent of the total differential. This would be mainly attributed to the decline of the white to black and Spanish earnings ratio in personal services from 1.17 to 0.97. The change in the occupational distributions was, in comparison, the major factor in the fall in the overall earnings ratio.

Table 5 shows the distribution of occupational Gini coefficients for males, females, whites, and blacks and Spanish. The distributions were all relatively similar to the overall distribution of occupational Gini coefficients in the two periods, reflecting that the inequality of earnings by occupational and demographic group was close to that of the occupational group. However, the distribution of occupational Gini coefficients for females peaked at a higher level in both years than that for men, reflecting the higher overall level of earnings inequality among women than among men. In fact, Gini coefficients were higher for females than for males in all occupational groups except 7 in 1960 and 6 in 1970. The distributions of Gini coefficients were very similar for whites and blacks and Spanish, corresponding to the closeness of the overall level of earnings inequality for the two groups. In general, the Gini coefficients by occupational and demographic group deviated in the same direction and to the same extent from the occupational level as the degree of inequality by demographic group deviated from that of the whole work force.

TABLE 5
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF OCCUPATIONAL GINI COEFFICIENTS
BY SEX AND RACE

~· ·		S	ex		Race
Gini Coefficients	All	Males	Females	Whites	Blacks & Spanish
A. 1960					
0.100-0.199	1	2	1	1	4
0.200-0.299	11	13	6	13	15
0.300-0.399	12	9	13	11	5
0.400-0.499	3	5	8	2	. 5
0.500-0.599	4	2	3	4	0
0.600-0.699	1	1	0	1	1
Overall Level	0.4504	0.3954	0.4515	0.4427	0.4403
B. 1970					
0.100-0.199	0	0	0	0	2
0.200-0.299	7	12	4	9	6
0.300-0.399	14	12	13	13	12
0.400-0.499	7	6	12	6	10
0.500-0.599	3	2	2	3	1
0.600-0.699	1	0	1	1	0
Overall Level	0.4573	0.4059	0.4430	0.4554	0.4369

Note: The distributions do not necessarily total to 32, since some occupational cells are empty for females and/or for blacks and Spanish.

### IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Both occupational differentiation and within-occupation earnings inequality contributed to the overall difference in mean earnings between males and females and between whites and blacks and Spanish. As Zellner and Weisskoff found, women were heavily concentrated in a few occupational groups in both years and these tended to be in the lower portion of the occupational earnings ladder. Men, on the other hand, comprised the vast majority of the occupational groups on the top portion of the ladder. Moreover, as Malkiel and Malkiel and Fuchs discovered, men tended to receive higher earnings than women in a given occupation. In fact, men out-earned women in every occupational group except one in the two periods. Both differences in mean earnings by occupational group and differences in occupational distribution by sex played a role in the formation of an overall male–female earnings ratio of over 2.0 in both years, but within-occupation earnings inequality was, on net, the dominant factor.

As Gibbs and Bergman found, significant differences existed in the occupational distributions of whites and blacks and Spanish. In fact, almost half the employed black and Spanish labor force worked in personal services in 1960, though this percentage fell to 32 by 1970. On the other hand, the percentage of blacks and Spanish in most professional occupations was very small, though it increased somewhat, as Freeman observed for managerial personnel, between 1960 and 1970. Mean earnings for whites exceeded those for blacks and Spanish in almost all occupational groups in both years. On net, occupational differentiation was the more dominant effect of the two in the determination of the overall mean earnings ratio between the races. Moreover, as Welch and Haworth, Gwartney, and Haworth observed, the mean earnings ratio fell substantially between 1960 and 1970. Both shifts in the occupational distribution of whites and blacks and Spanish and declines in the mean earnings ratios by occupation contributed to the fall, but the former was the stronger factor.

Even though considerable differences in mean earnings between demographic groups existed, there was also a considerable degree of earnings inequality within demographic groups. The degree of inequality was in the main reduced when the demographic groups were subdivided into occupations, but the degree of earnings inequality was still substantial for most demographic by occupational groups. Thus, any explanation of earnings inequality between social groups must be counterbalanced by an examination of earnings inequality within social groups, and additional factors like time worked, schooling, and experience must be taken into consideration in understanding these two relations.

### APPENDIX 1 OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS

Occupation 1
Chiropractors
Dentists
Physicians, surgeons
Optometrists
Osteopaths
*1970 only.

Veterinarians Podiatrists\* Health practitioners\*

Occupation 2
Airline pilots

 ${\it Occupation}\ 3$ 

University presidents and deans

Lawyers, judges

Occupation 4

Agriculture professors

Biology professors Medical science professors Chemistry professors Geology professors Physics professors Natural science professors Engineering professors **Economists** Geologists **Physicists** Economics professors Sociology professors Social science professors Mathematics professors Statistics professors Humanities professors Professors n.e.c. Psychologists Misc. social scientists Mathematicians Misc. natural scientists Aeronautical engineers Chemical engineers Mining engineers Sales engineers Civil engineers Electrical engineers Industrial engineers Mechanical engineers Metallurgical engineers Engineers n.e.c.† Systems analysts\* Computer specialists\* Petroleum engineers\* Environmental scientists\* Marine scientists\* Environmental professors\* Air traffic controllers\*

### Occupation 5

Advertising agents Auctioneers Stock brokers Real estate appraisers\*

University administrators\*

School administrators\*

### Occupation 6

Public administration inspectors Public administration officials Postmasters Farm buyers Credit men Union officials Store buyers Misc. buyers Misc. buyers Ship pilots

Public administration controllers\* Pharmacists
Bank officers\*
Undertakers

\*1970 only.

† n.e.c.: not elsewhere classified.

Construction inspectors Office managers\*

Manufacturing sales representatives\*
Wholesale sales representatives\*

Clerical supervisors\*

Occupation 7

Designers Architects Sales managers\*

Occupation 8

Railroad conductors

Occupation 9

Locomotive engineers Photoengravers Foremen n.e.c. Electrotypers Engravers Stationery engineers Toolmakers

## Pattern makers Occupation 10

Authors Draftsmen Photographers Accountants Farm and home manage

Farm and home management advisors

Personnel workers Publicity writers Programmers\* Tool programmers\* Educational counselors\* Health administrators\* Misc. administrators\*

### Occupation 11

Insurance adjusters
Misc. agents
Baggagemen
Ticket agents
Mail carriers
Railway mail clerks
Postal clerks
Telegraph messengers
Telegraph operators
Insurance agents

Vehicle dispatchers

### Occupation 12

High school teachers Agricultural scientists Biological scientists Statisticians Pharmacists Undertakers Technicians n.e.c. Radio operators Electrical technicians Physical science technicians

Occupation 13

Millers Millwrights Inspectors n.e.c.

### Occupation 14

Airplane mechanics
Office machine mechanics

Machinists Plumbers Electricians Blacksmiths Cranemen

Excavating machine operators

Metal rollers Sheet metal workers Boilermakers

Printers Structural metal workers

Heat treaters Metal molders Stonemasons Cement finishers

Forgemen and hammermen
Telephone servicemen
Locomotive firemen
Metal job setters
Production controllers\*
Bulldozer operators\*
Earth drillers\*
Dry wall installers\*

Grinding machine operators\*

### Occupation 15

Railroad brakemen Boatmen and canalmen Bus conductors Streetcar motormen Railroad switchmen Asbestos workers Powdermen Metal heaters Power station operators

Furnacemen
Factory motormen
Welders
Metal grinders
Greasers
Stationary firemen
Shipfitters\*
Lathe operators\*
Mixing operators\*
Fork lift operators\*

Occupation 16

Firemen Marshals Policemen Sheriffs

Longshoremen and stevedores

Warehousemen

Occupation 17

Appliance mechanics Radio and TV mechanics Misc. mechanics Auto mechanics Railroad mechanics

Glaziers
Opticians
Plasterers
Cabinetmakers
Carpenters
Misc. craftsmen
Roofers and slaters

Loom fixers Bakers

Lumber inspectors Meter readers\*

Farm implement mechanics\* Heavy equipment mechanics\* Carpet installers\*

Stamping press operators\*
Metal platers\*

Precision machine operations\*

Occupation 18

Therapists Medical dental technicians

Foresters Surveyors Misc. technicians Artists, art teachers Editors, reporters Clergymen Social workers

Occupation 19

Farmers (owner and tenant) Farm managers Store floor managers Building managers Researchers, n.e.c.\*

Occupation 20

Librarians

Elementary teachers

Curators\*

Occupation 21

Apprentice electricians Apprentice machinists

\*1970 only.

Apprentice plumbers

Painters
Sawyers
Cab drivers
Miners
Misc. operatives
Assemblers

Manufacturing inspectors

Dyers

Textile knitters Riveters\*

Cutting operations\* Furniture finishers\* Winding operators\*

Occupation 22

Furriers
Jewellers
Stonecutters
Upholsterers
Tailors
Shoemakers
Bookbinders
Decorators
Painters
Paper hangers
Movie projectionists
Canning operators\*
Sign painters\*

Occupation 23

Barbers
Bartenders
Farm foremen
Garbage collectors\*
Freight handlers\*

Occupation 24

Apprentice printers
Auto apprentices
Apprentice masons
Apprentice carpenters
Apprentice mechanics
Apprentice builders
Apprentice metal workers
Other apprentices

Meat cutters
Photographic processing workers

Bus drivers
Sailors
Truck drivers
Deliverymen
Parking attendants
Surveying assistants
Manufacturing graders
Laundry operators
Packers n.e.c.

Vegetable packers

Auto installers\*

Dental laboratory technicians\*

Apprentice pressmen\* Clothing pressers\* Drill press operators\*

Transport equipment operators\*

Occupation 25

Bill collectors
Bank tellers
Bookkeepers
Payroll clerks
Shipping clerks
Storekeepers
Secretaries
Stenographers

Officemachine operators

Billing clerks\*

Social welfare assistants\* Proofreaders\* Statistical clerks\*

Weighers\*

Occupation 26
Textile spinners
Textile weavers

Solderers\*
Carding operators\*
Textile operators n.e.c.\*

Occupation 27

Cashiers
File clerks
Office boys
Misc. clerks
Library assistants
Doctor's attendants
Receptionists
Typists
Telephone operators

Demonstrators
Peddlers
Newsboys
Real estate agents
Misc. sales clerks
Retail sales clerks\*
Retail salesmen\*
Misc. sales workers\*
Counter clerks\*

Counter clerks\* Teacher aides\*

Occupation 28

Actors

Dancers, dance teachers Musicians, music teachers Group workers

Athletes

Misc. entertainers Religious workers Radio, TV announcers\*

Interviewers\*

Occupation 29

Dietitians Nurses

Student nurses

Restaurant, bar managers\*

Occupation 30

Armed forces

Occupation 31

Dressmakers Milliners

Manufacturing sewers

Shoe machine operators\*

Occupation 32

Household baby sitters

Housekeepers Household laundresses Other household workers

Personal service workers Recreation attendants Recreation ushers

Waiters Cooks Hairdressers Watchmen

Maids Bootblacks Charwomen Fountain workers Kitchen workers

Misc. service workers Hospital attendants Midwives
Practical nurses
Elevator operators
Janitors and sextons

Janitors and sextons Porters Farm laborers

Carpenters' helpers Garage laborers Gardeners Lumbermen Teamsters

Truck drivers' helpers

Fishermen
Laborers n.e.c.
Animal caretakers\*
Construction workers\*
Dental assistants\*
Childcare workers\*

Personal service apprentices\*

School monitors\*

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<sup>\*1970</sup> only.

		1960			1970	
-	Females as Percent of Occupation	Males as Percent of Occupation	Male/Female Ratio of Mean Earnings	Females as Percent of Occupation	Males as Percent of Occupation	Male/Female Ratio of Mean Earnings
1 Medical doctors	0.073	0.927	2.203	0.148	0.852	1.623
2 Air pilots	0.0	1.000	0.0	0.012	0.987	2.049
3 Deans, Lawyers, Judges	0.052	0.948	0.864	0.065	0.935	2.498
4 Professors, Engineers	0.053	0.947	1.600	0.116	0.884	1.780
5 Brokers, Advertising men	0.107	0.893	1.848	0.163	0.837	2.077
6 Government officials	0.160	0.840	2.249	0,167	0.833	2.136
7 Architects	0.198	0.802	1.733	0.107	0.893	2.074
8 Railway conductors	0.012	0.988	1.024	0.014	0.986	1.400
9 Engravers, Toolmakers	0.034	0.966	1.781	0.059	0.941	1.590
10 Writers, Accountants	0.167	0.833	1.704	0.270	0.730	1.913
11 Agents, Telegraphers	0.112	0.888	1.922	0.229	0.771	1.945
12 High school teachers	0.280	0.719	1.456	0.435	0.565	1.620
13 Millers	0.045	0.955	2.932	0.041	0.959	2.452
14 Plumbers, Skilled labor	0.010	0.990	1.750	0.046	0.954	1.784
15 Motormen, Welders	0.035	0.965	2.219	0.071	0.929	1.934
16 Police, Firemen	0.031	0.969	1.419	0.027	0.973	1.279
17 Mechanics, Craftsmen	0.016	0.984	1.588	0.053	0.947	2.022
18 Technicians	0.351	0.649	1.575	0.452	0.547	1.680
19 Farmers	0.044	0.956	2.040	0.197	0.803	2.285
20 Elementary teachers	0.826	0.174	1.325	0.843	0.157	1.511
21 Apprentices, Operatives	0.269	0.731	1.885	0.388	0.612	1.897
22 Tailors, Painters	0.117	0.882	1.833	0.225	0.775	2.043
23 Barbers, Bartenders	0.052	0.948	3.009	0.132	0.868	1.598
24 Apprentices, Drivers	0.214	0.786	2.127	0.243	0.757	2.365
25 Clerks, Secretaries	0.766	0.234	1.339	0.789	0.211	1.600
26 Textile workers	0.577	0.423	1.431	0.562	0.438	1.390
27 Typists, Cashiers, Newsboys	0.616	0.384	2.533	0.749	0.251	2.220
28 Entertainers	0.494	0.506	2.158	0.501	0.499	2.549
29 Nurses	0.977	0.023	1.063	0.876	0.124	1.642
30 Armed forces	0.023	0.977	1.451	0.021	0.979	0.857
31 Milliners	0.942	0.058	1.521	0.912	0.088	1.473
32 Personal services	0.451	0.549	2.090	0.477	0.523	1.702
33 All	0.365	0.635	2.273	0.412	0.588	2.139

APPENDIX 3
STATISTICS FOR RACE BY OCCUPATION

		1960			1970	
	Blacks & Spanish as Percent of Occupation	Whites as Percent of Occupation	White/Black Ratio of Mean Earnings	Blacks & Spanish as Percent of Occupation	Whites as Percent of Occupation	White/Black Ratio of Mean Earnings
1 Medical doctors	0.032	0.968	1.625	0.115	0.885	1.206
2 Air pilots	0.0	1.000	0.0	0.0	1.000	0.0
3 Deans, Lawyers, Judges	0.027	0.973	1.333	0.020	0.979	2.011
4 Professors, Engineers	0.019	0.981	1.405	0.050	0.950	1.431
5 Brokers, Advertising men	0.0	1.000	0.0	0.023	0.977	3,909
6 Government officials	0.005	0.995	1.423	0.049	0.951	1,451
7 Architects	0.024	0.976	2.322	0.017	0.983	1.460
8 Railway conductors	0.012	0.988	1.024	0.021	0.979	1.144
9 Engravers, Toolmakers	0.038	0.962	1.560	0.073	0.927	1.147
10 Writers, Accountants	0.023	0.977	1.137	0.049	0.951	1.298
11 Agents, Telegraphers	0.063	0.937	1,307	0.116	0.884	1.384
12 High school teachers	0.035	0.965	1.537	0.068	0.932	1.301
13 Millers	0.043	0.957	1,125	0.046	0.954	1.696
14 Plumbers, Skilled labor	0.066	0.934	1.329	0.099	0.901	1.323
15 Motormen, Welders	0.092	0.908	1.261	0.157	0.843	1.162
16 Police, Firemen	0.119	0.881	1.206	0.106	0.894	1.179
17 Mechanics, Craftsmen	0.061	0.939	1,307	0.115	0.885	1.196
18 Technicians	0.064	0.936	1.232	0.077	0.923	1.381
19 Farmers	0.132	0.868	3,279	0.040	0.960	1.987
20 Elementary teachers	0.086	0.914	1.017	0.094	0.906	0.888
21 Apprentices, Operatives	0.098	0.902	1.496	0.194	0.806	1.134
22 Tailors, Painters	0.107	0.893	1.447	0.158	0.842	1.372
23 Barbers, Bartenders	0.088	0.911	1.268	0.209	0.791	1.051
24 Apprentices, Drivers	0.168	0.832	1.623	0.173	0.827	1.227
25 Clerks, Secretaries	0.038	0.962	1.017	0.064	0.936	0.930
26 Textile workers	0.006	0.994	0.863	0.125	0.875	1.253
27 Typists, Cashiers, Newsboys	0.047	0.953	1.623	0.098	0.902	1.071
28 Entertainers	0.060	0.940	0.956	0.090	0.910	0.957
29 Nurses	0.087	0.912	0.987	0.096	0.904	1.028
30 Armed forces	0.108	0.892	1.690	0.131	0.869	1.020
31 Milliners	0.082	0.918	1.127	0.165	0.835	0.964
32 Personal services	0.310	0.690	1.166	0.103	0.756	0.970
33 All	0.120	0.879	1.746	0.151	0.730	1.406