MINORITIES, GENDER, MANAGERIAL JOBS, AND INCOME, 1960-1990

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Dissertation Prepared for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

August, 2001

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McDanel, Rodney A., Minorities, gender, managerial jobs, and income, 1960-1990. Doctor of Philosophy (Sociology), August, 2001, 195 pp., 27 tables, 2 figures, 48 titles.

Changes in income and representation in managerial occupations is explored separately for women and men among the United States' eight largest race/ethnic minority groups for each decennial census of 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990 to determine how much change has occurred between 1960 and 1990 in race and ethnic inequality, and in gender inequality within each race/ethnic group. Insights from gender theory are applied to minority group inequality and insights from minority group theory are applied to gender inequality with some degree of success. Economic change is uneven among the groups, with the largest specific change being the movement of women into managerial jobs. A clear pattern also emerged indicating that the higher the average representation of a minority group in managerial jobs, the greater the gap between women and men. The income of all persons with income, however, did not exhibit such a clear pattern across the different groups.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and thank all those whose hard work and patience made this possible, especially my major professor Dr. Elizabeth Esterchild. There are many others without whose support and encouragement I could not have completed this task. Fortunately, there are too many to list. My thanks to you all.

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CHAPTER I

MINORITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

This dissertation explores changes in income and representation in managerial occupations separately for women and men among the United States' eight largest race/ethnic minority groups for each decennial census of 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990. The research is designed to determine how much change has occurred between 1960 and 1990 in race and ethnic inequality, and in gender inequality within each race/ethnic group. One of the goals of this research is to apply insights from gender theory to minority group inequality and insights from minority group theory to gender inequality. None are expected to fit exactly but some points or principles about what causes inequality from each should apply well to the other. One difficulty is that gender stratification explains variations across whole societies; their concepts may or may not apply in quite the same way to specific race/ethnic groups in a society. The goal of this dissertation is not to completely reduce one set of principles to the other, but rather to make theoretical connections where they are useful and appropriate, while recognizing the limitations.

Race/ethnic and gender inequality in income and access to high paying jobs are important issues that have typically been studied separately in sociology. This research explores these issues simultaneously by comparing women and men within each group as well as comparing women across the different race/ethnic minority groups and comparing men across the different groups. Wherever possible and appropriate, insights from theories of gender stratification will be applied to issues of minority group inequality and insights from theories of minority group inequality will be applied to gender

stratification. The research systematically portrays change in these matters as they relate to change in a number of variables. For example, changes in the U.S. economic structure have made more managerial occupations available. Characteristics of race/ethnic groups have changed in terms of overall size, educational attainment and a number of other factors. The process by which race/ethnic groups acquire employment either in terms of gaining credentials or being able to make their credentials pay off in the employment market may have changed. The question to be explored is whether or not there is a relationship between changes in these kinds of structural variables and change in race/ethnic and gender inequality.

Data are drawn from the U. S. Census report on the population's general social and economic characteristics for each census period. The exact title of each report differs from decade to decade. The 1960 title was 1960 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics. In 1970, it was titled 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics. In 1980, the title became 1980 Census of Population, Vol.1, Characteristics of the Population. Chapter C, General Social and Economic Characteristics. Part 1, United States Summary. In 1990, it was simplified to1990 Census of Population. Social and Economic Characteristics. United States.

The occupation examined in this project is confined to managerial occupations because they are jobs with high pay, prestige and authority. In addition, these jobs advance the interests and advantage of minority groups rather than just individuals. Managerial jobs provide the potential of having the power to make decisions affecting others—including the ability to advance group interests. Research indicates that both women and minorities have traditionally been underrepresented in management

occupations and, even when they gain managerial jobs, they have been largely confined to ones with limited power and authority (Hill 1980; Reskin and Ross 1992).

An index of income termed income rate is used to explore inequality in that area. Income rate is computed by dividing the median income of women (or men) from each race/ethnic group by the median income of all men with income, and multiplying by 100 to remove the decimal point. This was done to make the measure comparable across different groups, between women and men, and, to a reasonable extent, across different decades. This represents what could be termed a "bottom line" measure of financial well being and the majority of income reported to the Census Bureau comes from working.

Minority Groups Included in the Analysis

Minority groups in the United States differ enormously in population size, circumstances of entering the country, and their current social, political, and economic situation. The main purpose of this dissertation is to discover how these differences connect to the degree of gender inequality with minority groups.

Minority groups can be grouped into one of three broad categories: native, immigrant, and refugee. Immigrant groups are those who entered the United States voluntarily. Recent immigrant groups often arrived as family units bringing with them high levels of both human and economic capital, especially the former. Long established immigrant groups may have arrived with little in the way of resources, but over several generations established viable and prosperous communities that served as magnets and way stations for new arrivals (Chung 2000). As a result, immigrant groups, while small in numbers, have higher incomes and greater representation in management than either native born or refugee groups (Shinagawa 2000; Woo 2000). In this study, Chinese,

Filipino, Japanese, and Cubans are immigrant groups. African Americans, Native Americans, Mexican Americas, and Puerto Ricans are defined as native-born. Puerto Ricans who migrate to the mainland from the island of Puerto Rico are citizens by birth. Mexican Americans are a mixture of multi-generational native-born citizens and naturalized citizens who emigrated from Mexico. None of the groups can be considered as refugees, with the exception of about 125,000 Cubans reportedly released from Cuban prisons by Fidel Castro in the early 1980s and who made their way to Florida (Aguirre and Turner 1998).

African Americans

The first records of African American in the United States were as slaves arriving aboard a Dutch ship at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619. The ship's captain traded them for food for his crew (Robinson 1971). From that point until emancipation in 1862, people of African descent were, with rare exceptions, slaves. For roughly 250 years slavery had been legitimized through religious dogma, custom, tradition, statute and case law. As a result, the practices, beliefs, and ideologies underpinning slavery became a part of the American social structure. The end of the Civil War brought an end to humans as chattel, but Black Americans were still bound as securely by institutionalized patterns of racist ideology as they had ever been by chains. Freedom meant little in terms of job opportunities or educational access. Work of any kind was hard to find. The Freedmen's Bureau established a sharecropper program in the South that all but re-established slavery in that contractual agreements between landowners and tenants bound African Americans to the land in ways that made ever clearing themselves of debt impossible (Franklin 1997). Moving from the war ravaged South to the industrialized North helped very little.

African Americans quickly learned that Northerners may have rejected the political notion of slavery, but they still clung to the ideas on which the institution had rested. Grim patterns of exclusion from decent jobs, schools, and housing contributed to persistent poverty. Manufacturing did provide a source of jobs for some Black men, but not until well into the middle of the 20th century were they allowed to join and benefit from union representation. For most Black men, jobs meant laborer, service worker, cleaners, and helpers. Women fared somewhat better in terms of job opportunities, if not in wages. Domestic work was readily available but the demands and hours were brutal and took a heavy toll in terms of health and family stability (Franklin 1997).

Relationships between slave women and men had been one of equal powerlessness, but following emancipation the same patterns of male dominated households that existed in White society began to emerge in Black families. Following standard ideology, men were designated as household heads and sole representatives for the family. When wage scales were set, Black women were paid significantly less than Black men yet were expected to work much has they had before emancipation. The 13th amendment granted citizenship to freed slaves and along with it the right for men to vote, hold political office, and serve on juries. None of these rights extended to women of any color (Franklin 1997 pp. 31-33).

A group's history has a great impact on the characteristics they develop and these characteristics may impact the kinds of work they do, and the level of income they receive (Aguirre and Turner 1998). African Americans are predominantly native born and their populations are dispersed throughout the United States. They have made considerable advances in educational attainment since 1960 and now have nearly the

same rate of high school graduation as do Whites, but still lag behind in college education. African American women do tend to be somewhat better educated in terms of college and graduate degrees than African American men and have been able to translate that advantage to somewhat better jobs than the domestic type work to which they had long been limited (Franklin 1997; Aguirre and Turner 1998). Overall, African Americans have increased their numbers in non-manual occupations but still remain well below Whites. They are also overrepresented in low-level jobs that have limited advancement and pay. When African Americans do become managers, they are frequently placed in positions where their authority and supervisory responsibilities are limited to mostly minorities and minority issues (Collins 1989; Collins 1997; Franklin 1997; Aguirre and Turner 1998).

Previous research indicates that women's labor force participation and educational levels affects marital status and fertility (Almquist 1996; Franklin 1997). African American women's entry into the workforce in management and professional levels carries with it a lower likelihood that they will marry and a lower likelihood that they will have children. The other side of this coin is that younger, less well educated African American women are more likely to have children and are more likely to do so outside of marriage (Franklin 1997).

Hispanic

Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans make up about eighty-five percent of all Hispanic Americans (Aguirre and Turner 1998; Marger 2000). The first of these group to be examined are Mexican Americans, who are the second largest minority

groups in the U.S. They are for the most part concentrated in five Southwestern states with about eighty percent living in California and Texas alone (Marger 2000).

Mexican Americans

Spanish explorers and missionaries exerted European influence over what is now the Southwestern United States for about 200 years. That is only a little less than the time that the same area has been a part of the United States. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the American war in Texas with Mexico and granted citizenship to all males, permitted the use of Spanish as a recognized language, and guaranteed the right to own and control property. By 1853, the rest of Mexican owned territory between Texas and the Pacific had been acquired by the United States. The Mexican people living in the acquired territories were granted the same rights as those in Texas (Aguirre and Turner 1998). In spite of the legalities, White Americans soon established dominance over the courts and legal system and turned this dominance to advantage White American interests over Mexican American interests. New immigrants from Mexico who were generally poor and illiterate in both English and Spanish soon became the chief source of cheap and exploitable labor. Since descendents of the original Mexican landowners granted rights by treaty were virtually indistinguishable from new immigrants, White settlers tended to lump them altogether in the same category as a subordinated group (Aguirre and Turner 1998, p. 144).

The combination of the needs of the labor intensive economic structure on the American side of the border and political unrest in Mexico generated an almost continuous wave of immigration during the last part of the 19th century and into the 20th century. The ready supply of workers allowed employers to concentrate Mexican

immigrants and Mexican American workers in low paying laboring jobs and pitted one group against the other in order to keep those wages low (Aguirre and Turner 1998).

The Great Depression signaled a change in the all but unrestricted immigration policy between the United States and Mexico. Mexicans and Mexican Americans became unwanted competitors for scarce jobs. The result was not just the imposition of stricter immigration laws, but the forced repatriation back to Mexico of both Mexicans and Mexican Americans (Aguirre and Turner 1998).

World War II ended repatriation and brought back legal immigration, only this time in the form of temporary labor visas for seasonal workers known as braceros. To combat illegal immigration, the U.S. Border Patrol was given authority to stop and search any "Mexican-looking" person in order to verify their legal status (Aguirre and Turner 1998, p. 147). This meant that native-born Mexican Americas whose families had lived in the United States for over 150 years had to prove themselves to the authorities on demand or face arrest and deportation.

The majority of those who emigrated from Mexico did so as family units. Mexican and Mexican American women found work primarily as domestic workers and agricultural workers until the 1960s. Women's pay was very low, and in the case of agricultural work, often was not paid at all. Landowners would hire men with the understanding that his wife and children would be working alongside him in the fields. By the 1960s, women had begun to move away from employment as household domestics into non-domestic service, clerical, and manufacturing jobs. Mexican American and Mexican women in fact became the backbone of the Texas garment

industry although their pay was generally well below that of the few White women also employed in the plants (Amott and Matthaei 1991; Stone and McKee 1999).

As with African Americans, the history of Mexican Americans in the United States has an enormous impact on group characteristics. The rate of Mexican Americans who are foreign-born is actually fairly moderate but as mentioned above, White Americans have a long history of failing to distinguish between those who are native and those who are foreign-born, applying discriminatory attitudes and behaviors to both. Furthermore, Mexican Americans are predominantly concentrated in the Southwestern United States (Marger 2000). This high concentration tends to exacerbate the level and degree of discrimination. Poor English language skills also contribute to discrimination. In some cases this results from living in concentrated urban areas or in small rural towns where there is little need to speak any language other than Spanish or the local variant.

Overall, Mexican Americans of both sexes tend to have very low levels of education. Much of the areas in which they live are very poor and have few resources to develop schools and educational programs. High poverty levels force early entry into whatever work is available. This is especially so for men who have high rates of labor force participation, but less so for women who have low labor force participation rates.

Puerto Ricans

Puerto Ricans have a much different history than Mexican Americans. The island of Puerto Rico was annexed by the United States following the Spanish American War and the residents became American citizens in 1898. In 1917, all Puerto Ricans were given free and unlimited access to the mainland (Aguirre and Turner 1998). Following

the Second World War, Puerto Ricans migrated from the island to the United States in large numbers to concentrate primarily in the Northeast and especially in New York City.

Their direct contact as first a territory and then a commonwealth of the United States tied Puerto Ricans to the mainland, but did not overcome the disadvantage associated with distinctive minority characteristics that included weak English language skills, distinctive accent and sub-cultural behavioral patterns. Many Puerto Ricans are also dark-skinned enough to be perceived as "Black" by Whites a factor that increases the likelihood of discrimination against them (Aguirre and Turner 1998). Puerto Ricans tend to have fairly high rates of public school education, possibly due to greater concentration in urban areas with more readily available schools, but still rank very low in levels of college education.

Today, Puerto Ricans are underrepresented in managerial and non-manual jobs and over represented in clerical, service and industrial work in the United States. Persistently high levels of unemployment result in very low levels of labor force participation by both sexes. Employers are often reluctant to hire Puerto Ricans because of what are perceived to be unstable work habits resulting from a high rate of movement back and forth from the mainland to Puerto Rico. The decline of manufacturing industry in the northeastern United States where most mainland Puerto Ricans are concentrated is also a factor.

Cuban Americans

Of the Hispanic groups, Cubans are the smallest and most recent immigrants. There were fewer than 50,000 Cubans living in the United States in 1960—too few to include detailed data for them in that year's census. The original Cuban immigrants were

viewed by the United States government as political refugees from communism and were granted large amounts of federal resettlement assistance. Included in this assistance were job training and help in finding work, loans and grants for home and business purchases, and special educational programs (Aguirre and Turner 1998, p. 160). Most were also members of Cuba's middle and upper class who had been able to bring out a good bit of capital as they fled. The combination of capital resources, government assistance, support of the community in which they settled, a nearly all White racial make up, and the establishment of a close knit enclave created a highly successful minority community.

The race/ethnic and social class composition of Cuban immigrants has changed over the years. In 1980, a large number of refugees began to arrive. Fidel Castro reportedly opened the doors to "Cuban prisons and mental hospitals, and declared that 'all' who wished to leave Cuba could do so" (Aguirre and Turner 1998, p. 161). Whether or not this is accurate is a matter of debate. What is not debatable is that since that time there has been a fairly steady stream of Cuban refugees who do not bring with them capital or human resources, who are not considered by the U.S. government to be desirable immigrants, and who do not benefit from massive government assistance. They made their way to the United States in small boats, rafts, or just about anything that could or would float. The term Marielito, to reflect their arrival in this "Marielitto Boat Lift" was given to them. These refugees have for the most part been absorbed into the South Florida Cuban enclave, but have created a reduction in the overall well being of Cuban Americans in terms of education, poverty rates, access to health care, employment, and housing (Marger 2000).

Cubans still have high levels of both high school and college education completion rates compared to other Hispanic groups. Similarly, they are highly involved in managerial and professional occupations and have relatively few manual workers. Most of the increase in low paid Cuban manual workers seems to have occurred since the arrival of the Marielitos. Cuban American women and men are both well represented in the labor force, and while women tend to have relatively high marriage rates and a relatively low fertility, they also have a high divorce rate.

Native Americans

Native Americans are the fourth largest American minority group. Even so, they still comprise less than one percent of the total population (Marger 2000). As with the term Hispanic and Asian American, the term Native American is a broad rubric that encompasses a number of distinct groups. There are over 300 distinct tribal groups recognized by the federal government and nearly another 100 seeking recognition. This large number of tribal groups makes it impossible to isolate a few major groups for analysis (Marger 2000).

Contrary to the traditional myth that the earliest White settlers were saved from starvation by the native people and thereafter formed a working partnership based on mutual respect, Whites considered Indians to be heathen savages in need of conquest and salvation. After independence, the United States' policies toward the native peoples were marked by systematic removal. Early 19th century policies focused on the displacement of Eastern tribes to the west. When the western lands became valuable, policies shifted to establishing reservations and concentrating the tribes on them. Resistance by Native Americans brought war and attempts at genocide. Genocide failed, but warfare

successfully conquered the Indians and made it impossible for them to resist moving to reservations and the policies geared to forced assimilation. Forced assimilation did not succeed either, but it effectively destroyed much of Native American culture and established patterns of disadvantage and discrimination that persist today (Amott and Matthaei 1991; Aguirre and Turner 1998; Marger 2000).

Until 1956, government policy encouraged Native people to remain on reservations. The Relocation Act of 1956 established job training centers and financial incentives designed to draw Indians off the reservations and into urban areas with the hopes of assimilating them into the mainstream American workplace. In an effort to ensure assimilation, the Act contained a proviso that in order to qualify, participants must agree in writing to never again return to the reservation. Agreement meant being cut off from their cultural heritage (Aguirre and Turner 1998). The Act also meant that federal funding supporting reservations nearly dried up. Indians found that unless they were willing to sign away their heritage they could not receive federal assistance for relocation and retraining, and that reservation life was becoming all but impossible. Many chose to migrate, but declined to agree to the stipulations of the Relocation Act that would forbid them to even periodically return to the reservations. This meant that they would not be eligible for any of the program benefits. Job opportunities for poorly educated, unskilled workers are few to begin with and long entrenched prejudices made matters even more desperate. Those who remained behind found even fewer and rapidly shrinking opportunities (Aguirre and Turner 1998). As might be expected, Native American labor force participation rates are quite low for both sexes.

Native Americans are among the least educated minority groups both in terms of secondary and college education; they have the dubious distinction of having the highest school dropout rate of any ethnic group (Amott and Matthaei 1991; Aguirre and Turner 1998; Marger 2000). Native Americans are concentrated in the lowest levels of both non-manual and manual work. Native American women are especially concentrated in clerical and sales work.

Asian Americans

As with Native Americans and Hispanics, there are a number of distinct groups commonly lumped together under the rubric "Asian American." The three included in this dissertation are Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino.

Chinese Americans

Chinese Americans were among the first Asian immigrates to arrive in large numbers during the 19th century. They were mainly drawn first to the California gold fields, and then were recruited to work on the Pacific end of the Union Pacific railroad after the gold rush. While they had been a welcome source of cheap labor, once the railroad was completed Chinese workers became far less welcome. By the latter part of the 19th century, the Chinese came to be seen as undesirable and threatening. Waves of anti-Chinese sentiments resulted in a number of exclusionary acts that remained in force until well into the 20th century (Fong 2000).

The early immigrants were predominantly single men. The Burlingame Treaty of 1868 authorized nearly unrestricted immigration of Chinese men to satisfy the need for cheap labor but did not include women. Chinese men were legally prohibited from marrying or even associating with White women. Seeing an opportunity, Chinese

criminal organizations known as Tongs established a highly lucrative but illegal trade in Chinese prostitutes. Young women would be purchased or kidnapped in China, then brought to the United States to serve as prostitutes. For a long time this was the primary avenue of entry into the United States for Chinese women. It was not until after the Second World War when women made up nearly nine out of ten Chinese immigrants that the gender ratio became more equal (Amott and Matthaei 1991; Fong 2000). It us unlikely that the Chinese community could have remained viable without children who were born to prostitutes and a small number of Chinese women who did manage to immigrate.

Since 1965, when anti-Asian immigration restrictions were relaxed, the majority of Chinese immigrants have come from the upper class levels of Taiwan and Hong Kong. Many were specifically recruited because their credentials met the needs of the American work force (Woo 2000). Chinese American women and men are highly educated and highly represented in both managerial and professional occupations and both sexes exhibit high rates of labor force participation. Chinese Americans live mainly in large urban areas on both coasts, where incomes are higher than much of the rest of the country (Woo 2000).

Japanese Americans

Japanese Americans followed closely on the heels of the Chinese to the U.S. in the 19th century. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibited Chinese immigration, but facilitated Japanese immigration. A significant difference between the Japanese and the Chinese lay in the availability of marriage partners. The early Japanese worker immigrants were also primarily single men, but the 1908 Gentlemen's Agreement lifted

the restriction against the immigration of Japanese women. Many of the women who came following the 1908 agreement were picture brides. Families in Japan would provide photographs for Japanese men living in the United States to use in selecting a wife. The result was that the gender imbalance for Japanese Americans was eased much sooner than it was for the Chinese. Even so, the Japanese soon found themselves facing the same problems and exclusionary practices as the Chinese, and for the same reasons (Fong 2000; Marger 2000).

As they were systematically excluded from jobs desired by Whites, many Japanese turned to agriculture. In Southern California, Japanese Americans were instrumental in developing the truck farming industry (growing and selling produce directly from farms to consumers), introducing flowers as an agricultural crop, and the beginnings of the commercial farm raising of fish. World War II brought catastrophe when over 100,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans were declared military threats, rounded up, and placed in concentration camps. The result was economic devastation. Not only had they lost their homes, business, and whatever money they had managed to save before the war, they found it difficult to find work in face of the fear, anger, and resentment lingering with the memory of Pearl Harbor (Aguirre and Turner 1998; Fong 2000; Marger 2000; Woo 2000).

Unlike Chinese and other Asian groups, there is now little Japanese immigration (Marger 2000). This may well be because Japan's strong economy and relatively stable society does not provide the incentives for migration that existed in the 19th and early 20th century.

Filipino Americans

The Philippines, along with Puerto Rico, became an American possession following the 1898 Spanish American War. As a result, Filipinos were granted the status of American nationals and were allowed free access to the United States even during the most restrictive period of Asian exclusion. This came to an end when the Philippines were given independence and immigration restrictions were imposed just before WWII. However, both Spanish and American influence served to set Filipinos apart from other Asians. The majority of the population are English speaking Catholics with Spanish surnames. This serves to link them more closely with the United States than with other Asian countries (Aguirre and Turner 1998; Marger 2000).

In the early part of the century, Filipino Americans were mainly domestic servants, agricultural laborers, and service workers. They were also primarily men. Filipino women were not necessarily specifically excluded, but the American preference was for male workers. In addition, Filipino marriage customs emphasized close ties between wives and her family resulting in many refusing to immigrate along with their husbands to the United States (Amott and Matthaei 1991). During and following WWII large numbers of Filipino women began to immigrate. Some were war brides of Filipino veterans who had become naturalized citizens and others were highly trained professionals who could not find work in the Philippines because of the poor economy plaguing the country following the war. A great many of these professional women were nurses, but others were physicians, technologists and the like (Amott and Matthaei 1991).

Both Filipino women and men are highly educated, but in this case women more so than men. In terms of work, Filipinos tend to be clustered in professional and clerical

jobs and both sexes are highly represented in the labor force. Filipino women also have a high marriage rate, a low divorce rate, and a moderately low fertility rate.

The Model Minority Myth

Asian Americans are often erroneously referred to as the "model minority" because of what is perceived as their generally high overall economic success rate (Aguirre and Turner 1998; Woo 2000). This view originated in the 1960s in large part as a response to the emerging civil rights movement. Those who resisted the fundamental changes demanded by the movement to reduce social inequality used examples of "minority success stories" to illustrate that hard work and perseverance rather than government action were the key to equality (Woo 2000). Asian immigration to the U.S. had remained very restricted until 1965. Only the Chinese and Japanese, who had immigrated in the 19th and early 20th century before the imposition of restriction on Asian immigration, had relatively large, well-established communities. A few dramatic examples of success over adversity were drawn from these communities and presented to the public as typical experiences. Adding to the mix was the presence of a visible group of Chinese and Japanese professionals in the metropolitan areas where the communities were located. The result was a persistent, misleading image of Asians based on the assumption that all possessed characteristics that were in reality as rare among them as they are in any other group (Woo 2000). It is very important to note that the modern day immigrants are very different from earlier ones in terms of resources, family patterns, and ability to compete in the modern American economy.

The Model Minority myth persists today largely supported by data indicating

incomes that exceed those of any other group, including non-Hispanic Whites. Woo (2000) points out that such data are misleading. Asian American populations have "bimodal" income distributions, meaning that Asians concentrate at either the higher or lower end of the income distribution resulting in mean averages that do not reflect the manner in which income is actually distributed (p. 201). A second factor is that Asian Americans live in large metropolitan areas of high-income states. Median annual income based on this distribution reported nationally for Asians overstates the differences between median income for Asians and median income for other groups, including non-Hispanic Whites. When data are disaggregated to reflect Asian American median income in each metropolitan area compared to median income of other groups in the same metropolitan area, one finds that Asian American median income is less than that of non-Hispanic Whites (pp. 201-202). Another indication is that while Asians are represented in managerial occupation, it is generally in low level management. Very few ever attain high level management positions (Aguirre and Turner 1998; Woo 2000).

Chapter Summary

This dissertation explores how characteristics of the various groups and of women and men within the various groups are connected to outcomes in terms of management jobs and income. Characteristics change over time (as does the influence). For example, Filipino immigrants in the early to middle part of the 20th century were often very well educated but found that they were not employable in any jobs other than the most menial (Amott and Matthaei 1991). As times and other characteristics weighed in, this changed. However at the same time, Filipino women have consistently been better educated than Filipino men in terms of possessing college degrees, but also consistently have incomes

less than those of their less well educated male counterparts. So it is with other characteristics. Individual characteristics alone are not what this dissertation is about, it is how and where these characteristics intersect and how those intersecting points influence job and income access. For women, the intersecting points may be quite different when comparing differences between women and men of the same minority group.

Eight groups are a relatively small number, but are enough so that there is considerable empirical variation in their life circumstances and in their opportunities to achieve prestigious jobs and high incomes and to give good indications of the degree of gender inequality within minority groups. There is enough variation so that it is feasible and appropriate to use rank order correlations to examine the links between various independent variables and the work and income status of these groups. Using this approach allows us to conceptualize sets of characteristics, experiences, and opportunities apart from specific groups. Rather than looking at race/ethnicity or gender as separate concepts, we can look at how variations in common characteristics or experiences are linked to opportunity. Opportunity could refer to job access, income, political representation, or any number of other outcome variables. This and applying theories of gender stratification to minority group inequality (and vice versa) gives greater analytic power and a much wider reach that can be applied to a great number of research areas.

CHAPTER II

THEORY AND RESEARCH ON ISSUES OF INEQUALITY

This chapter examines theoretical and empirical literature pertinent to this research project. Theoretical approaches to social stratification, gender issues, and/or minority group disadvantage have been applied to provide a conceptual framework for understanding inequality in occupational representation and in gender inequality within the separate groups. The following major works have been chosen for review specifically because their approaches most nearly fit the goals of this research:

1. Janet Chafetz's macrostructural explanation of gender inequality
2. Rae Lesser Blumberg's general theory of gender stratification
3. Adalberto Aguirre's and Jonathan Turner's unified theory of minority relations
4. Elizabeth Esterchild's (formerly Almquist) general model of inequality as well as her specific approach to gender inequality

These approaches contain similar ideas. Not only do the various gender and minority group perspectives each present similar propositions, but gender approaches contain some of the same ideas that minority group perspectives contain. One of the goals of this research is to apply insights from gender theory to minority group inequality and insights from minority group theory to gender inequality. None are expected to fit exactly but some points or principles about what causes inequality from each should apply well to the other. One difficulty is that gender stratification explains variations across whole societies; their concepts may or may not apply in quite the same way to specific race/ethnic groups in a society. The goal of this dissertation is not to completely

reduce one set of principles to the other, but rather to make theoretical connections where they are useful and appropriate, while recognizing the limitations.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variable in this dissertation is inequality, measured separately for women and men of eight minority groups and between women and men within groups. The areas in which inequality is explored are in access to managerial jobs and to income. Managerial jobs are used because they are jobs with high pay, prestige and authority and provide the potential of having the power to make decisions affecting others—including the ability to advance group interests. Previous research indicates that both women and minorities have traditionally been underrepresented in management occupations and, even when they gain managerial jobs, they have been largely confined to ones with limited power and authority (Hill 1980; Reskin and Ross 1992). To measure each race/ethnic and sex group's access to management jobs for each census period an Occupational Representation Index (ORI) was developed by Esterchild (writing as Almquist, 1996) to measure access. The ORI is computed by dividing each group's share of managerial occupations by their share of the total labor force, and multiplying by 100 to eliminate the decimal point. An ORI score of 100 indicates representation in management occupations in exact proportion to representation in the total labor force. Scores over 100 indicate overrepresentation, while scores below 100 indicate underrepresentation. The ORI not only provides a measure easily comparable across groups and different census periods, but also between women and men within race/ethnic groups to explore the existing degree of gender inequality. Gender inequality within groups is measured by calculating a Gender Ratio of ORI within each race/ethnic group.

Gender Ratio ORI is the ratio of women's ORI score to men's, again multiplied by 100 to remove the decimal point. A Gender Ratio of 100 indicates that women's managerial job representation is equal to that of men and that there is no gender inequality in ORI for that race/ethnic group. A Gender Ratio over 100 indicates that women are more represented in managerial jobs than men and a Gender Ratio less than 100 indicates that women are underrepresented in managerial jobs compared with men from that race/ethnic group.

It is likely that the proportion of managerial workers has increased a great deal between 1970 and 1990 due to structural changes in the American economic system. The ORI will provide a way of maintaining a meaningful measure in spite of the increases in the total number of managerial jobs.

The next measures of inequality relate to income. In a manner similar to measuring managerial job representation, a proportional scale or Income Rate was constructed. Income rate is computed by dividing the median income of women (or men) from each race/ethnic group by the median income of all men with income, and multiplying by 100 to remove the decimal point. This was done to make the measure comparable across different groups, between women and men, and, to a reasonable extent, across different decades. A Gender Ratio of Income rate was used to explore the degree of gender inequality within minority groups in the same way that it was for ORI. Women's income rate is divided by men's and multiplied by 100 to eliminate the decimal. A Gender Ratio of 100 indicates that women's income is equal to that of men and that there is no gender inequality in income rate for that race/ethnic group. A Gender Ratio of Income Rate over 100 indicates that women's income rate is higher than that of

men and a Gender Ratio less than 100 indicates that women's income is less than that of men from that race/ethnic group.

Independent Variables

The independent variables listed below are those that can be measured and are thought to be the most influential in occupational and income attainment.

1. The percent who are college graduates separately for women and men
2. The population size of each group
3. The percent of each group by sex who are in the labor force separately for women and men
4. The proportion of each group engaged in self-employment or as unpaid family workers
5. The percent of each group employed by a government, local, state, or national, separately for women and men
6. The percent of each group involved in private wage and salary work.
7. The percent of each group employed in manufacturing
8. The percent of each group who are foreign-born

Women's Marital Status and Fertility (Concomitant Variables)

9. The percent of women in each group who are married
10. The percent of women in each group who are divorced

The number of children ever born per 1000 women aged 35 to 44 in each group A detailed statement of how each independent variable is operationalized is provided in Chapter III.

Propositions

Following Esterchild together with other researchers and theorists, it is predicted that the following patterns of correlations among independent and dependent variables can be expected for each decade:

1. The higher the level of educational attainment, the higher the income and ORI, but the lower the gender ratio of each
2. The larger the population of the group, the lower the income and ORI, but the higher the gender ratio of each
3. The higher the level of self-employment, the higher the income and ORI, but the lower the gender ratio of each
4. The higher the level of government employment the lower ORI scores and income rates but the higher the gender ratio of income rate
5. The higher the level of private wage and salary employment, the lower the income and ORI, but the higher the gender ratio of each
6. The higher the level of employment in manufacturing, the lower the income and ORI, but the higher the gender ratio of each
7. The higher the percent of group members who are foreign born, the higher the income and ORI, but the lower the gender ratio of each
8. The higher the percent of women who are married, the higher the income and ORI, but the lower the gender ratio of each
9. The higher the percent of women who are divorced, the lower the income and ORI, but the higher the gender ratio of each

10. The higher women's fertility, the lower the income rate and ORI, but the higher the gender ratio of each

Janet S.Chafetz's Macrostructural Explanation of Gender Inequality

Janet S. Chafetz (1984, 1988) presented a theory of gender stratification pointing out that women's subordination is a variable rather than a constant. At the time she wrote, most prevailing theories assumed either that there was a time when women were not subordinated or that women have always been subordinated. She believed that it was more appropriate to view women's subordination as a variable ranging along a continuum from no subordination to complete subordination (p. 3). This view provides greater explanatory power by including the absence of subordination (if such an era ever existed) as one point along the continuum rather than a fixed condition. The following lists the areas of sex inequality central to her approach (1984, pp 5-6):

1. The degree of access to the material goods available in the society
2. The degree of access to services provided by others
3. The degree of access to education and/or training opportunities
4. The degree of access to public decision-making (formal power and authority)
5. The degree of access to interpersonal—including familial—decision making (informal power and authority)
6. The degree of access to prestige-conferring roles
7. The degree of access to opportunities for psychic enrichment and gratification
8. The degree of access to discretionary time

9. The degree of freedom from behavioral constraints, including physically constraining clothing and norms concerning "proper" behavior
10. The degree of formal rights granted by the society to its members
11. The degree of access to life-sustaining requisites, including food and medical care, and freedom from physical coercion (assault and homicide) including infanticide
12. Degree of ideological/religious support for sex inequality
13. Degree of gender differentation

Chafetz's view is that sex stratification is a structural variable, and that to understand sex stratification, one must understand a society's structural characteristics (p.ix). At the core of her gender stratification theory are the propositions that the extent of gender inequality depends on several variables pertaining to the nature of work organization, the type of family structure, the degree of ideological or religious support for sex inequality, and the degree of gender differentiation. Figure 1 at the end of this chapter outlines the linkages among these clusters of variables. All four of these clusters of variables influence each other as well as have an effect on the degree of sex stratification. In turn, the degree of sex stratification feeds back and impacts each of these four clusters.

Chafetz's key variable is the nature of a society's work organization. The type of economic system is not the issue. The issues are who performs what tasks, where the tasks are performed, and what value is placed on them. Chaftez proposes that work organization centers around the productive process with surplus (or exchange)

production occupying center stage. The value placed on production is in large part a function of the society's level of technological sophistication varying along a continuum from simple subsistence to high industrialization. In simple societies, work that produces use value goods needed for survival done in or near the home is highly valued. In more complex societies, people focus on producing surplus goods to be exchanged for other goods or money; consequently, surplus production becomes more highly valued than use value production. At the same time, work that produces a surplus moves away from the home.

The further from home this work is done, the less likely it will be that workers whose primary tasks center around the home will be available and mobile enough to engage in surplus value production. In contrast, workers not primarily involved in homemaking and care-giving have greater mobility enabling them to pursue surplus value production occupations. As the social value of surplus production increases, the gap between use value production tasks and surplus value production widens so that crossing from the less valued work to higher valued work becomes increasingly difficult. A prediction applicable to specific race/ethnic groups is that the more women are confined to child rearing and domestic tasks, the less will be their access to the more desirable and higher paying jobs involved in surplus production (Almquist 1994).

Closely associated with exchange production's move away from the home are social perceptions about the abilities required to perform various types of labor. Chafetz (1988) expresses this in terms of physical strength requirements, but in highly industrialized society physical strength is as often a function of learned skills as it is of muscle power. Even the strongest human is incapable of lifting or pulling massive inert

objects without mechanical help. Yet the ability to operate heavy equipment is generally equated with muscular strength. The same holds for non-manual tasks requiring stamina (rather than strength), focused concentration, or detailed attention. In brief, referring to someone as being hard working has all but become a metaphor for exchange or surplus producing labor.

The next most important of Chafetz's sets of variables is the type of family structure and how it supports the manner in which work is organized. While tasks associated with housekeeping, care, and nurturing are less socially valued, they are still vital components of the productive process. Workers engaged in surplus production must have a haven where they can rest and prepare for the next day's labor. No family type has completely separate spheres but those that emphasize clearly defined work roles will have few homemaking tasks assigned to breadwinners and those that are assigned will generally be the type that are more closely associated with physical strength or special knowledge (skills in manipulating tools or performing outdoor tasks). They are also likely to be tasks that do not have to be performed on a daily basis and do not interfere with the worker's primary task of surplus value production.

In societies where the primary economic emphasis is on surplus production, the nature of work involvement by family type varies along a continuum. At one end of the continuum are family types with economic needs met by one worker in surplus value production and one or more others engaged in less valued homemaking tasks. Further down the continuum, homemaking workers may be forced to enter the surplus value producing work place if the primary breadwinner is not able to meet family needs. In those family types, a trade-off in terms of homemaking tasks by the primary breadwinner

becomes necessary. The more that homemakers participate in surplus value production, the less homemaker work that will be done by everyone in the household. The less well the primary breadwinner meets family financial needs, the more likely it will be that the homemaker will engage in surplus value production outside of the home. Nonetheless a woman's domestic tasks remain as a hindrance to achieving high-level jobs in two ways: domestic work may interfere with the time and attention she is able to give to paid work and employers may limit her opportunities based on their stereotypical views of women.

Chafetz also proposes that the more centered a society is on surplus value production the more likely it is that family types will be patriarchal, patrilocal, and/or patrilineal, and the more likely they are to have high levels of ideological support for gender differentiation that disadvantages women. Most industrialized societies exhibit these characteristics to some degree. As a result, women are disadvantaged relative to men and women's access to highly valued exchange production work is partially restricted in favor of home centered tasks but little use value production. Esterchild (writing as Almquist, 1994) has very similar ideas but identifies several more diverse activities in her classification of types of work.

The degree of a society's industrialization is also an important variable to Chafetz. In pre-industrial times, the more severe the physical environment was, and the more dangers that had to be faced on a day-to-day basis, the more men had to assume the role of protector and provider. Women were less mobile during pregnancy and more vulnerable to physical danger while caring for children. Over time societies became more complex and technological advanced and with it, a lessening of the importance of

the harshness of the physical environment. Tools and machines reduced the need for brawn and physical prowess as a means of protecting and providing.

As societies industrialized several things happened. Absolute sex inequality declined somewhat, but men retained their protector and provider roles and along with them the ability to control access to resources. Technology increased rapidly as industrial societies developed and men's ability to control who-gets-how-much-of-what meant that men primarily controlled the technologically advanced jobs and the knowledge associated with them. The work organization in industrialized societies that developed retained the pre-industrial model in which women's and men's sex roles dictated a division of labor based on what the society needed to simply survive even though society's needs were focused on producing surplus rather than only survival. This resulted in gender roles that created and supported systems of gender differentiation in the types of work considered appropriate for women and men.

Gender differentiation, the different status and roles associated with being either male or female, in industrialized societies placed women's work primarily in or associated with the home, and men's outside of and as the provider for the home. Furthermore, men became the chief source of power and authority in the family. An ideology, supported by religious doctrines, developed and cemented this family pattern into social structure. Early industrialized societies followed a rather rigid patriarchal family system that severely disadvantaged women. In modern industrialized societies patriarchy decreased somewhat, but gender differentiation remains much the same and is still supported by old religious and ideological ideas and attitudes that value men's abilities over women's. This implies that while women may be gaining access to better

jobs, they may not be gaining access to authority jobs such as management jobs. It also may imply that even when women do enter management they are rarely found in the same high-authority positions as are men.

Chafetz also proposed that women's status must be considered in relation to men who are her social peers, for example, a woman and her husband. There may be considerable differences in the amount of resources available to upper class women compared to working class women, but upper class women should not be compared to working class women. Instead women should be compared to men within the same social class. This research project does not look at wives and husbands, but it does look at women and men from the same race/ethnic group and compares them to each other in access to high pay and prestige jobs and to income.

Implications of Chafetz's Approach for Minority Groups

In industrialized societies, racial differentiation is similar to gender differentiation, especially in terms of attaining highly valued occupations. Both women and minority group members are ascribed statuses with sets of assumed characteristics, abilities, and behaviors. While the characteristics and behaviors differ in content, they share the common denominators of subordination to and dependency on the continued good will of a dominant group who, after all, are the ones doing the ascription.

Chafetz considers the way a society organizes work to be central to understanding gender inequality. This aspect applies well to either gender or minority group inequality in terms of entry into and opportunities within the occupational structure, especially entry into authority positions. Both women and minority groups experience inequality so long as their ability to participate in the labor force is limited by structural restraints.

Restraints may take the form of how much they are allowed to participate, or by the type of work they are permitted to do.

Rae Lesser Blumberg's General Theory of Gender Stratification

Rae Lesser Blumberg (1984, 1991) proposes that the key stratification variable is control over economic resources, and that the degree of control determines the relative distribution of power. Power flows from control over resources. Employment in highly valued exchange production or even ownership of the means of production does not translate into economic power unless the occupation or ownership carries with it some means of control or acquisition of control over income, property or the productive process. In other words, owning the train doesn't mean that you get to blow the whistle any more than blowing the whistle means that you own the train. Whoever has the greatest power decides who blows the horn, for how long, where, when, and why. This is precisely why it is important to examine women's and minority group access to management jobs. These jobs are the ones which have more economic power and control over resources.

In Blumberg's view, the critical, defining factor for women's status is the degree of economic control possessed by women compared to men. While women do not totally lack control of economic resources and are never completely powerless, the level and amount of control varies widely. These ideas closely resemble those of Janet Chafetz but Blumberg brings out additional points. Two are aspects of economic control over the means of production and control over the allocation of the surplus that is produced (1984, p. 47). The latter is more effective in producing power than control over subsistence resources. Women can, and often do, exercise considerable control and power over

economic resources at the household level. Yet at the societal level, women in no known cases exercise anything approaching the degree of control over either political or economic resources as men do (1984, p. 42).

Discounting

Blumberg argues that power operates in a system of nested levels. The highest level is the society and the lowest level is the family. In between are the community and the social class. The precise layers are not clearly defined, but the entire social organization is hierarchical, and moving from one level to another is not a simple process (1984 p. 48). Change and variation within any level can occur without necessarily having a major impact on any other level. Gains made at the lower level are subject to significant reduction through a process Blumberg refers to as discounting. This process reduces the amount or value of women's lower level economic gains when they move to a higher level. In short, women are unable to cash in power gains at the household level and receive full credit for them at the community level. It is something like learning that your bank only credits your checking account for a portion of your paycheck because the bank manager thinks you really didn't deserve it all.

As a result of discounting, women do not receive full credit for their economic contributions. The more men dominate a system, the more women will be discounted (1984, p. 49). As long as the system is male dominated, most men (and some women) will devalue women's contributions as being less important than men's. For example, women elected to school boards often acquire enough political power in a community to be elected to other local level political offices such as city council seats. Seldom though,

are women able to apply political success at the local level to win election higher level state offices, and almost never to federal office.

How much or how little women are able to achieve depends on the degree of threat to male dominance that those gains represent. At some levels women's increased economic control represents a considerable threat to the men in charge and the discount can be quite harsh and repressive. This is especially so during times of transition when economic circumstances are changing and women's gains are believed to come at the expense of men (1984 p. 51).

Discounting is not negation. Blumberg proposes that women do not receive full credit for their activities. This does not mean that they do not make any gains, but rather that whatever gains they do make are cashed in at a lower rate than are men's. The more micro level economic control and power women come to exercise, the more influence (if not actual power) they are able to exert in various social spheres. What is frustrating for women is that until and unless they can come to parity with men in control of economic resources and allocation of surplus at all levels, they will never receive full credit for their contributions.

Implications of Discounting for Minority Groups

Blumberg's definition of economic control implies that management jobs should be studied and while possession of income does not guarantee control over it, the amount of income is clearly relevant to the issue of surplus versus subsistence.

It is possible to apply discounting to minority groups in terms of not only their economic contributions but also to their potential for economic contributions. Often attitudes or stereotypes of minority group capabilities serve to cast suspicion on not only

the value of minority group contributions, but also on whether or not they are capable of valuable contributions. The result is that many social doors remain closed (since, ideologically, admitting minorities would be a waste of resources), and the contributions of what few do manage to slip past the lock are discounted in relationship to the dominant group's contributions. One example of the latter would be the tendency in late 20th century America to assume that a minority or minorities who manage to achieve some measure of success did so by virtue of preferential treatment or special consideration resulting from affirmative action rather than on their own merits. As a result, whatever they contribute is suspect as to the degree of its real value. Even credentials tend to be discounted in this manner. Graduate or professional degrees held by minorities are viewed as being less important, gained more easily because of affirmative action, or granted by inferior programs. The end result is that minorities are limited in the extent to which they can translate their earned credentials into high level positions or movement up the stratification ladder.

Blumberg argues that the greater the level of male dominance, the greater will be the discounting of women's contributions (1984, p. 49). The same principle applies to majority/minority relations. The greater the level of majority group dominance, the more minority group contributions or gains will be discounted relative to those of the dominant group. This process can take a variety of forms. Prior to the enactment of legislation prohibiting racial discrimination and the advent of affirmative action programs, it was common practice to either ignore minority contributions or to recognize the contribution but not the source. The successful development of blood transfusion technology by Dr. Charles Richard Drew, a Black physician, is an example. In contrast, White physicians

such as Dr. Christaan Barnard, who performed the first human heart transplant (a procedure that would have been impossible without blood transfusion technology) are well known and recognized. By the same token, minority contributions as a group are generally overlooked or devalued. Contributions of segregated race/ethnic minority group units in World War II were acknowledged by the military in the form of citations and awards, but minority veterans found that their efforts bore virtually no fruit in post-war civilian life. The men returned to a still largely segregated society in which their contributions were unrecognized, unrewarded, and unappreciated.

Stratification System

The prevailing stratification system refers to who controls the means of production and surplus allocation (1984 p. 65). Blumberg argues that the degree of control over both production and surplus allocation held by women will be higher in communal societies, but there are few communal societies beyond the level of simple foraging or simple horticulture. If women do manage to achieve a degree of control more equal to men's in the family or community, in no known cases have they ever been able to translate that control beyond or above the community level (1984 p. 67). As far as Blumberg is concerned, the greater the degree of male dominance over the means of production and allocation of surplus, the less economic control accrues to women. Blumberg also notes that as women's control over economic resources increases, her control in other areas also increases. For example, a woman's ability to control her fertility increases as her economic control increases. As she becomes more economically powerful, she is able to translate that power into other aspects of life that contribute to economic access.

In Blumberg's view, the degree of gender inequality is a function of a great many intertwined social relationships that combine in a stratification system. In general, the more unequal a society is in terms of class stratification, the lower women's status will be relative to men's. Elizabeth Esterchild (1996) presented the view that the higher a minority group's average education, job status, and income, the greater the greater the gap between women and men in these same socioeconomic resources. Her 1990 data for eleven distinct race/ethnic minority groups confirms that proposition. Esterchild's ideas about gender inequality within minority groups are very closely related to Blumberg's ideas concerning social class and gender inequality in the society at large. For both Esterchild and Blumberg the system can be altered to reduce or possibly eliminate inequality, but to be effective, it must be done by altering the distribution of economic power and thereby changing the class system.

Implications of the Stratification System for Minorities

The prevailing stratification system as discussed by Blumberg applies to minority groups in much the same way as it does to women. Dominant groups gain control over the means of production and allocation of surplus production. This control is then translated into economic power, which in turn is used to benefit themselves and disadvantage other, less powerful, groups. The more control the dominant group has over the means of production and surplus allocation, the smaller the share of the economic power held by minority groups. Both Esterchild (1994) and Aguirre and Turner (1998) express very similar ideas.

Conversely, as the degree of economic control by a minority group increases, the degree of control in other areas increases as well. For example, occupational gains made

by African Americans have helped them to make gains in the political area through increased representation in such areas as city councils, school boards, and mayoral seats. Increased political clout generally means greater influence over such things as the allocation of lucrative public projects, increased opportunities for minority businesses, and better schools in minority neighborhoods. All of these contribute to further economic success. As a result of the same type of discounting experienced by women, minorities are rarely able to translate community level gains to significant higher level gains. Group gains by either women or minority groups are mediated by the degree of threat posed to dominant groups—especially during times of economic transition. Neither individual women nor minority group members will ever be able to cash in at full credit their contributions until and unless they are on an economic par with the dominant group. Identifying change in the degree of access to managerial jobs and income over the period of this study and, as a result, the existence or degree of discounting associated with that change is an important goal of this dissertation.

Strategic Indispensability

In Blumberg's view, being involved in the productive process or owning property is necessary to increasing economic power, but it is not sufficient unless three basic factors—strategic indispensability, the kinship system, and the prevailing stratification system—operate in ways that contribute to increase women's economic power (Blumberg 1984, p. 55). Strategic indispensability refers to how important women workers are to the productive process. In making this determination Blumberg proposes several main considerations. These points are not identical to Chafetz's work organization variables but they are quite similar:

1. How valuable to the productive process and easy to replace are women workers?
2. What level of technical expertise or education do women hold?
3. What degree of autonomy, perhaps as either self-employed or as unpaid family workers, do women in the work force enjoy?
4. Do women work together as fairly cohesive groups, or are they fractured and often in competition with each other?
5. To what degree are women workers organized in unions or union type organizations?
6. Are there other groups with contrary and competing interests who can either come into conflict with or assist women's aims?

Several of these elements can be measured either directly or partly and then roughly inferred from the data used in this dissertation. Value to the productive process and ease of replacement can be determined from labor force participation rates. Technical skills can be measured in terms of college education, and autonomy can be inferred from rates of self-employment or as unpaid family workers. Unfortunately, the last two elements cannot be either measured or inferred from the present data.

These factors vary within and across societal lines and, in general, the more strategically indispensable women are or become, the more likely they will be able to acquire control over resources and gain economic power (1984 p. 62). While Blumberg's propositions are all directed toward women's inequality, all six apply equally well to minority groups. Unfortunately, with the possible exception of the level of technical

expertise, none of these components of strategic indispensability can be measured at the aggregate level used in this dissertation.

Adalberto Aguirre's and Jonathan Turner's Approach to Minority Group Inequality

Adalberto Aguirre and JonathanTurner (1998) offer a theory of ethnic relations in which they link the degree of ethnic stratification to four main factors: discrimination, identifiability, group size, and threat. These are depicted in Figure 2. Their approach combines thinking and research from several different perspectives to create a unified theory. Their chief outcome variable is ethnic stratification, but their model also tries to predict circumstances in which conflict between different race and ethnic groups is likely to occur.

Aguirre and Turner define ethnic stratification as the "persistent overrepresentation of an ethnic sub-population in a particular social class position" (p. 35). The actual class position is created by a process that begins with the degree to which a group is identifiable or distinctive in terms of "distinguishing biological, behavioral, organizational, and cultural characteristics" (p. 35). The more identifiable the group, the greater the discrimination. Discrimination includes: "informal, formal, and institutionalized practices denying members of a sub-population access to valued resources" (p. 35). Discrimination decreases a group's share of productive resources. In turn, the more a group is discriminated against, the more identifiable they become. The lack of resource shares results in: (a) ethnic stratification coming about, increasing or being reinforced and (b) the group becoming more identifiable and distinctive (pp. 32-35). It is difficult to develop and apply measures of their concept of identifiabilty and apply them to women or to minority groups, chiefly because both physical and cultural or

social characteristics contribute to identifiability. Still, women can be substituted for minority groups and the same conditions will apply.

The severity of this process depends in part on group size and in part on the group's entrepreneurial and educational resources. The larger the group in comparison to the dominant group, the more of a threat the minority group poses and the more likely the dominant group is to discriminate against them. The more entrepreneurial and educational resources groups possess, the more likely they are to either be a threat to the dominant group or the more they will come into competition with the dominant group (Aguirre and Turner 1998, pp. 38-39).

These ideas are somewhat confusing, possibly even contradictory. In the view of Aguirre and Turner, acquiring educational resources increases the threat to the dominant group and hereby increases the extent of discrimination. Nonetheless, acquiring greater resource shares is necessary to achieve a higher position in the ethnic stratification system. This dissertation avoids the conceptual dilemma by focusing on the latter idea. It explores how income and jobs are outcomes of educational and entrepreneurial resources. These resources are represented by college graduation and self-employment, and positive relationships to income and jobs are predicted. It is also important to understand that acquisition of these resources will often generate hostility, but that alone does not prevent the minority group from managing to achieve better jobs or higher incomes.

The impact of discrimination is reduced by social values emphasizing equality and fairness and increased by negative beliefs, stereotypes, and assumptions about group characteristics or behaviors (p. 39). Woven together, these factors offer a means of

explaining a good deal about ethnic stratification—how it comes about and is perpetuated.

Implications for Gender Inequality

In Aguirre's and Turner's view, increasing numbers of women entering the work place, gaining higher status occupations, and finding places in the political system presents a challenge to men's dominance and become a threat when women start exhibiting behaviors or assuming positions seen as belonging to men. Furthermore, the more women acquire entrepreneurial resources, the less subject they are to men's control and the more able they are to compete with men for scarce and valued resources. Such situations are virtually identical to those of minority groups and may result in greater discrimination and a reduction of resource shares.

Not all of Aguirre's and Turner's approach can be applied to this dissertation, but the parts that do can be useful analytical tools. For one thing, women's access to resources is similar to that of minority groups in education, entrepreneurial involvement, and work settings. The data available do not allow a separate analysis of women's and men's involvement in entrepreneurial areas, but in those that can be analyzed (education for example) the same interpretations suggested by Aguirre and Turner should apply equally well to women. Population size is included in this dissertation and, as predicted by Aguirre and Turner, it is expected that the larger the population, the fewer resources and the poorer jobs and lower income a group will have. Labor force participation rates are also included. Increased labor force participation rates could be an indication that a greater number of women, minority group members, or both, are accessing better jobs and income. However, at some level it could also create a greater threat to the dominant

group in much the same manner as increased population size, educational or entrepreneurial resources.

Elizabeth Esterchild's (formerly Almquist) General Theory of Stratification

Elizabeth Esterchild (writing as Almquist, 1996) pioneered in the simultaneous study of race, class, and gender inequality. To develop a general theory of inequality, she proposes drawing propositions about inequality in each of the three areas, applying them to the other two areas, and combining them into a unified perspective (toward a general theory). For example, it has long been recognized that growth in the population size of a disadvantaged minority group incurs additional hostility from outsiders and impedes the minority's ability to move on to achieve better jobs (Aguirre and Turner 1998). The same principle may apply to gender inequality as well. It is quite possible that as the size of the female labor force grows, women incur additional hostility and are blocked from some of the upward mobility for which they are qualified. Similarly, the study of women's position in the labor market yielded a number of insights about how token women, or very small numbers of women are likely to be treated (Kanter 1977). These insights are applicable to token minority group members as well.

In order to provide a framework for understanding the positions of groups and individuals in the stratification system, Esterchild proposed that around the world, in all types of societies, all work activities can be divided into five types or levels (Almquist 1994). These tiers are hierarchically rated and ranked, so that working in the highest level brings huge rewards and resources to those persons while working in the lowest level brings very few and much smaller rewards. These rewards are both tangible and intangible, consist of rights and privileges as well as monetary compensation, and involve

control over property that can be income-producing in itself. This model depicts the structural characteristics of society, but, beyond some general comments, Esterchild does not attempt to explain the "shape" that exists in any given society, which is formed by the amount of time and effort devoted to each level of activity. For instance, hunting and gathering societies and simple horticultural societies devote very little time and effort to the top three activities—societal control, supervision of production, and exchange value production. Instead, their activities are highly concentrated in producing food and objects to be consumed at home, i.e., use value production, and to a lesser extent, in maintaining the household and its members. In contrast, use value production nearly disappears in advanced industrial societies. The amount of maintenance activity remains high because, despite the appearance of many labor saving household devices, the general standards for maintaining a home and its people have risen.

The hierarchy and contents of the five levels is described in the following. The highest level of activities—societal control—includes those concerned with the activities of persons or groups with the greatest influence over the lives of the majority of the populace. In addition, they shape the structure and form of the social order, including access to resources and rewards.

The next highest level of activity is the supervision and control of production. There are three aspects of these activities: control or supervision of (1) the productive process, (2) persons engaged in the productive process, and (3) the process of distributing products. As with societal level activities, these activities are stratified both within and across the various activities; and the broader the scope of the productive process, the more power and control will be vested in the office than the occupant. At the very top of

the productive process would be corporate Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) or Board Chairs (depending on the company's internal arrangement). These offices very closely resemble societal control positions in that power and control are vested in the position and that decisions made have an impact extending beyond the organization itself. Control or supervision of the productive process is somewhat more direct, but the scope of activities narrow further down the hierarchical chain. The narrower the scope of activities become, the less power and control is exercised and the smaller will be the rewards. For example, shop foremen direct and supervise some aspects of production. While the position shop foreman is a social status, the degree of control and power associated with the position is not consistent across shops. In some types of production the position may resemble higher level positions in power and control, in others it may be very limited or not exist at all, and at times may be only an informal arrangement with workers.

The third activity level (also hierarchically arranged internally), exchange value production, is the production of goods or services having value beyond the immediate household. These are exchanged for either money or other products. In technologically simple societies, surplus value production operates as primarily trade or barter. As societies industrialize, money becomes the main medium of exchange value and paid labor the dominant form of exchange value production.

The fourth level, use value production, is the production of physical products that are used and/or consumed within the household. While products may have a potential surplus value in that others would also find them useful or desirable, this potential is generally not realized. Esterchild uses the example of a woman (or a man) making

clothing. If it is worn or given it to another family member, it exemplifies use value production. If the same item is made and traded or sold to someone outside the household it represents exchange value production (p.3).

The fifth and lowest level is comprised of maintenance activities that produce fewer rewards and resources than even use value production for those who carry them out. These activities produce no long lasting physical product and are repetitious, routine activities that serve to maintain and care for people and things. For example, cooking meals produces a temporary physical product that is consumed, and must be repeated time after time in a regular routine. Unlike exchange or even use value production, the end product of maintenance activities is non-enduring. The work must be repeated endlessly and, since these activities are often viewed as duty, carry very little if any reward or recognition unless the provider fails to perform them adequately. Most child-care and emotional work such as providing sympathetic care, understanding, and support, fall into this category.

Esterchild observes that in both agricultural and industrial societies men's work largely involved exchange value production or supervision of production activities. Women's work has more often been tending, processing, preparing, or caring for the household and family rather than producing an surplus value commodity. When women have been engaged in actual production, the goods produced have tended to be for use rather than exchange. She suggests that these tendencies have carried over into the paid labor force, with women traditionally clustered in occupations with characteristics similar to nurturer/homemaker maintenance roles such as keeping house, providing daycare, teaching, and nursing. The majority of these occupations do not produce surplus value.

In Marxian terms, these occupations lie close to both the reproduction of labor and use value production. In most advanced societies, labor resulting in exchange and surplus value is more highly rewarded than labor that sustains or "maintains" the productive process. Women's occupations, which involve activities resembling maintenance work, tend to be less well regarded and poorly rewarded in compared to the productive occupations typically held by men.

Esterchild's view argues that the way rewards are distributed unequally in a society incorporates gender and race/ethnic groups in the same framework and is applicable across all types of societies. She proposes that group or individual placement in a stratification system can largely be explained by observing in what sort of activities these groups or individuals tend to cluster. In her terms, those whose primary activities involve maintenance, such as providing repetitious, day-to-day care for things and people, or who produce goods that are consumed for use in the household receive fewer rewards than those whose activities are directed toward producing goods with a surplus value. Still more highly rewarded are those whose activities center around directing the productive process regardless of whether the production is for use or exchange, and at the very top are those who direct the directors. These activities are themselves stratified and the resources and rewards attached to the activities vary in accordance with the scope of the activities (scope of activities incorporates the number of persons or groups controlled either directly or indirectly). In general, the broader the scope of activities, the greater the level of power and authority, influence, prestige, psychic gratification, and economic resources and rewards (p.4).

Much of Esterchild's work was designed to encompass minority groups as well as gender issues. Largely because of their subordinated status, minority groups have long been concentrated at or near the bottom end of the labor force in occupations that are maintaining or supportive of the productive process. Like (and including) women, minority group access to the more highly regarded and rewarding occupations have been blocked by a variety of structural barriers. Without adequate resources, minority groups remained in these types of occupations to the point that, structurally, they became associated with these jobs and occupations. As a result, occupations involving surplus value work but that resemble maintenance work have become associated with both women and minority group members.

Esterchild's work has limitations. While she proposes that minority groups are differentially placed in the hierarchy she does not explore how the placement comes about. She also makes it clear that she believes that the five categories exist in the same rank order in all societies, but does not offer a means of measuring the numbers of people or the amount of effort expended in each category in these societies. Nor has she looked closely at how to measure variations in the extent of each activity. She recognizes that surplus value production and production supervision are increasing, use value production is decreasing, and maintenance work has remained about the same but has not formulated a means of precise measurement.

Esterchild's work will be primarily useful for interpreting results from variables dealing with the nature of work in which minority groups tend to cluster and in differences between work performed by minority men and minority women.

Elizabeth Esterchild's Research on Gender Inequality Within Minority Groups

Elizabeth Esterchild (1996) pioneered research that examined both gender inequality and race/ethnic inequality. She examined the representation of women and men in managerial occupations. These were executive, administrative and managerial jobs, excluding management related occupations. The latter positions, which include occupations such as accountants and auditors, management analysts, and personnel, have grown rapidly in the last two decades, and the growth has been largely among women workers. The management related occupations were omitted because they involve lower pay, authority, and prestige than many of the higher level managerial jobs. This leaves the general managerial category slightly more homogeneous, but does not alleviate the problem that there is a wide range of different levels of jobs within it.

The twelve largest race/ethnic minority groups Esterchild studied were:

1. African Americans
2. Native Americans
3. Mexican Americans
4. Puerto Ricans
5. Cubans
6. Filipinos
7. Chinese
8. Japanese
9. Asian Indian
10. Korean
11. Vietnamese

12. Other Hispanics

She examined occupational gender inequality within the groups. In 1990, White men comprised about 43 percent of the total labor force but held over half of all EAM jobs. Women as a group made up 46 percent of the total labor force, and held 38 percent of EAM jobs. Minorities comprised about 20 percent of the labor force and held only 13 percent of EAM jobs.

Determinants of Minority Group Inequality

Esterchild found that different race/ethnic groups have different levels of access to top jobs, and different degrees of occupational gender inequality within groups. These differences result from complex interactions of several main factors. Education had a positive influence on access to management jobs and was associated with a wider gap between women and men's access. Both women and men in well-educated groups had higher representation in management jobs than less well-educated groups but women were much less represented in these jobs than were their male counterparts. Population size had a negative impact on access to managerial jobs, but was a positive influence on the gender gap. Large population groups had lower representation in management jobs, however the disparity between women's representation and men's within groups was less than it was in the smaller population groups.

Proportion foreign-born refers to the percent of a group's population that were not born in the United States and as a result is closely associated with the circumstances by which a group entered the country. Many, perhaps most, of those who are foreign-born have not been in the United States very long compared to indigenous groups. Furthermore, there are a lot of differences in the manner in which they arrive. Some

groups with high percentages of foreign-born are voluntary immigrants who bring with them considerable amounts of both human and financial capital. Others are refugees, many from their country's lower socioeconomic strata, who have very little in terms of skills, education, or financial resources. Esterchild found that voluntary immigrants with small populations were those that brought resources with them and were able to convert those resources into better jobs. At the same time, she found that gender inequality was also greater in these groups than in refugee groups.

Where and how people made a living is also an important variable. Both women and men in groups that were primarily engaged in private wage and salary work, or in manufacturing had much lower levels of representation in management than did those that avoided manufacturing and instead concentrated in self-employment. However, gender inequality was also greater in the latter groups. Those that were highly involved in government work were also less able to access managerial jobs, and had lower levels of gender inequality.

Small, well educated, immigrant group men tended to have fairly high representation in managerial positions. Many of these groups came to the U.S. as voluntary immigrants, bringing with them both human and financial capital. Some groups established and operated small businesses using family members and acquaintances as workers. While this certainly places them in the management category, and may provide a comfortable standard of living for all family members, it does not necessarily demonstrate movement into primarily White male dominated elite management occupations in large organizations. Those groups who lack the capital for self-employment often find job opportunities in manufacturing where there are many

wage earning and relatively few managerial jobs. The result is that they are underrepresented as managers.

Manager is a category ranging from low level, low pay, and low responsibility, to high level, high pay, high responsibility. As a result, it is not possible to sort out the lowest level managerial jobs from high level executives. As Esterchild points out, White men in elite EAM jobs have placed relatively few minorities in managerial jobs and when they did, the minorities were in positions where most of their interactions and authority is with other minorities rather than with White workers. A corresponding patterns occurs to limit women (p. 4). This places minorities and women in EAM occupations, but outside the elite circles of power. Minority women are of course, included in these practices, but along with White women they found opportunities in occupations that men were no longer entering in large numbers.

Barbara Reskin and Patricia Roos (1990) studied the characteristics of occupations that gained very large numbers of women workers. As jobs and occupations became less desirable, or prestige declined, men began choosing other occupations and opportunities opened for women. Unfortunately, these also were jobs that were becoming deskilled and which carried less prestige and authority than other jobs. For example, bank managers declined in prestige and skills due to increasing competition among different types of financial institutions. As banks felt the pinch from credit card companies they began to promote women into loan officer positions to serve as points of customer contact while retaining actual decision making power in the executive suites.

Esterchild observed that not all immigrant groups bring resources that grant them access to managerial jobs. Mexican Americans have a moderate percent foreign-born but

have one of the lowest rates of college education of any minority group and are not very involved in self-employment. Mexican Americans are also the second largest minority group in the United States. Currently, those who do immigrate from Mexico are often poorly educated, low skilled workers who enter the United States to seek better opportunities. They are quite frequently in manufacturing and construction, and industries that have few managers. Their concentration in the southwestern United States isolates them from better paying union jobs. The same concentration in the Southwest results in Mexican immigrants and native-born Mexican Americans being lumped together as far as opportunities are concerned. The outcome is one in which little distinction is made between the two in terms of employment.

Esterchild and McDanel (1999) examined income for the same twelve groups that had been studied in Esterchild's earlier work. Not surprisingly, high incomes were linked to higher levels of representation in management, education, and self-employment. They were also linked to small minority group population size, high percent foreign-born, and low levels of involvement in manufacturing. More significantly, a widening gap between women and men was found as average income increased. Large population, indigenous groups with low levels of college graduations and little involvement in self-employment had a much smaller gender gap than did small population, well-educated groups with high percent foreign-born and frequent self employment.

Patterns of Gender Inequality

Esterchild observes that there is consistent evidence that higher status groups have greater gender inequality. She also observes that race/ethnic groups with the highest overall ORI scores (and hence status) are also small groups who are heavily involved in

self-employment, usually small family owned businesses. The husband/father is usually categorized as the owner or manager (a management occupation) while women members of the family are categorized as clerical/service workers or unpaid family workers. Another possible reason may be that better off, better educated race/ethnic groups may choose to invest education money in sons rather than daughters for cultural reasons. Daughters are sent to college and earn a degree, but sons are far more likely to receive advanced or professional degrees. In addition, married couples invest more in the husband's career than in the wife's. Gerhard Lenski (1966) also noted that in groups with few resources, the resources tend to be shared relatively equally, while in those with greater resources more powerful individuals (and in this case, men) tend to monopolize the surplus and use it to their own benefit.

Income Rate follows the same pattern. The higher the Income Rate of a race/ethnic group, the lower the Gender Ratio of Income Rate (Esterchild and McDanel 1999b). These patterns are not expected to change in this research and variables that are positively related to occupational or income attainment are expected to be negatively related to the Gender Ratio of that attainment even though Esterchild's research dealt with twelve groups while this one has only eight.

Natalie Sokoloff: Black Women and White Women in Professional and Technical Occupations.

Few studies exist that directly address the issue of minority group representation in elite managerial occupations. The issue is not ignored, but few directly address it apart from the mention of its importance. One of the most revealing in terms of discussing the importance of elite occupational representation is by Natalie Sokoloff (1992). Her focus

was on change in Black women's and White women's representation in professional and technical occupations from 1960 to 1980, but her work may provide insights into managerial occupations during that same period as well. Her research deals with two main occupational categories: Professional and Technical Fields.

Professional workers (the thinkers, controllers, and doers) plan, manage, and monitor working class labor. At the apex of the professional occupations are the highest paid, most autonomous core professions whose workers exercise the greatest degree of control over others. These are similar to the supervision and control activities described by Esterchild (1994). Below the core professions are the semi-professions which Sokolof refers to as "'handmaidens' to the professions" (p.8). These nurturing occupations involve tasks that resemble many of Esterchild's maintenance activities. Included are nursing, elementary and secondary school teachers, social workers, librarians and the like (p. 8).

Individuals and groups clustered in the semi-professions generally do not produce surplus value goods or services. Rather, their tasks serve to maintain and support the elite professions. For instance, teaching, particularly in elementary schools, very closely resembles maintenance activities. The education system (particularly at the elementary level) serves as a massive day-care facility as well as an educational institution. This latent function enables parents to engage in exchange production activities during most of the day. Schools also serve to socialize and train children for future entry into the work force at an appropriate activity level. To some extent girls are directed toward activities more closely approaching maintenance work, (home economics and secretarial work) and boys toward those more closely approaching exchange production and supervisory

activities (shop, business classes and the sciences). To the extent this "tracking" occurs, the sex based division of labor is continuously reproduced.

Just as the professional fields encompass a wide range of diverse jobs with unequal pay, prestige, and authority, so do the technical jobs. They vary from the more prestigious airline pilots and computer programmers to the less prestigious licensed practical nurses. The higher level jobs involve more elements of supervision and control, while the lower level jobs involve more maintenance and use value types of activities. In addition, the higher prestige technical workers, such as the airline pilot may be able to produce surplus for the employer. Meanwhile the less prestigious technical fields seem to provide use value for the core professions (e.g., medical technologists produce test results for the physician) who may be able to earn a surplus from it.

Sokoloff found that women and minorities tended to be concentrated in the lower status semi-professional and technical support/maintenance occupations while White men dominated the elite occupations of both categories. Her examination showed very little change in real terms over the twenty-year (1960 to 1980) period of her study. Gains made by women and minorities in white-collar occupations were primarily in the lower status professions, and the few losses White men suffered were in occupations below the elite ones. Significantly, neither women nor Black men made any sizable inroads into the elite levels of the core professions. Again, Sokoloff examined professional and technical occupations which are not included in this dissertation due to the inability to get appropriate data on the core professions across all the various groups for the four census periods. As a result, attempting to draw conclusions about changes in managerial occupations may be a bit risky, but in view of the small change found by Sokoloff in the

elite occupations she examined it seems likely that there will also be little change in the managerial occupations examined in this dissertation. In the present research project, income changes will be tracked in a similar manner and small changes are also likely. The reason why little change is expected lies in that employers are very hesitant to place White or minority women or minority men in positions of authority over people, especially White men. Elizabeth Esterchild (1996) found that women especially are moving into management related occupations much more rapidly than they are into true management jobs. Management related occupations are often fairly well-paying jobs, but she notes that the scope of their authority is very limited or non-existent and have much lower prestige than true management jobs. Minority men may also be moving into management related occupations, but probably not to the same extent.

Other Empirical Research

A number of other researchers have examined various aspects of race/ethnic and gender inequality in access to occupations. For the most part, these studies concentrate on specific occupations, specific groups, or women (omitting men entirely). These approaches provide valuable insights but do not deal with change across groups nor do they attempt to incorporate gender and minority issues simultaneously. A variety of theoretical approaches are used or suggested. Among the most common are human capital, comparable worth, and assimilation. Their applications frequently imply or suggest some of the theoretical approaches outlined in the previous part of this chapter, but none are applied directly.

The representation of minority women in various industries and occupations is frequently explored. Colclough and Tolbert (1990) examined high-tech fields and pay

for White women and men and Black women and men in twelve labor market areas in the Southern United States where high technology occupations are relatively new. In their study, high-tech referred to the nature of the job rather than the industry. Persons whose jobs required the use of technical skills for task performance, or who maintained or repaired sophisticated technology based equipment were considered high-tech even if the industry in which they worked was not. For example, a computer operator monitoring automated processing equipment in an agricultural grain processing mill would be considered to be employed in a high-tech job.

In their research Colclough and Tolbert asked if high technology employment increased or decreased income inequality among minority workers and women and if inequalities in high-tech jobs were constant across different labor market areas and among labor force participants (p. 11).

Four market area types were used in the study: high-tech market, manufacturing market, service market, and agricultural market. High technology industries naturally had many more high-tech occupations and the earnings of high-tech workers tended to be higher than those in other types of jobs. However, the degree of pay inequality within the high-tech jobs varied with the labor market. Overall, high technology incomes were higher than non-high-tech jobs but the distribution of those incomes was not uniform across labor markets. In regions of the South where high technology industries were less common, the picture changed somewhat. Persons with high tech jobs who worked in manufacturing (other than high technology), service, and agriculture did enjoy somewhat less earnings inequality.

The picture changed even more when race and gender were introduced. While Colclough and Tolbert considered only White and African American high technology workers, the findings indicated greater income inequality between these two groups than for workers in other non-high technology jobs, and the inequality was consistent across the labor markets. Earnings inequality attributed to race and gender was greater among the high tech workers than between high tech workers and workers in other industries (p. 24). The most likely explanation was that both women and African Americans were clustered in the low pay end of the high-tech jobs and that these jobs paid even less than comparable jobs in other types of industries. This implies that the type of technical skills is more important than the amount of skills. It is traditionally been assumed that new or expanding fields provide job opportunities for both women and minorities. This may well be the case, but it is equally likely that, while these new opportunities may raise women' and minorities' average wages, there still might be a considerable gap between them and White men.

Colclough and Tolbert do not indicate in their findings that there has been any shift in control over the Southern economic structure away from White male domination. They observe that a likely cause of greater income inequality for White women and African American high-tech workers of both sexes is higher representation in low level production jobs. Research consistently reveals persistent inequality in both occupations and income for women and minorities compared to White men. For example, McCrate and Leete (1994) examined wage differences separately for men and women among both African Americans and Whites in the 23 to 28 year old age groups for the period 1977 to 1986. However, only women were considered in their actual analysis. Black men's and

White men's wages were used only for comparison. Their results indicated a persistent gender gap in earnings for both Black women and White women that could not be explained by institutional change (p. 181). Black women seemed to lose ground over time partly because of differential access to jobs in comparison to White women. Perhaps the most important finding for the purposes of this dissertation was that Black women received a smaller return on educational attainment than did White women. These findings provide some general support to one of the theoretical propositions presented earlier. Larger population minority group members had lower income levels that their White counterparts even when the jobs were comparable.

Similarly, Fasenfest and Perrucci (1994) examined change in both jobs and income between 1979 and 1989 for non-Hispanic White and African American individuals. However, they did not examine women and men separately. In their view, the impact of economic restructuring on society requires understanding how different subgroups and locations have been affected (p. 205). Their analysis covered a broad range of specific occupations, one of which was executives, administrators and managers. They noted that employment of African Americans in this occupational category had increased steadily up to the 1980s, had leveled off during the 1980s and then perhaps declined (p. 219). Increased representation in these occupations did not seem to have done much for African American's overall income. The authors found African American family incomes to be about fifty-five to sixty percent that of non-Hispanic Whites—which is what they have been since 1950 (p. 220). The authors found consistent evidence that African American unemployment rates ran up to five times that of the national average, even during times when overall unemployment figures was low (p. 220). They

specifically rejected explanations for racial inequality based on assimilation and human capital theories. In their view, long standing patterns of structural discrimination and disadvantage negated any possibility of African American assimilation. Geographical location, including South versus non-South and metropolitan versus non-metropolitan, had a greater impact on jobs and income than did education or labor force experience. Once again, this is consistent with the proposition that larger groups have lower incomes than those of Whites in comparable occupations.

Inequality in authority and decision making responsibilities occurs between women and men, and between minorities and non-minorities. Both women and minorities have less access to the types of jobs with authority and decision making responsibilities than do men and non-minorities. Martha Hill (1980) looked at differences in attainment of work place authority and in the process of authority attainment between men and women. She based her approach on the assumption that a worker's position in the job hierarchy operated in a similar manner to wage and occupational determination (p. 113). She measured authority in terms of autonomy and control over other workers' activities and drew on human capital and institutional theory for her analysis. Her findings indicated that women were less likely to have authority over others than men. For men, each year of education had about three times the positive effect in access to positions of authority as each year of education did for women. Married men with children were more likely to be granted authority, but married women with children were less likely to be granted authority. Men paid a smaller price in terms of authority if they were less attached to the labor force, such as taking time off for family reasons, than did women.

Other research also indicates that women's access to authority is still limited when their educational level is the same as men's. Hagen and his colleagues (1991) researched this issue at law firms. Women lawyers who have the same educational credentials as men lawyers were significantly underrepresented in authority positions, particularly in smaller firms. While size and sex composition of the firm was an important factor, the authors also noted a trend in all law firms toward fewer partnership positions for anyone. With fewer positions available, advancement opportunities were limited for all associates; still women were more likely to be passed over for promotion than men. While minorities are not included in this study, it is likely that much the same would happen with minority associates. Minority women or men would have the same qualifications as lawyers, but the same principles that Hagen and his associates outline for women would be most likely evident for them as well. While neither of these studies directly deal with the gender gap between women and men of the same group, they do support the proposition that the more educated women and men are, the wider the gender gap will be.

A common thread in the findings for women's unequal access to authority seems to be a lack of access to important intra-organizational networks. Daniel Brass (1985) found that "perceptions of influence" and "promotion to supervisory positions" were more closely related to "individual's position in workflow and interaction networks" than to behavioral differences (p.327). Women seemed to be less able or willing to distinguish between informal and informal interaction networks and therefore relied on the formal network structures that they could clearly identify. Brass suggested a number of reasons ranging from the deliberate exclusion of women from these interactions to women's

discomfort dealing with men in informal settings of a professional nature. Whatever the reason, it was clear that women had less access than men to "influential others" who controlled promotion and advancement. The authors note that the factors limiting women's access to the influential others is presumed to be a result of women's longstanding exclusion from these networks. It is not clear that this would apply to minorities as there is not enough information to indicate whether gender and race/ethnicity work in quite the same way in this regard.

Robin Ely (1995) found that the more women's organizational tasks are sex segregated, the less likely it is that they will come into contact with the networks important to promotion. In addition, the more women and men are sex segregated, the less comfortable women are with interacting and competing with men. Ely was interested in how work organization impacted women's gender identity while Brass was looking at influence. Brass suggested that one approach to bringing women into the informal networks was to establish mentoring processes. Ely does not address this, but suggests that greater integration into the workplace culture would likely result in both more access to authority positions and a more positive view by women of their capabilities compared to men's. This is likely to hold true for minorities as well. Mentoring programs aimed at better integration of minority group officers into the military culture are already in use according to publicity reports. How effective these programs are is not clear, since little has been said about them outside of news media reports.

Women are more concentrated than men in performance of supporting tasks (staff workers) while men are more often in production tasks (line workers). The most

powerful and lucrative managerial jobs are over the production line workers, and women find it very difficult to move through the "glass wall" that separates staff and line.

Minorities too, have less access to the types of occupations and jobs with authority and decision making responsibilities than do Whites. Consistent findings indicate that minorities, like women, are concentrated in certain occupational categories. This has the effect of both limiting minority advancement and promoting White advancement (Tienda and Lii 1987; Collins 1989; Collins 1997; Smith 1999). There are a number of variables linked to minority group disadvantage that consistently appear in the literature. While not comprehensive, the following seem to be among the most common: size of minority workforce population relative to Whites, variations in type and level of minorities' education, and perceived value of minority contributions (Haro 1983; Hout 1984; Tienda and Lii 1987; Collins 1989; Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991; Fasenfest and Perrucci 1994; Collins 1997; Aguirre and Turner 1998; Reid 1998; Smith 1999; Woo 2000).

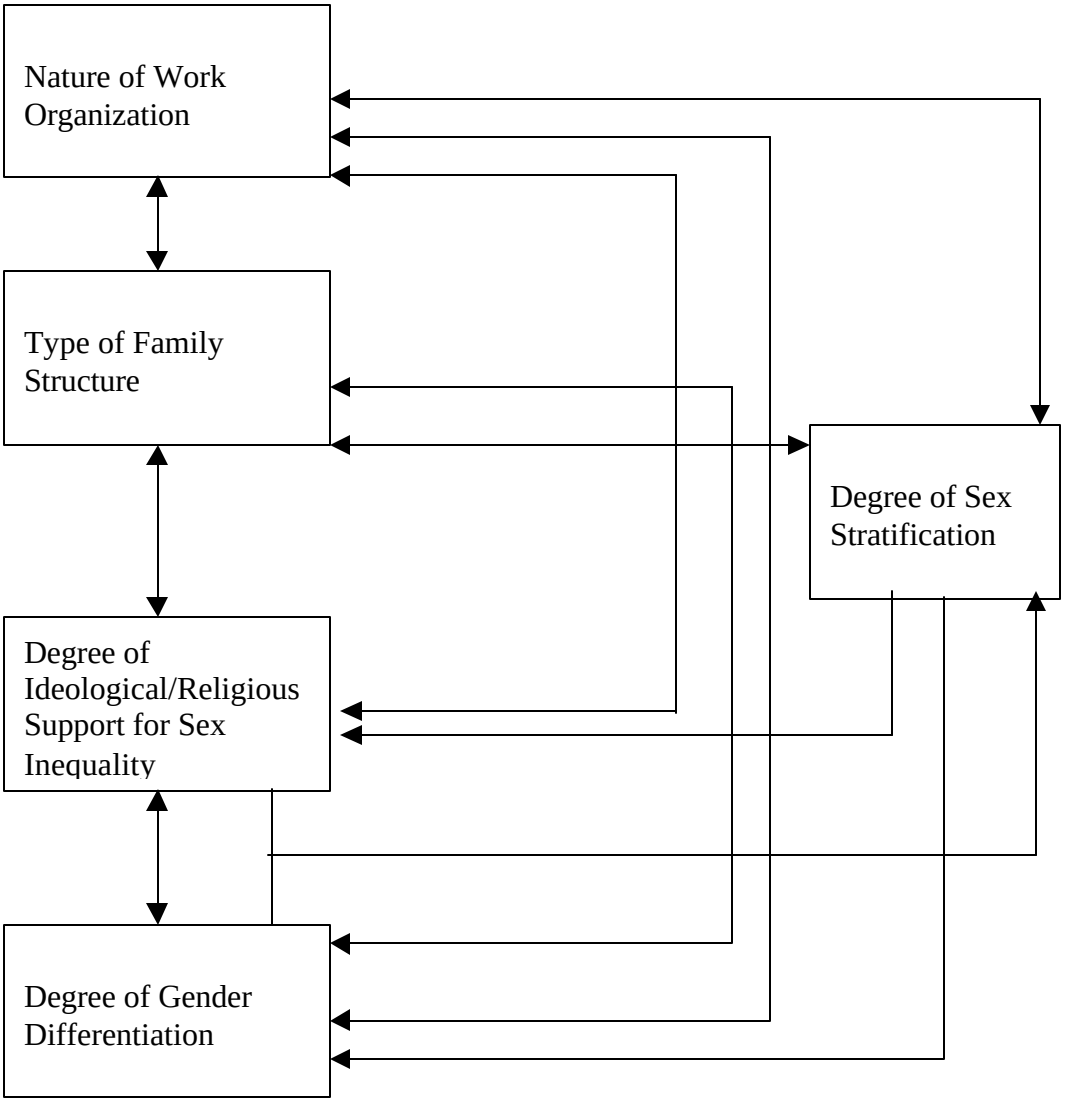
The more minorities enter into an occupation, the more likely it is that they will end up in some particular segment or specific job category. Collins (1989, 1997) noted that highly educated African Americans experienced a process of "racialization," in which employers channeled them into race oriented jobs dealing with minority issues or affirmative action programs. While the jobs were nominally executive level, they were staff rather than line jobs. They afforded little opportunity to develop the types of managerial skills, knowledge, and networks necessary to promotion in "mainstream" jobs that gave access to top management positions. In short, high level African American men in racialized jobs find themselves in a situation very similar to women in sex segregated

jobs. Locked out of informal networks and confined to jobs where their productive skills tend to stagnate and their management skills operate only at a low level, they find themselves in the backwater of the executive pond (Brass 1985; Collins 1989; Collins 1997).

Minorities are frequently observed to be unable to take full advantage of their educational credentials. Tienda and Lii (1987) observed that the larger number of Whites in competition for higher level jobs coupled with discrimination made it very difficult for minorities, especially African Americans, to exchange their educational credentials for higher level jobs at the same rate as Whites. Some well-educated minority groups were able to make use of their credentials but not in mainstream jobs. Rather they entered into upper level jobs within minority enclaves where they did not have to compete with Whites or became involved in self-employment. A key feature here is of course that there has to be a minority enclave with sufficient community support. Of the minority groups considered in this dissertation, only Asian Americans and Cubans enjoy this type of enclave (Woo 2000).

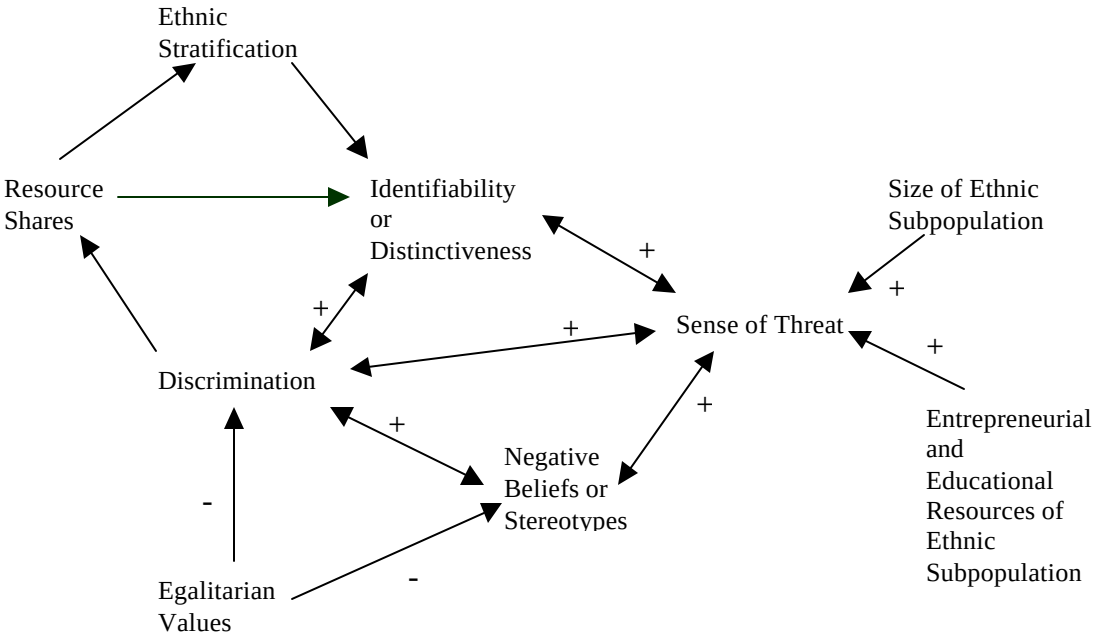
Overall, the literature reviewed supports the idea that much gender theory applies equally well to minority issues and vice versa. The specific hypotheses describing anticipated relationships among variables are identified in the next chapter.

Figure 1. Chafetz's Four Main Sets of Independent Variables and Degree of Sex Stratification



Source: Chafetz (1988). P.11.

Figure 2. Aguirre and Turner's General Model of Ethnic Relations



Source: Aguirre and Turner (1998). p. 39

CHAPTER III

DATA AND METHODS

This dissertation explores changes in income and representation in managerial for minority groups, separately for women and men, from 1960 through1990. The purpose is to try to establish how much change came about during that period in race and ethnic inequality and in the degree of gender inequality found within each race/ethnic group.

The research focuses on the eight largest United States minority groups for which data are available for the specific years.

1. African American (reported as Negro in 1960 and Black in 1970)
2. Mexican American
3. Puerto Rican (does not include those living on the island of Puerto Rico)
4. Cuban (not included in 1960)
5. Native American (reported as American Indian in 1960 and 1970)
6. Chinese
7. Japanese
8. Filipino

White men's and women's average income and representation in managerial occupations will also be presented for comparison, but will not be included in the statistical analysis. It would have been preferable to use Non-Hispanic White for this purpose, but this category did not exist in either 1960 or 1970 census data. Again for the sake of consistency, the broader category of "White" (which includes persons of Hispanic origin) was used because it exists in all four census periods.

Research Design

The first step in this design is to perform a cross sectional analysis for each of the census years 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990. Each of the following variables are included:

Dependent Variables

1. Representation in managerial occupations by workers age 16 and over separately for women and men
2. Income of all persons with income separately for women and men
3. Race/ethnic inequality both in occupations and in income
4. Gender inequality within each individual race/ethnic group both in occupation and in income

Independent Variables

5. The percent who are college graduates separately for women and men
6. The population size of each group
7. The percent of each group by sex who are in the labor force separately for women and men

Class of Worker

8. The proportion of each group engaged in self-employment or as unpaid family workers
9. The percent of each group employed by a government, local, state, or national, separately for women and men
10. The percent of each group involved in private wage and salary work.
11. The percent of each group employed in manufacturing
12. The percent of each group who are foreign-born

Women's Marital Status and Fertility (Concomitant Variables)

13. The percent of women in each group who are married

14. The percent of women in each group who are divorced

15. The number of children ever born per 1000 women aged 35 to 44 in each group

Women's marital status and fertility are concomitant variables. They may be the effect as much as cause of gender or race/ethnic inequality. Groups that are financially well off are more often married, have a lower divorce rate and are likely to have fewer children than others. Poorer groups tend to have more children, lower marriage rates and have higher divorce rates (Almquist 1996).

Measurement of Dependent Variables

Data are drawn from the U. S. Census report on the population's general social and economic characteristics for each census period. The exact title of each report differs from decade to decade. The 1960 title was 1960 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics. In 1970, it was titled 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics. In 1980, the title became 1980 Census of Population, Vol.1, Characteristics of the Population. Chapter C, General Social and Economic Characteristics. Part 1, United States Summary. In 1990, it was simplified to1990 Census of Population. Social and Economic Characteristics. United States.

The dependent variables are

1. Income rate for 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990, measured separately for women and men within each race/ethnic group.

2. The second dependent, variable is: representation in

managerial occupations measured separately for each race/ethnic group.

In both 1980 and 1990, median income is reported separately for men and women who were year round, full time workers, but in 1960 and 1970, the category of year round, full time worker was not used. However, all four census periods report median income for all workers with income during the previous year. To avoid problems with inconsistency median income of all workers with income was used to measure income.

Income rate is computed by dividing the median income of women (or men) from each race/ethnic group by the median income of all men with income, and multiplying by 100 to remove the decimal point. This was done to make the measure comparable across different groups, between women and men, and, to a reasonable extent, across different decades. It would have been preferable to use earnings of year round full time worker workers to represent labor market outcomes. Women are less often fully employed throughout the year than men are and using only the earnings of year round workers would limit the gap between women and men. Income for all workers with income represents what could be termed a "bottom line" measure of financial well being and the majority of income reported to the Census Bureau comes from working.

A measure of each race/ethnic and sex group's access to management jobs is made for each census period. The Occupational Representation Index (ORI) developed by Esterchild (writing as Almquist, 1996) is used to measure access. The ORI is computed by dividing each group's share of managerial occupations by their share of the total labor force, and multiplying by 100 to eliminate the decimal point. An ORI score of 100 indicates representation in management occupations in exact proportion to representation in the total labor force. Scores over 100 indicate overrepresentation, while

scores below 100 indicate underrepresentation. The ORI also provides a measure easily comparable across groups, between women and men within race/ethnic groups, and across different census periods. It is likely that the proportion of managerial workers has increased a great deal between 1970 and 1990 due to structural changes in the American economic system. The ORI will provide a way of maintaining a meaningful measure in spite of the increases in the total number of managerial jobs.

Gender inequality within groups is measured by calculating a Gender Ratio for both the Income Rate and the ORI, within each race/ethnic group. Gender Ratio of Income Rate is the ratio of women's income rate to men's, again multiplied by 100 to remove the decimal point. A Gender Ratio of 100 indicates that women's income is equal to that of men and that there is no gender inequality in income rate for that race/ethnic group. A Gender Ratio of Income Rate over 100 indicates that women's income rate is higher than that of men and a Gender Ratio less than 100 indicates that women's income is less than that of men from that race/ethnic group.

The same is true for gender inequality in ORI. The Gender Ratio of ORI is the ratio of women's representation in managerial occupations to men's representation in the same occupations. As with the Gender Ratio of Income Rate, a Gender Ratio of ORI of 100 indicates that women's managerial representation is equal to that of men and that there is no gender inequality for that race/ethnic group. A Gender Ratio of ORI over 100 indicates that women are more highly represented in managerial jobs than men and a Gender Ratio less than 100 indicates that women are less well represented in managerial jobs than men from their group.

Measurement of Independent Variables

The independent variables in this dissertation are listed below. These comprise the factors that can be measured that are thought to be the most influential in occupational and income attainment.

1. Education. The percent of each race/ethnic group who have four or more years of college as reported in census data from 1960 through 1990, measured separately for women and men
2. Group Size. The total population of each race/ethnic and sex group as reported in the U.S. census from 1960 through 1990
3. Self-Employment. The percent of each group who are self-employed or who are unpaid family workers as reported in the U.S. census from 1970 through 1990
4. Government employment. The percent of each group who are employed by local, state, or national government as reported by the U.S. census from 1960 through 1990
5. Private Wage and Salary employment. The percent of each group who are employed in the private sector for either wages or a salary as reported by the U.S. census from 1960 through 1990
6. Manufacturing. The percent of each group who are engaged in manufacturing industry from 1960 through 1990
7. Labor Force Participation. The percent of each race/ethnic group, age 16 and over, who reported being in the labor force to the U.S. census from 1960 through 1990, separately for women and men

8. Percent Foreign Born. The percent of each race/ethnic group who reported their place of birth as other than the United States to the U. S. Census Bureau from 1970 through 1990 (Puerto Ricans are a special case. Those who are born on the island of Puerto Rico are United States citizens by birthright. This artificially lowers the percent foreign born since many who are born on the island are culturally much different from Puerto Ricans born on the mainland and are more similar to immigrants than they are to indigenous groups. A better measure is to report the percent born outside of their state of residence, but this data is not consistently reported by the Census Bureau for Puerto Ricans)
9. Percent Women Married. The percent of women in each race/ethnic group who are married from 1970 through 1990 (data on marital status for 1960 are not available)
10. Percent Women Divorced. The percent of women in each race/ethnic group who are divorced from 1970 through 1990 (data on divorced women are not available for 1960)
11. Fertility. The number of children ever born per 1000 women aged 35 to 44 in each race/ethnic group from 1970 through 1990 (data on fertility are not available for 1960)

Expected Patterns of Relationships among Variables

Positive relationships are expected between women's and men's ORI scores for each decade. Group characteristics associated with representation in management are similar at least to some degree for each sex. Factors that are associated with men's

access to managerial jobs will also be associated with women's access to managerial jobs in the same direction. Previous research also indicates that the higher the Income Rate or ORI in any race/ethnic group, the lower will be the Gender Ratio (Almquist 1996; Esterchild and McDanel 1999a; Esterchild and McDanel 1999b).

Change in the relationships among the variables is expected across the period of the study. It is expected that the associations among the variables for each decade will become stronger across the time period, but that the changes will be uneven. It is also expected that the groups with low ORI and Income Rate scores in the early decades will have the most change. The association between women's ORI scores and Income Rate and the gender ratios of each is expected to become stronger.

Following Esterchild, together with other researchers and theorists, it is predicted that the following patterns of correlations among independent and dependent variables can be expected for each decade:

1. The higher the level of educational attainment, the higher the income and ORI, but the lower the gender ratio of each
2. The larger the population of the group, the lower the income and ORI, but the higher the gender ratio of each
3. The higher the level of self-employment, the higher the income and ORI, but the lower the gender ratio of each
4. The higher the level of government employment the lower ORI scores and income rates but the higher the gender ratio of income rate
5. The higher the level of private wage and salary employment, the lower the income and ORI, but the higher the gender ratio of each

6. The higher the level of employment in manufacturing, the lower the income and ORI, but the higher the gender ratio of each
7. The higher the percent of group members who are foreign born, the higher the income and ORI, but the lower the gender ratio of each
8. The higher the percent of women who are married, the higher the income and ORI, but the lower the gender ratio of each
9. The higher the percent of women who are divorced, the lower the income and ORI, but the higher the gender ratio of each
10. The higher women's fertility, the lower the income rate and ORI, but the higher the gender ratio of each

Rank order correlation (Spearman's Rho) was used to measure the degree of association between variables. Rho is used because of the small number of cases even though all variables are measured at the interval level and Pearson's r would otherwise be appropriate.

There are two important considerations in interpreting correlations—the direction of the relationship and the size of the correlation. Correlations can range from minus 1.000 to plus 1.000. Correlations greater than zero indicate a positive relationship and correlations less than zero indicate a negative relationship between the two variables.

The strength of the relationship is determined by its absolute value, and is independent of the direction of the correlation. Correlation values greater than .800 indicate the two variables are very-strongly related, correlation values ranging from .600 to .799 are considered to be strongly related, correlation values from .400 to .599 are said to be moderately related, and correlation values that are .200 to .399 are considered to be

weak relationships. Correlation values below .200 indicate no relationship or only a very weak relationship between the variables.

Limitations of the Data

The U.S. Census redefines and reclassifies much of its data each census. This makes it impossible to have absolute consistency in data collection. This is particularly the case with occupational categories. The Census Bureau changes its occupational classifications each census to try to develop an understandable system for that decade's labor force (Parcel and Benefo 1987; Jacobs 1992; Szafran 1992). The U.S. Census Bureau has published technical papers to assist users of census data in comparing information across time periods for all periods covered in this dissertation except for 1990 changes from 1980 classifications. A telephone inquiry to the Census Bureau yielded the answer that the planned publication had not been compiled due to budget cuts.

In 1980, The Census Bureau streamlined the way it reported occupations by combining several occupational groupings into broad categories with more specific sub-categories and sub-groups. These revisions effected all occupations, but only those changes relevant to this study will be outlined.

A new, broad category entitled "Executive, Administrative, and Managerial (EAM) was created. A number of occupations that had previously been listed as either "Professional, Technical, and Kindred" and "Managers, Officials, and Proprietors, except Farm" in 1960, and "Professional, Technical, and Kindred" and "Managers and Administrators, except Farm" in 1970 were combined under the new EAM heading.

An additional change resulted in a number of occupations that had been considered and reported as managerial in 1960 and 1970 being added to another new sub-group under Executive, Administrative and Managerial, titled "Management Related Occupations." Management Related Occupations also contained a number of other support type occupations not included in the older reporting categories, the inclusion of this sub-group would have inflated EAM numbers with jobs that may have been related to management, but were not managerial in nature (see Table 3.1) and as a result were excluded from the calculations. Tables 3.2 and 3.3 at the end of this chapter, present the occupations and the numbers of workers employed that these changes affected for each year.

In 1960, the category, "Professional Technical and Kindred" contained two occupations—Accountant and Personnel and Labor Relations Workers—that were placed in "Management Related Occupations" for 1980 and 1990. There were 78,798 women and 396,106 men Accountants and 29,981 women and 69,321 men Personnel and Labor Relations Workers. "Managers, Officials, and Proprietors, except Farm" contained five occupations that were subsequently moved in to "Management Related Occupations." Buyers and Department Heads, Store had 51,865 women and 185,705 men. Buyers and Shippers, Farm Products employed 324 women and 17,373 men. Purchasing Agents, not otherwise classified accounted for 9,936 women and 94,822 men workers. There were 3,629 women and 72,526 men employed as Inspectors, Public Administration. Credit Men accounted for 11,398 women and 36,081 men.

In 1970, "Professional, Technical, and Kindred" contained the same two occupations, Accountants and Personnel and Labor Relations Workers that it had in 1960.

There were 183, 717 women and 536,900 men Accountants and 93,491 women and 203,711 men Personnel and Labor Relations Workers. The title of the category "Managers, Officials, and Proprietors, except Farm" was changed to "Managers and Administrators, except Farm" and the names of two of the occupations under it were also slightly changed. Buyers and Department Heads, Store was replaced by Buyers, Wholesale and Retail Trade and Inspectors, Public Administration was replaced by Construction Inspectors, Public Administration. The new designations remained fairly consistent for the remaining decades, although the wording changed slightly for some.

Buyers, Wholesale and Retail Trade employed 53,459 women and 127,258 men in 1970. Buyers and Shippers, Farm Products contained 440 women and 20,461 men. Purchasing Agents, not otherwise classified had 22,654 women and 142,549 men workers. There were 185 women and 18,898 men employed as Construction Inspectors, Public Administration and 17,472 women and 45,358 men were Credit Men.

Apart from these changes, "Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations" were much the same as "Managers, Officials, and Proprietors, except Farm" and "Managers and Administrators, except Farm," but for the purposes of this dissertation, the sub-group of "Management Related Occupations" was eliminated from the calculations to try to keep as much consistency as possible across the four decades. This also made it necessary to delete Buyers and Department Heads, Store, Buyers, Wholesale and Retail Trade, Buyers and Shippers, Farm Products, Purchasing Agents, n.e.c., Inspectors, Public Administration, and Credit Men from their categories in 1960 and 1970 to maintain consistency.

These adjustments are important because jobs that are considered to be "managerial" have grown faster than the total labor force in the past four decades. In 1960 there were a total of 64,639,252 employed persons aged 16 and over. In 1990 that number had increased by 79 percent to 115,681,202. The number of people in managerial jobs in 1960 was 5,409,542. By 1990 the number had increased by 86 percent to 10,087,341; even after the removal of jobs classified under "Management Related Occupations." People who work in "Management Related Occupations" work with a fairly narrow area of the productive process. They are usually in staff positions than in line positions and rarely supervise large numbers of people or activities. Using Esterchild's (writing as Almquist 1994) concepts, their activities range from use value and supervision to maintenance levels.

The number of total employed women increased by 150 percent over the four decades with the biggest increase being in "Executive, Administrative and Managerial" jobs (excluding "Management Related Occupations") and the second greatest increase being in "Management Related Occupations." Between 1960 and 1990, the number of women in the adjusted managerial job categories jumped by 392 percent, while the number of men only increased by 35 percent in the same period. For example, Buyers and Shippers, Farm Products (re-titled to Buyers and Shipping Agents, Farm Products in 1970), Buyers and Department Heads, Store, and Buyers, Wholesale and Retail Trade grew by about 37 percent overall, but women's representation in these occupations ballooned by 280 percent. The occupation of Credit Men in 1960 and 1970 does not appear as such in 1980 or 1990. There is, however, a Management Related Occupational category of Other Financial Officers in 1980 and 1990 into which Credit Men were likely

placed. There were 37, 479 women and men Credit Men in 1960 and 62,830 in 1970—not a great number, but not a small one either. What is more important is that women's representation in this occupation increased by 54 percent from 11,398 in 1960 to 17,472 in 1970. This is not a tremendous increase, but if Credit Men were shifted into the Management Related Occupation of Other Financial Officers, as is suspected, it demonstrates still another job in which women have increased their representation by a considerable degree. Finally, the last occupational category under "Management Related Occupations" is titled Management Related Occupations, not otherwise classified. Women not only outnumber men in this "catch-all" category in both 1980 and 1990 but their representation increased 17 fold between 1980 and 1990 while men's only increased five fold in the same period.

Plan of Analysis

The next step is to examine change across the four decades in each of the outcome variables and each of the correlations. There are a number of questions to be addressed. Which groups have experienced an increase or decrease in median income or representation in management? For that matter, are there groups experiencing no change or that have had change in one area but not the other? Has there been any change in race/ethnic inequality? If so, does it represent a general trend across groups bringing the various groups closer together in terms of jobs and income? Or have some groups improved in their circumstances while others have remained the same or fallen behind? Has there been any change in gender inequality within the separate groups? If so, is it uniform across groups or have women in some groups gained ground relative to men of the same group while other women's situation remained static or declined? Have the

correlation patterns associated with occupational or income attainment changed over time? In other words, has the influence of change in group characteristics (such as level of education) on income and/or management occupation attainment remained stable or shifted?

First, change in the dependent variables between 1960 and 1990 is assessed to discover the extent of change in each variable. Changes across all or nearly all race/ethnic and sex groups does not necessarily mean that either race/ethnic or gender inequality has decreased. There may simply have been a general increase in the number of management jobs and income availability. It is also possible that changes in the patterns of correlations are a major finding. Changes in the process by which minority and sex groups are incorporated into the labor force could affect the pattern of correlations between some independent variables and the outcome of labor force placement. Gordon (1964) for example, suggests that minority groups are more assimilated with each generation as they accept and adapt to middle class culture and standards. This notion predicts that the more a particular group adopts characteristics demonstrating the pursuit of the "American Dream," the more they are accepted and assimilated. However, Aguirre and Turner (1998) and others suggest that as minority groups improve their status they are met with hostility and increased discrimination.

Many factors combine to generate the possibility that whatever change is observed may not be readily and reliably interpreted. Some that could influence change are either undetectable, non-measurable, or both. For example, there is no way to gauge the influence on different minority group access to income or EAM occupations of the developing computer industry of the 1970s and 1980s. In truth, with the census data,

there is no way to know whether or not it had any influence at all. By the same token, it is not possible to measure the impact on hiring attitudes and practices by the shift in the United States toward political conservatism, if such a shift has indeed occurred.

The importance of this dissertation is not that it will clearly and directly provide any new insights into race/ethnic or gender inequality. Its importance lies in its development of a model to systematically describe change over time. This study covers four time points and therefore three decades of change. This is too brief a time period to expect to find any definitive answers to complex questions about what causes or reduces inequality. It is also too brief a period time to expect to find a significant change in patterns of social inequality that have existed for generations. But developing a baseline for change will make the task of identifying variables that are influential in generating changes in inequality much easier in the future. Things may become a bit clearer when the 2000 census data are analyzed. By the 2010 census, some fairly consistent results should begin to emerge and each subsequent decennial census should add to the picture of change.

Table 3.1. Management Relations Occupations as they were Reported in 1960 Census

Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	Women	Men
Accountants	78,798	396,106
Personnel and Labor Relations Workers	29,981	69,321
Managers, Officials and Proprietors, except Farm		
Buyers and Department Heads, Store	51,865	184,705
Buyers and Shippers, Farm Products	324	17,373
Purchasing Agents, not otherwise classified	9,936	94,822
Inspectors, Public Administration	3,629	72,526
Credit Men	11,398	30,081

Table 3.2. Management Relations Occupations as they were Reported in 1970 Census

	Women	Men
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers		
Accountants	183,717	536,900
Personnel and Labor Relations Workers	93,491	203,711
Managers and Administrators, except Farm		
Buyers, Wholesale and Retail Trade	53,459	127,258
Buyers and Shippers, Farm Products	440	20,461
Purchasing Agents, not otherwise classified	22,654	142,549
Construction Inspectors, Public Administration	185	18,898
Credit Men	17,472	45,358

Table 3.3. Numbers of Workers in Occupations moved to Management Related Occupations

	1960		1970		1980		1990	
Managers and Administrators, except Farm	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Buyers and Department Heads, Store	51,865	184,705	N/A[1]	N/A[1]	N/A[1]	N/A[1]	N/A[1]	N/A[1]
Buyers and Shippers, Farm Products[2]	324	17,373	440	20,461	1,547	17,933	2,962	14,336
Buyers, Wholesale and Retail Trade	N/A[1]	N/A[1]	53,459	127,258	74,639	93,192	121,348	107,051
Purchasing Agents, n.e.c.[3]	9,936	94,822	22,654	142,549	60,979	130,769	111,493	135,474
Inspectors, Public Administration	3,629	72,526	N/A[1]	N/A[1]	N/A[1]	N/A[1]	N/A[1]	N/A[1]
Construction Inspectors, Public Administration	N/A[1]	N/A[1]	185	18,898	24,479	48,413	4,197	60,087
Credit Men	11,398	36,081	17,472	45,358	N/A[1]	N/A[1]	N/A[1]	N/A[1]
Professional, Technical, and Kindred								
Accountants	78,798	396,106	183,717	536,900	386,299	626,558	838,338	751,840
Personnel and Labor Relations Workers	29,981	69,321	93,491	203,711	198,780	224,039	296,487	217,138

[1] Not listed in census for this year
[2] In 1970, "Buyers and Shipping Agents, Farm Products"
[3] Not otherwise classified

Table 3.4. Management Relations Occupations, 1980 and 1990

	1980		1990	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Accountants and Auditors	386,299	626,558	838,338	751,840
Underwriters	10,845	7,752	45,818	21,949
Other Financial Officers	182,318	223,633	351,071	328,204
Management Analysts	29,929	88,652	95,065	186,724
Personnel, Training, and Labor Relations Specialists	198,780	224,039	296,487	217,138
Purchasing Agents and Buyers, Farm Products	1,547	17,933	2,962	14,336
Buyers, Wholesale and Retail Trade, except Farm Products	74,639	93,192	121,348	107,051
Purchasing Agents, n.e.c.	60,979	130,769	111,493	135,474
Business and Promotion Agents	6,827	13,780	16,923	19,569
Construction Inspectors	24,479	48,413	4,197	60,087
Inspectors and Compliance Officers, except Construction	27,909	128,935	49,147	112,130
Management Related Occupations, n.e.c.	16,649	14,486	285,470	82,603

CHAPTER IV

MINORITY ACCESS TO MANAGERIAL JOBS AND INCOME, 1960-1990

This chapter describes the essential findings for each of the four decades. There are several aspects of the findings to consider. First is to present the correlations among the dependent variables for each decade and examine change over the four decades, and the degree to which the results meet proposed expectations. A second major area is the representation of minority women and men in managerial occupations and their income rate. This includes assessing the degree of inequality of minority groups in access to each and to examine change over time. A third area is the degree of inequality between women and men within each race/ethnic group in occupations and income. This also includes examining change over time. A fourth is to examine, by decade, women's and minority group's scores for each independent variable believed to be associated with access to managerial jobs and income rate, and how these scores change across the time period. Chapter Five presents further findings regarding the correlates of jobs and income for each of the four decades.

Cross-sectional Correlations among Variables

Building on previous research by Esterchild (writing as Almquist, 1996) and Esterchild and McDanel (1999) the data were gathered with several predictions for each of the four decades:

1. For both representation in managerial positions (ORI scores) and for income rates, women's scores would be positively correlated with men's.
2. For both ORI scores and income, women's scores and men's scores would be negatively correlated with the gender ratio of each.

3. Within each decade, women's ORI scores would be positively correlated with women's income rate; men's ORI scores would be positively correlated with men's income rate; the gender ratio of ORI scores would be positively correlated with the gender ratio of the income rate.

With one exception—a positive correlation between women's income and the gender ratio of income instead of a negative correlation—these patterns occur systematically in the last two decades surveyed. The patterns were typically much weaker or non-existent in the first two decades of this research. The "culprit" seems to be the income rate, especially women's income rate. Most of the bivariate correlations involving the latter variable were either weak or in the wrong direction or both. In addition the gender ratio of income was not consistently connected to the other variables.

There are further aspects of the data that partially clarify some of the mildly inconsistent results (see Tales 4.1 and 4.2).

1. For both occupations and income, women's scores were expected to be considerably lower than men's scores. In fact, women obtained managerial representation and income at about half the rate that men did in the first two decades of the study period, but by 1990 women's median scores had risen to about two-thirds of men's scores.
2. For both occupations and income rate, women's scores were expected to exhibit a much smaller range of variation than men's. This pattern was consistently repeated, with the range of women's ORI scores amounting to only about one-third of men's during each of the four decades and the

range of women's income rate was only about half of men's during each of the four decades.

Clearly, men's scores were much more variable than women's scores. Regardless of group membership, women were less likely to be managers, more likely to have had smaller incomes than men's, and had incomes that were little different than those of women from other groups. The smaller variation among women's scores was very important; it meant that there were frequent ties between groups and that only one or two percentage points might have greatly changed the ranking a group receives. As a result, the correlations involving women's scores were often much smaller than those involving men's scores. Because men usually retain the same rank ordering regardless of the variable or time period, men's scores were easier to predict than were women's scores.

3. In part because of the forgoing aspects of the data, it was expected that correlations between women's scores and the gender ratio in any one decade would be lower than the correlations between men's scores and the gender ratio. For ORI scores, this pattern is barely observable in 1960; it becomes much stronger across the four decades. This pattern does not hold for income rate. The size of the correlations for women is not much different than for men, but is positive rather than negative as was predicted.

The correlations among change in scores are intriguing, although no predictions were made about these associations. The change in women's ORI scores from 1960 to 1990 was moderately, positively correlated (.476) with the change in men's ORI scores for the same period. A positive, but much stronger correlation (.661) was observed

between the change in women's income rate and the change in men's income rate between 1960 and 1990. A moderate, negative association (-.428) appears between the gender ratios of ORI and income rate for the same period. The change in women's ORI scores was moderate and negative (-.339) indicating that, for minority women, increases in ORI scores did not correlate with increases in income rate. For men, the opposite was observed. The association between change in men's ORI scores and income rate was strong and positive (.833). Finally, changes in the gender ratio of ORI and the gender ratio of income rate are moderately, negatively correlated (-.428).

Whatever the reasons for the differences between expectations and outcome, the next few sections describe each decade individually, stressing gender inequality as well as inequality among the various race/ethnic groups. The few very large changes in the relative rankings of each group are described at the end of these sections.

Occupation and Income Rate, 1960

Women's and men's ORI scores and income rates were predicted to be positively correlated with each other but negatively correlated with the gender ratio of ORI for each. Positive correlations were predicted among women's and men's ORI scores and income rates as well as with the gender ratio of income rate. Only one of these predictions did not materialize. Women's and men's 1960 ORI and income rate scores were highly and positively correlated (see Table 4.1a at the end of the chapter). Women's ORI scores were weakly and negatively correlated with the gender ratio of ORI, but were moderately and positively correlated with income rate. Men's ORI scores were strongly and negatively correlated with the gender ratio of ORI, but not related to the gender ratio of income. Occupation and income rate were strongly and positively correlated for both

women and men, but the correlation between the gender ratio of ORI and income rate was moderate and negative when a positive relationship was expected.

Japanese and Chinese women had high ORI scores that exceeded the scores of all other women. In spite of their stronger representation in managerial occupations than other minority women, Japanese and Chinese women were greatly underrepresented in management positions in comparison to Japanese and Chinese men. Groups with low ORI scores include African American, Native American, and Filipino, but these had small gaps in management representation between women and men. By comparison, White women's ORI score was only somewhat better than most minority women and was actually less than that of Chinese women. White men had an ORI score between Japanese and Chinese men and well above that of any other minority group. As with the Japanese and Chinese, there was a large gap between White women's and White men's representation in management. Japanese and Chinese men had the highest ORI scores among minority group men while Native American and African American men had the lowest (see Table 4.1).

In1960, the minority groups with the highest representation in managerial jobs among both sexes also had the largest gap between the sexes in management representation. There are two aspects to consider. One is the degree of representation in management occupations by minority groups as a whole. The second is the degree of representation by women and men within each group. Chinese and Japanese men were highly overrepresented in managerial occupations relative to their representation in the labor force, but Chinese and Japanese women were underrepresented in these occupations relative to their share of the total labor force. Levels of representation in management for

other minority group women were even lower. Minority group members (except for Chinese and Japanese men) were underrepresented in management jobs, but minority group women were underrepresented both relative to their representation in the labor force and compared to minority men.

Income rate is the second dependent variable in this analysis. Income is not equivalent to earnings, but it does parallel earnings. The reason for using income rather than earnings is that earnings are not provided by the census uniformly across the four decades. However, earnings are provided in 1980 and 1990 and the parallel nature of income and earnings can be confirmed in those years.

Income rate is computed for each minority group separately for women and men by dividing the median income of all women or men with income by the median income of all men with income. Income rates below 100 indicate that group members receive less income than all employed men and income rates above 100 indicate that group members are receiving more income than all employed men. Income rate can also be expressed as how many cents minority group members have for every dollar all employed men have. The gender ratio of income rate is the ratio of women's to men's income rate in the same group, or how many cents minority group women have for every dollar all men of the same group get. It is important to note that white men's income rate will be close to that of all men because they are 80 percent of all men.

The income rate for all women, including Whites, was very small. Chinese and Japanese women had the highest but still received only about half that of all employed men. Chinese women got about 60 cents in median income for every dollar in median income that Chinese men got. Japanese women got only about 46 cents for every dollar

that Japanese men got. African American and Native American women had the lowest income rate, receiving less than one-quarter of the median income of all employed men. Native American women did enjoy a more favorable gender ratio of income rate, receiving about 56 cents for every dollar in median income received by Native American men. In contrast, African American women got only about 44 cents.

Chinese men's ORI score of 185 was the highest of any group including White men who had an ORI score of 137. Yet, Chinese men's income rate was 85 and White men's was 105. Japanese men's ORI scores of 117 was also higher than that of White men but Japanese men and White men had exactly the same income rate. African American and Native American had the lowest income rate of minority men. Mexican American, Filipino and Puerto Rican men had higher income rates but were still much lower than Japanese men.

The gender ratio of ORI was low for all groups except for Filipinos and Mexican Americans in 1960 as was the median gender ratio of ORI, and the gender ratio of income rate was low for all groups (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2 at the end of this chapter). The median and range of the gender ratio of income rate were 50 and 29 respectively (see Table 4.2). By comparison, the median and range for the gender ratio of ORI were 58 and 53 respectively. There was not a lot of difference between the median scores of income rate and ORI, but the range of scores between the two was much wider. This indicates that the median difference between women's and men's representation in managerial jobs was almost twice that of the median gap between the income rate of minority women and their male counterparts.

Occupations and Income Rate, 1970

Fewer predictions were supported in 1970 that had been in 1960 (see Table 4.3b). Women's and men's ORI scores and income rates were positive related (.530 and .669 respectively) and men's ORI scores were negatively associated (-.855) with the gender ratio of ORI as predicted. While the relationship between women's ORI and the gender ratio was, as predicted, negative, the correlation was extremely weak (-.067). The relationship between women's ORI scores and income rate was predicted to be positive, but instead was negative and also very weak (-.096). However, men's ORI scores and income rates were strongly and positively (.714) correlated as predicted. The correlations between women's and men's income rates and the gender ratio of income rate were also contrary to prediction. Negative correlations were expected, but both were positive. The correlation for men's income rate and the gender ratio was moderate, .587, an
was weak, .156.

In 1970, women's ORI scores followed the same pattern by minority group as men's, but were all considerably below 100 (see Table 4.1). Chinese and Japanese women both had an ORI score of 46, the highest score for women in that decade. Cuban women had the lowest ORI score of 16. Puerto Rican and African American women shared the next lowest women's ORI score of 17, only one point higher than Cuban women's. As with 1960, Native American, Filipino, and Mexican American women had ORI scores roughly in the middle, and closer to the low end than to the high end.

Japanese and Chinese men still had the highest ORI scores, 141 and 137 respectively, and Cuban men had the third highest at 89 (see Table 4.1). The remainder of minority men were clustered rather closely together but their ORI scores were much

lower than the Japanese and Chinese. African Americans and Filipinos had the lowest ORI scores among men. Native American, Puerto Rican, and Mexican American men were clustered together between the groups highest and lowest in ORI.

As with 1960, small population groups had the highest levels of management representation by both women and men but also had the widest gender gap. Large population, mostly native-born groups had much lower management representation, but also had smaller gaps in the management ratio.

Minority women's income rates were much smaller than minority men's. Japanese women had the highest income, but this was only half of that of all employed men compared to the 117 percent received by Japanese men. Native American women had the lowest income. They only got about 26 percent compared to the 54 percent obtained by Native American men. Cuban men were second (albeit distantly) in income rate to Japanese men, but Cuban women's income rate was ranked fourth among minority women.

Japanese men again had the highest income rate, 117, among the different minority groups (see Table 4.2). Native American's and African American's income rates were somewhat higher than in 1960 but were still the lowest of minority men. Both were less than half that of Japanese men. Chinese, Filipinos, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans again had income rates roughly mid-way between the lowest and highest.

Filipinos had the largest gender ratio of income rate. Filipino women got about 70 cents in income for every dollar of Filipino men's income. Mexican Americans had the smallest gender ratio of income with Mexican American women receiving only 40

cents in for every dollar of Mexican American men. The rest of the groups had gender ratios that were close to the same rank order as they were in 1960.

The median scores for ORI were still very low (see Table 4.1) in spite of some measure of improvement for men from 1960's scores. Women's median ORI score for 1970 was 22, only three points above 1960, and less than half that of men's. Men's median 1970 ORI score was 56 compared to 36 in 1960. The median gender ratio of ORI was 41, a decline from 1960's score. Women's median income rate for 1970 was 43, and men's was 79. Both were slight improvements over 1960, but by only a few points (see Table 4.2). The median gender ratio of income rate had remained at 50 as it had been in 1960.

Occupations and Income Rate, 1980

In 1980, as in the previous two decades and as predicted, women's ORI scores and men's ORI scores were positively correlated (.857). Women's income rates were also positively correlated with men's income rates as predicted (.778). Still in line with prediction, both women's ORI scores and men's ORI scores were negatively correlated with the gender ratio of ORI. For women's ORI, the correlation was weak (-.286), but for men's ORI the association was strong (-.690).

Women's and men's income rates were also predicted to be negatively correlated with the gender ratio of income rate. This proved to be the case for men's income rate and the gender ratio (-.275), albeit a weak association. However women's income rate was positively correlated with the gender ratio (.211) and was also a weak relationship.

Women's ORI was very weakly correlated with women's income rate, but was positive as predicted (.108). Men's ORI was also positively correlated with men's

income rate as expected, and the relationship was moderate in strength (.476). The correlation between the gender ratio of ORI and the gender ratio of income rate followed prediction as well, but it too was weak (.347).

Japanese, Chinese, and African American women had the highest women's ORI scores at 50, 54, and 45 respectively. Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and Filipinos had the three lowest women's ORI scores at 28, 27, and 25 respectively. Most minority women had higher ORI scores in 1980 than they had in 1960 (women's median ORI score in that decade had been only 19). Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican American women did have lower 1980 ORI scores than they had in 1960. For the Chinese and Japanese, the decline had no impact on their rank order, but Mexican American women dropped from third rank to seventh. The point change for Mexican American women was only three points, compared to a nine point drop for Chinese women and four for Japanese. The reason for the greater impact on Mexican American women's rank order is not how much their ORI declined but rather that most other women's scores increased.

Japanese and Chinese men had ORI scores of 122 and 110 respectively, and Cuban men's score was 96. All other minority men's scores were well below 100, most of them about half or less that of Japanese, Chinese and Cuban. In comparison, White men's scores were well below that of Japanese and Chinese men and only slightly higher than Cuban men. Mexican Americans had the lowest men's ORI score. Native American, African American, Puerto Rican, and Filipino men are at the low end of scores.

Japanese and Cubans have the smallest gender ratios of ORI, 41 and 42 respectively, while African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans have

82, 73, and 72 respectively. The gap between women's and men's representation in management narrowed for African Americans and Native Americans since 1960, but widened for Mexican Americans. The gender ratio for Chinese, at 49, was only slightly larger than it had been in 1960. Filipinos' 1980 gender ratio of 57 was much smaller than the 88 it had been in 1960. The Japanese, much like the Chinese had very little change in gender ratio between 1960 and 1980, rising slightly from 37 to 41. The gender ratio for Puerto Ricans almost doubled from 36 in 1960 to 61 in 1980 indicating a narrowing gender gap. No data were available for Cubans in 1960, but their gender ratio more than doubled from 18 in 1970 to 42 in 1980. Once again, these figures show improvement, but the gender gap for all groups is still substantial. Even the highest are still a long way from parity.

Filipinos had the highest income rate among women, while Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, African Americans and Native Americans were at the bottom of the hierarchy. The mid-range groups—Japanese, Chinese, and Cubans—have more widely separated income rates ranging from 61 for Japanese to 44 for Cubans.

The rank order of groups with high income rates for women shifted a good deal between 1960 and 1980. In 1980, Filipinos had the women's highest income rate at 68, while Native Americans had the lowest at 35. In 1960, Filipino women had been ranked fourth. The groups with the highest women's income rate in 1960 had been Chinese and Japanese. In 1980, Japanese were ranked second and Chinese were third—not a great deal of change for Japanese, but a drop for Chinese. Puerto Rican women had been ranked third in 1960, but by 1980 had dropped to sixth. The rest of the groups remained within one position over the three decades.

Unlike women, the rank order of groups with high and low income rates for men remained fairly consistent between 1960 and 1980. Japanese had the highest men's income rate at 123 and African American men had the lowest at 64 in 1980. In between, there were some small shifts in rank order, but none that were dramatic. The median income rate for men was virtually unchanged. It had been 74 in 1960 and was 79 in 1980.

In 1980, the rank order of minority group gender ratio of income rate shifted somewhat from that of 1960. The gap between women's and men's income rates was narrowest for Filipinos and African Americans in 1980, and widest for Mexican Americans and Japanese. Mexican Americans held the same rank position in 1960, but African Americans had moved from near the bottom in rank to near the top. In contrast, Puerto Ricans had the narrowest gender gap in 1960, but one of the widest in 1980. In spite of these shifts in rank order, there was little overall change in the size of the income between women and men. The median gender ratio of income rate score in 1980 was 53, compared to 50 in 1960.

Occupations and Income Rate, 1990

In 1990, the positive correlation of women's ORI scores with men's ORI scores (.905) was not only as predicted, but was also the strongest association between these variables of all four decades (see Table 4.3d). Also as predicted, women's ORI scores were negatively correlated with the gender ratio of ORI (-.738) as were men's ORI scores (-.833). Women's ORI scores were positively associated with women's income rate (.204), men's ORI scores were also positively correlated with men's income rate (.643),

and the gender ratio of ORI was positively correlated with the gender ratio of income rate (.214)—all as predicted.

Women's income rate and men's income rate were positively correlated as expected (.874). The association between men's income rate and the gender ratio of income rate was negative as expected (-.190), but women's income rate was positively correlated (.275) with the gender ratio of income rate when a negative association was predicted.

At 91, Chinese women had the highest ORI score among women. White and Japanese women had the same score, 90. Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Filipino, and African American women have low scores ranging from 50 for Mexican Americans, to 61 for Puerto Ricans. Native American and Cuban women's scores were 72 and 76 respectively. These were all much higher scores than those women had in 1960, but the rank order of the groups changed very little. Mexican American women's changed from third rank in 1960 to last in 1990. The median score changed considerably, reflecting the upward trend in women's representation in management. In 1960, women's median ORI was 19. In 1990 it was 67.

Japanese, Chinese, and Cuban men again had the highest ORI scores ranging from 110 through 117 and up to 136. The next highest score was 72 for Native Americans with all other groups below that. White men's score is lower than either Japanese or Chinese. Mexican Americans had the lowest men's ORI score. Native American, Filipino, Puerto Rican, and African American men had scores nearer the low end than the high. There was a major gap between the three highest groups and all others. As with

women, men's representation in management increased steadily from 1960. Men's median ORI score in 1960 was 36, but had risen to 68 by 1990.

The gender ratio of ORI for all groups became quite large, closing the management representation gap between women and men considerably. Native American women and men reached representation parity. Mexican American women surpassed Mexican American men in management representation. Puerto Rican men and women were very nearly equally represented as were African Americans. Filipino women and men were not far behind. The gender ratio of ORI for Japanese and Chinese was small even though both men and women had the highest ORI scores by sex. Although Chinese and Japanese women were better represented in managerial occupations than other minority women, they were still far less well represented in those occupations than Chinese and Japanese men.

Japanese and Filipino women shared the highest women's income rate of 74. The lowest scores were Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican Americans whose scores ranged from 39 for Mexican Americans to 36 for Native Americans. Chinese, African Americans, and Cubans were between the two with scores of 56 and 42. In comparison, White women's income rate of 52 was exactly the same as African

n income rate for women was 49, far below men's median score of 78. The range of income rates was also much greater for women that for men. Women's income rate had a range of 38 points while men's was 31 points.

Japanese men had the highest minority men's income rate at 140. Both Chinese and Filipino men's income rates were also high, 90 and 91 respectively, but were far short of Japanese men. White men's income rate at 106 was also much less than that of

Japanese men's. Native American, Mexican American and African American men were grouped together with scores of 60, 61, and 63 respectively. Puerto Rican and Cuban men's mid-range income rates were 75 and 81.

African American and Filipinos had the highest gender ratio of income rates while Puerto Rican, Japanese, and Cubans had the lowest. African American women made about 82 cents for every dollar African American men did and Filipino women made about 81 cents. In contrast, Puerto Rican women made only about 51 cents on the men's dollar, Japanese women 53 cents, and Cuban women 57 cents. Native Americans, Chinese, Mexican Americans, were clustered together in the middle with gender ratios ranging from 60 cents on the dollar for Native Americans to 64 cents for Mexican American women.

Change in Occupations and Income Rate, 1960-1990

Women's ORI scores were higher in 1990 than they were in 1960. Women's median ORI score in 1960 was only 19, while by 1990 it had climbed to 67. This is a considerable increase, but 67 is still a very low average ORI score. The range of ORI scores for women's scores narrowed only slightly across the four decades. In 1960, the range between the highest and lowest women's ORI scores was 53 points. In 1990, it had decreased to 41 points. The narrower range of scores indicates that minority women's unequal access to managerial jobs lessened somewhat, but the decrease was only a little over 20 percent in four decades—not exactly great strides toward equality.

Cubans had the greatest increase, 60 points, among women's scores (although theirs is calculated from 1970 rather than 1960) (see Table 4.1 at the end of the chapter). They also moved in rank order for women from eight in 1970 to three in 1990 (see Table

4.16). Native American women had the next greatest increase, climbing sharply from a score of 18 to 72. Unlike Cuban women though, their rank order did not change appreciable. They were fifth ranked in 1960 and fourth in 1990. Puerto Rican women's ORI scores rose by 47 points over the four decades, climbing from 14 in 1960 to 61 in 1990. However, they too did not change their rank order to any extent. They were sixth in 1960 and fifth in 1990. Japanese women's score rose almost exactly the same as did Puerto Ricans—46 points—but they started at 44 in 1960, and ended 90 in 1990. Their rank order did not change at all over the period. The Japanese had the second highest women's ORI score in both 1960 and 1990. African American women also increased their ORI scores by over 40 points, from 12 in 1960 to 56 in 1990, but they too did not change in rank order to any important degree. They were number seven in 1960 and number six in 1990. Chinese women had only a moderate increase in ORI, 26 points, but their rank order also remained unchanged. They were the highest ranked in both 1960 and 1990.

The story is different for Filipino and Mexican American women. Both had ORI increases near that of Chinese women—Filipino women's scores increased from 19 to 52 over the time period, and Mexican American women rose from 30 to 50—but Filipinos and Mexican Americans were the only women whose rank orders in 1990 were substantially less than they were in 1960. Filipino women's rank dropped from fourth to seventh and Mexican American women declined from third to eighth.

In 1960, Chinese men's ORI score was the highest score recorded by any group over the entire four censuses (see Table 4.1 at the end of the chapter). Their ORI score

dropped sharply in 1980 and then climbed again by 1990, yet it was still 49 points lower than it had been in 1960.

All other minority groups increased their representation in management to some degree, but the change was not uniform. African American men's ORI scores rose from 21 in 1960 to 55 in 1980. Between 1980 and 1990 it rose to 60. In contrast, Native American men's ORI score rose sharply from 28 in 1960 to 61 in1970 and then declined slightly to 59 in1980. It gradually moved up again to 71 in 1990. Filipino men's ORI score rose gradually from 21 in 1960 to 44 in 1980 but then took a slightly sharper rate upward to 64 in1990. Changes for Japanese men's ORI scores resemble a roller coaster. Japanese men's ORI score climbed from 117 in 1960 to 141 in 1970, and then dropped to 122 in1980 before shooting back up to 177 in 1990. Mexican American men's ORI scores resemble a much tamer roller coaster. Between 1960 and 1970 their ORI scores rose slightly from 36 to 48. They dropped back to 37 in 1980 before again rising to 45 in 1990. They ended up higher than where they had started in 1960, but lower than they had been in 1970. Puerto Rican men's experience is much the same. There was very little difference between Puerto Rican and Mexican American men's ORI scores in 1960 and 1970. However, Puerto Rican men's ORI score did not drop as much between 1970 and 1980. In fact, Puerto Rican men's 1980 score was higher than Mexican American men's 1990 score. Between 1980 and 1990 Puerto Rican men's score rose again but only to a modest score of 63.

Cuban men's score, which was not available for 1960, climbed sharply and on a nearly straight line from 89 in 1970 to 110 in 1990. White men shared with Chinese the dubious distinction of being the only men to have lower representation in managerial jobs

in 1990 than in 1960. White men's scores rose from 137 in1960 to 146 in1970, but then fell sharply to 103 in 1980. Between 1980 and 1990, they rose to 126, but were still eleven points lower than they had been in 1960. Chinese men's ORI scores fell from 185 in 1960 to 136 in 1990, a decline of 49 points, but still ten points higher than White men. In spite of the ups and downs, the same groups that had the highest representation in managerial jobs in 1960 also had the highest representation in 1990. By the same token, those who had low management representation in 1970 had low representation in 1990.

The gender ratio of ORI either decreased or remained flat for all groups between 1960 and 1970. This is because women's ORI scores increased for most groups (the exceptions are Chinese and Mexican American women) between 1960 and 1970, but the increase for men was proportionately greater. Chinese men's ORI scores declined during that period, but so did Chinese women's, canceling out any real change. Mexican American women's drop in gender ratio resulted from a decline in ORI scores coupled with an increase in Mexican American men's ORI scores.

Between 1970 and 1990, the gender ratio of ORI increased for all groups, but increases were not uniform and some groups changed more than others. Native American women's and men's representation in management came to complete parity, and Mexican American women's representation in management surpassed that of Mexican American men by 1990. Women's scores moved up steadily upward throughout the period, but changes in men's ORI scores were uneven. Both Native American and Mexican American men's 1990 scores were higher than their 1960 scores, but the percent of change was much less than that of the women from these groups. Mexican American men's ORI score dropped a little over six percent from 48 in1970 to

than 117 percent—in the same period. It seems likely that this is a reflection of structural changes in the types of jobs in which Mexican Americans find work. Mexican American men are highly concentrated in laboring and construction work and in agriculture where managerial jobs are scarce to begin with and those that are there are primarily held by Anglos. Mexican American women are more concentrated in retail and service occupations where there are more managerial opportunities, albeit at a very low level.

African Americans and Puerto Ricans both have had dramatic increases in their gender ratios of ORI during the four decades, but the narrower management representation gap is more related to declines in men's ORI scores than increases in women's. Puerto Rican men's scores declined between 1970 and 1980, and the rate of increase for men versus women was much smaller between 1980 and 1990. African American men's ORI scores did not decline and women's ORI scores increased at a greater proportional rate between 1970 and 1980, but between 1980 and 1990 change in men's ORI scores was minimal compared to women's. As a result, the gap between African American women's and men's representation in management narrowed quite dramatically.

The groups in which women had the lowest 1960 ORI scores had the most change in the gender ratio of ORI over the four decades. This is supported by the strong negative relationship (-.714) between the change in the gender ratio of ORI and minority women's 1960 ORI scores (1970 scores in the case of Cuban women). There was however, no association at all between minority men's scores and change in the gender ratio of ORI for the same periods. Why there is such a strong relationship with women's scores and

none with men's is not clear but is likely a reflection of how low women's scores were in 1960.

Most of the changes in rank orders were for the low scoring groups (see Table 4.16). Groups that made the greatest gains in ORI were African Americans, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans—large population, mostly native-born groups. The groups that had the smallest change were the smaller groups with higher percents of foreign-born members: Chinese, Cuban and Japanese. This indicates a pattern that women's and men's opportunities for management jobs are becoming more equal for groups that have traditionally experienced greater degrees of disadvantage than for smaller groups.

Chinese women's income rate changed very little between 1960 and 1990. It did decline between 1960 and 1970, but it increased between 1970 and 1990 to a level only six points greater than it had been in 1960. The biggest difference between the changes in Chinese women's income rate and ORI scores was between 1970 and 1980. ORI scores rose during that period but income rate declined, albeit only slightly in both cases. Filipino women's income rate more than doubled between 1960 and 1990. In comparison, their management representation nearly tripled between 1960 and 1990, but almost all of that change occurred between 1980 and 1990.

Japanese women's income rate changed little from 48 in 1960 to 50 in 1970. Between 1970 and 1990 their income rose moderately from 50 to 74 but in spite of the steady increase their income was still well below that of Japanese men.

Mexican American women's income rate also changed very little between 1960 and 1990. It rose from 27 in 1960 to 29 in 1970, and then from 37 in 1980 to 39 in 1990. The net gain between 1960 and 1990 was only 12 points. Native American women's

income rate rose from 24 in 1960 to 26 in 1970. In 1980 their income rate was 35, but in 1990 it only increased to 36. They started and ended with the lowest income rate of all groups. This is in sharp contrast with their ORI scores. While they were the one of the least represented group in management occupations in 1960, their representation rose dramatically to a moderately high level and equal to that of Native American men by 1990. The most likely explanation why such an increase in managerial jobs did not bring a comparable increase in income lies in the very low scores in both categories and the low scores for Native American men. The big increase in representation in management by Native American women does not reflect any real change in how well represented they are in managerial jobs. Rather it reflects how miserably underrepresented they had been in 1960. The difference with income rate is that Native American women (and men) were miserably underpaid in 1960 and were still miserably underpaid in 1990. The kinds of managerial jobs that women moved into were no doubt low-pay jobs and more likely more a result in structural change in the workplace.

African American women's income rate more than doubled in the four decades, but most of the change came between 1980 and 1990. They rose from 24 in 1960 to 32 in 1970 and from 38 in 1980 to 52 in 1990. Puerto Ricans were the only women to experience a steady decline in income rate between 1960 and 1990. There was very little change from 1960 to1970. Their income rate was 47 in 1960 and 46 in 1970, higher than either African American or Native American women, but it dropped quite sharply to 37 in 1980 and 38 in 1990.

What is remarkable about the scores for African American, Native American, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican women is not the change they experienced, but

rather how low their scores are compared to higher income groups. Change, no matter how dramatic, is less important than where one starts out. To paraphrase Native American author and social commentator Vine Deloria (quoted in (Lawson 1982), change in women's income between 1960 and 1990 more reflects a move from destitution to mere poverty rather than any improvement in economic condition.

Cuban women's income rate was almost unchanged from 1970 to 1990. It was completely unchanged from 1970 to 1980 and only increased by two points from 1980 to 1990. This is in marked contrast to their ORI scores, which increased dramatically throughout the same period. White women's income rate rose slowly and moderately throughout the four census periods, ending in 1990 with a net gain of 17 points over 1960. However, women's net gains were greater than White men's net losses over the same period.

The pattern of change in men's income rate was similar to the pattern of change for men's ORI scores for all groups except for Mexican American. Management representation for Mexican Americans rose, but income rate decreased between 1960 and 1970. Between 1970 and 1990, Mexican American men's ORI scores and income rate generally followed the same pattern as other minority group men's. Increases in ORI were accompanied by increases in income rate, and decreases in ORI were accompanied by decreases in income rate. However, the degree of change, either up or down, in income rate was not in the same proportion as change in ORI.

African American men's income rate rose from 55 in 1960 to 65 in 1970 but from then to 1990 changed very little. Native American men's income rate rose steadily from 44 in 1960 to 66 in 1980, and then declined slightly in 1990. There are two important

considerations here. One is that the increases for both African American and Native American men were nominal and the second is that even at their highest, both scores are much lower than those of the higher income groups.

Chinese men's income rate declined from 85 in 1960 to 81 in 1970. It then rose to 89 in 1980, and remained virtually unchanged in 1990. Filipino men's 1960 income rate rose steadily from 74 in 1960 to 91 in 1990. While Filipino men's income rate had been considerably lower than Chinese men's in 1960 by 1990 they were slightly above Chinese men. Japanese men's income rate rode the same roller coaster as their ORI scores. Japanese men's income rate rose steadily from 1960 to 1990, ending up with the highest income rate of any group, including White men.

Mexican America men's income rate declined slightly from 76 in 1960 to 73 in 1970. It remained unchanged in 1980, but then dropped sharply to 61 in 1990. Puerto Rican men's income rate rose slightly from 72 in 1960 to 79 in 1970, and then declined to 70 in 1980. Between 1980 and 1990 it rose slightly, ending at 75, four points below what it had been in 1970 and 3 points above what it had been in 1960. As with ORI, no data are available for Cubans between 1960 and 1970, but Cuban men's income rate declined slightly from 86 in1970 to 81 in1990.

In comparison to minority men, White men's income rate changed very little between 1960 and 1990. It rose by only five points from 105 in 1960 to 110 in 1970, declined to 106 in 1980, and remained at that level through 1990. In all, White men's income rate increased by only one point over its 1960 level.

Puerto Ricans were the only group in which the income gap between women and men did not narrow between 1960 (1970 in the case of Cubans) and 1990. Puerto Rican

women earned about 65 cents in median income on each dollar earned by Puerto Rican men in 1960, but by 1990 only earned 51 cents on the dollar. Puerto Rican women's income rate fell but Puerto Rican men's remained about the same. All other groups had increased gender ratio of income rates, albeit that many were very small. A number of groups experienced a decline in gender ratio of income rate between 1960 and 1970, but most recovered and rose after. In some cases, the recovery was insignificant. Chinese, for example, ended up only two points higher in 1990 than they were in 1960. Japanese women fared a bit better, but still only narrowed the gap between women and men's median income by seven points from 1960 to 1990 while Cubans and Native Americans only increased by six points. For all practical purposes, women in these groups made no gains in median income relative to men.

Some groups did experience significant change in the gender ratio of income rate. African Americans narrowed the earnings gap dramatically from 44 cents on the dollar in women's median income in 1960 to 82 cents in 1990. Filipinos had very similar results, increasing from 50 cents on the dollar in women's median income earnings in 1960 to 81 cents in 1990. Mexican Americans also closed the earnings gap, although not as dramatically, increasing from 36 cents on the dollar to 64 cents. In contrast, White women made only a moderate gain of 16 cents on the dollar in median income relative to that of White men.

Summary of Change in Dependent Variables

Change across the period from 1960 to 1990 was, not surprisingly, uneven. Women had greater increases in representation in management than men in all groups except for Filipinos. Groups, and especially women, with low 1960 ORI scores in the

early decades had the most gains in ORI scores. The moderate, negative association between the ORI scores for both women (-.571) and men (-.347) in 1960 (1970 for Cubans) and the change in ORI scores between 1960 and 1990 supports the prediction that groups with low ORI scores in the early decades would have the most gains by 1990.

Changes in raw ORI scores indicate that minority groups who already had some advantage in terms of managerial occupations did not benefit from subsequent change to the extent as more disadvantaged groups. In some cases, they even lost ground. The minority group that did the poorest in terms of change in management representation was Mexican American. Women and men both increased their management representation, but only slightly in comparison to other minority groups with comparable 1960 ORI scores. This was not entirely in line with the expectation that groups with low ORI scores in 1960 would have greater gains in 1990. Why Mexican Americans should be an exception is not entirely clear, but may be related to the nature of managerial jobs available to them in the areas of the country where they are most concentrated. This was not entirely in line with the expectation that large groups with low 1960 ORI scores would have greater gains in 1990. White women gained in management representation, but not to the same degree as did most minority women and White men's management representation actually declined.

Most minority women had a greater percentage increase in representation in management than men. Filipinos were the exception. As a result, the gender gap in managerial jobs narrowed significantly for all minority groups other than Filipinos, and even in their case the gap only widened slightly. However, only Cuban and Puerto Rican women had very large increases in the gender ratio of ORI but this is more of a factor of

the wider variance between women in men in 1960 (1970 for Cubans) for these two groups than for others. In other words, minority men made significant gains in representation in management, but at a slower rate than did minority women. It was expected that women would gain in managerial jobs, but minority men were also expected to make greater gains than they did.

Income is a different matter. While income rates for both women and men increased for most groups, the results were not universal nor were they as large as the change in representation in management. As with ORI scores, those groups with the higher income rates in 1960 did less well than those with low 1960 income rates. Puerto Rican women and Mexican American men actually had lower income rates in 1990 than they did in 1960. As with ORI scores, women had larger increases in income rate than did men, but only African American and Filipino women doubled their income rate. Women's median income rate only rose from 37 to 49 from 1960 to 1990, a change of only 12 points. In contrast their median ORI scores increased by 48 points over the same period. This did not entirely meet expectations. While women were expected to gain in income rate, the rather large difference between their gains in income as opposed to their gains in ORI was not expected.

Overall, increases in men's income rate were modest. Native American men had the largest increase, but still only by about 27 percent, and Japanese men's increased by exactly 25 percent. Mexican American men had a 25 percent decrease in their income rate. Cuban men were the only other minority group to have a decrease in income rate but it was only a fraction that of Mexican American men's.

The earnings gap between women and men also narrowed but not as much as did the gap in representation in management. In spite of the fact that Native American women and men reached parity in management representation by 1990, their gender ratio of income rate increased by only seven percent over the entire period. Mexican American women surpassed Mexican American men in ORI scores and narrowed the income rate gap by 78 percent. In spite of these apparent gains, the actual ORI and income rates of Mexican American women and men are very low. The large changes are more of a reflection of how low they where they started than they are of how much they have gained.

Changes in raw scores indicate that in spite of a general increase in minority group and women's representation in management occupation, they were not overly successful in translating the increase into any significant increase in income rate. The next step is to examine correlations of independent variables with the dependent variables to see if a clearer picture of why this may be so can be found. Chapter five will present these finding.

Independent Variables, 1960 - 1990

This part of the chapter describes the independent variable values and changes in those values across the four decades. Tables 4.5 through 4.15 at the end of the chapter show these variables across the four decades.

All groups in the study increased in size over the period of the study, some to a considerable degree. Chinese and Filipinos for example, grew in population by 80 percent or more. In contrast, African Americans only grew by 13 percent. In spite of the growth, the overall rank order remained virtually unchanged. African Americans,

Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans were the three largest groups in both 1960 and 1990. The three smallest groups in 1970 (1960 rankings are not being used because data were available for only seven groups that year) were Chinese, Filipino, and Cuban. There was a slight shift in the small groups in 1990 when Japanese replaced Filipinos as one of the three smallest groups.

The percent foreign-born increased for Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese, and decreased for Cubans. There was an increase in the percent foreign-born for most groups, but change in absolute scores did not generate any appreciable change in rank order. Among African Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans, only Mexican Americans had a large percent foreign-born—41 percent in 1960—but the percent dropped to 33 percent in 1990. African Americans and Native Americans both had one percent or less foreign born in 1960 and only increased to five percent for African Americans and two percent for Native Americans in 1990. No figures for the percent foreign-born Puerto Ricans were provided for 1960. In 1970 and in 1990 the percent of Puerto Ricans who were foreign born was one percent. The percent who were college graduates follows the same pattern (see Table 4.7). The percent with college degrees went up in all groups, and once again there was no appreciable change in rank order. Three percent was the median for women and men with college degrees in 1960. In 1990 the median was 13 percent for women and 15 percent for men.

Three percent or less of African American, Native American, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican women and men had college degrees in 1960. By 1970, the percent for these groups had risen to around eleven percent or less for both sexes. Twelve percent of Chinese women, eleven percent of Filipino women, and six percent of Japanese women

had college degrees in 1960. In 1990, 35 percent of Chinese women, 42 percent of Filipino women, and 28 percent of Japanese women had college degrees. Cuban women and men had similar increases, but started in 1970 rather than 1960. Seven percent of Cuban women had degrees in 1970, and 15 percent held them in 1990. Thirteen percent of Cuban men were college graduates in 1960, and in 1990, eighteen percent of Cuban men held degrees. The only group in which men did have consistently higher percentages of college degrees was Filipinos. For them, women had higher percentages than men in all four decades.

Labor force participation rates are not so clear-cut. Women's participation rates increased for all groups. Native American, Filipino, and Mexican American women all had increases of about 50 percent. For men, only Native American and Mexican American men had increased rates of participation—increases that were much less than their female counterparts. In all other groups, men's rates fell. Most were fairly modest declines, generally ten percent or less, but Puerto Rican men's rates fell by about 17 percent. The rank order for women's labor force participation rates changed slightly.

bor force participation was the lowest of all minority women in 1970, but was in the middle by 1990. Japanese women's rates had been the highest in 1970, but fell also into the middle by 1990. African American women increased from a middle ranking to a high rank. In spite of these changes, the overall pattern of rank order did not change—both women and men in small groups had higher labor force participation rates than those from large groups across the three decades.

There was a decline in the level of self-employment by small groups and an increase by large ones, but the pattern remained. Native Americans were among the

groups with the highest rates of self-employment in both 1970 and 1990. Native Americans comprise less than one percent of the population, making them a small population group, but they are also the fourth largest minority group. In addition, all of the other groups with high levels of self-employment also had high proportions of foreign-born members, while Native Americans have a very small proportion who are foreign-born.

The rank order of groups by the proportion involved in private wage and salary work did not change appreciably over the period. Cubans, and Puerto Ricans had the highest ranks in 1970 (the first year for which this data are available) while Chinese and Japanese held the lowest ranks. In 1990, none had moved more than three places in rank order. Employment in government jobs declined for all groups except Puerto Ricans and Cubans between 1970 and 1990. Both groups increased their representation slightly and the decline for the rest of the groups was also slight. The change did result in one notable change in rank order. Puerto Ricans had ranked second from the bottom in government employment in 1970, but were ranked number three in 1990. No other groups had that large of a change and may be an indication of greater assimilation in the United States. African Americans did drop from number two in rank order to number four, and Chinese dropped from four to six.

All groups except for the Chinese declined in manufacturing employment and the rank order of the groups shifted only slightly. Large groups were still more highly represented in manufacturing than were small ones. Some caution has to be exercised in considering this variable. As a source of jobs overall, manufacturing has been on the decline for a number of decades and a part of the decline in minority group participation

could be as much a result of this sort of structural change as a change in group characteristics.

Over the period of this study, the percent of married women in some groups declined, and the percent of divorced women increased for all groups. The groups with high percent of married women in 1970 also had high percentages in 1990. There was some shifting in rank order, but no groups had more than a shift of two places or more in rank order. The same is true of the percent divorced. While all groups increased, there was no major change in their rank order. Women's fertility declined for all groups as well, but again, the rank order remained fairly constant.

Summary of Change in Independent Variables

Throughout the four decades, small population groups had a higher percentage who were foreign-born than the larger population groups. For the most part, these groups also had high levels of college graduates. The median percent of college graduates increased for all groups but so did the range, indicating that the gap between groups with the most college graduates and those with the least widened. In addition, the median percent of women with college degrees was less than that of men throughout the four decades. The gap between women and men with college degrees also grew wider between 1960 and 1980. It did shrink in 1990, which could partly explain why some women's ORI and income rate scores increased a bit more sharply in that decade.

They had high rates of labor force participation and were heavily involved in self-employment or as unpaid family workers, but they were also highly represented in private wage and salary occupations. In contrast they shied away from government employment and manufacturing. Women and men are not reported separately as class of worker, but

they are for income rate. Women's labor force participation increased substantially from 1960 to 1990 and men's decreased somewhat during the same period, but women's labor force participation was still considerable less than that of men's.

Women from small population groups were also more likely to be married, and were somewhat less likely to divorce. They also had fewer children than women in the larger groups. However, there was no real change in the median number of married women between 1960 and 1990, nor was there any in the median number of divorced women between 1960 and 1980, but the median number of divorced women jumped dramatically in 1990. The median number of children ever born also declined steadily throughout the four decades. Speculatively, there could be a connection between the sharp increase in the median number of divorced women between 1980 and 1990 and the shift from an increasing gap between women and men college graduates as well as in the number of women in the labor force. It may be that a substantial number of these divorced women returned to college to receive degrees and entered the labor force in sufficient numbers to show up in the median scores. However, the lack of change in the median number of married women would seem to indicate that many, if not most of the divorced women also remarried. Again, this is speculative.

Larger population groups were more likely to be native-born and had fewer college graduates. They also had high rates of labor force participation, but in different areas. Large population minorities worked less often in self-employment or as unpaid family workers, and were more often private wage and salary workers, in government jobs, and manufacturing. They were also less likely to be married and more likely to divorce, and had more children.

It is important to note how large some of the differences were between smaller, primarily immigrant groups and the larger, native-born groups. These differences were especially noticeable in the number of college graduates, the rate of self-employment or unpaid family work, the level of employment in manufacturing, and, in the later decades, in the percent of divorced women. All of these characteristics are believed to have an impact on women's access to managerial occupations and to income for both women and men.

Theoretical Analysis of Change

Janet Chafetz

In industrialized societies, racial differentiation is similar to gender differentiation, especially in terms of attaining highly valued occupations. Both women and minority group members are ascribed statuses with sets of assumed characteristics, abilities, and behaviors. This applies well to either gender or minority group inequality in terms of entry into and opportunities within the occupational structure, especially entry into authority positions. Both women and minority groups experience inequality so long as their ability to participate in the labor force is limited by structural restraints. Restraints may take the form of how much they are allowed to participate, or by the type of work they are permitted to do. Census data do not allow sufficient distinction of the types of managerial jobs women and minority men occupy to determine if such structural constraints are at work in terms of ORI. It seems clear however, that both women and minority groups have encountered structural constraints in terms of increasing their income rate. In view of the increased representation in managerial occupations and increased levels of labor force participation on the part of both women and minority

groups, it seems likely that the constraints are in the type of work (managerial and otherwise) in which they find employment.

Rae Lessor Blumberg

Two aspects of Blumberg's approach to gender inequality apply well to the findings in this chapter. The first of these deals with the nature of a society's stratification system. In Blumberg's view, the degree of gender inequality is a function of a great many intertwined social relationships that combine in a stratification system. The more unequal a society is in terms of class stratification, the lower women's status will be relative to men's. The prevailing stratification system as discussed by Blumberg applies to minority groups in much the same way as it does to women. Dominant groups gain control over the means of production and allocation of surplus production. This control is then translated into economic power, which in turn is used to benefit themselves and disadvantage other, less powerful, groups. The more control the dominant group has over the means of production and surplus allocation, the smaller the share of the economic power held by minority groups. Conversely, as the degree of economic control by a minority group increases, the degree of control in other areas increases as well.

This is well evidenced by the continued subordinated position of most minority groups in terms of access to managerial jobs and income rate across the four decades. In spite of increases in both the variables most closely associated with managerial jobs and income and representation in managerial jobs and higher income rates, the majority of minority groups are still underrepresented in each. This is particularly true for the large population, indigenous groups who have long histories of disadvantage in the United

States. Those groups that had greater economic control to begin with, maintained that control and were able to maintain their advantage as well even though some experienced declines in some areas.

The second aspect deals with what Blumberg terms "strategic indispensability." Strategic indispensability refers to how important women workers are to the productive process. In making this determination Blumberg proposes several main considerations.

1. How valuable to the productive process and easy to replace are women workers?
2. What level of technical expertise or education do women hold?
3. What degree of autonomy, perhaps as either self-employed, do women in the work force enjoy?

While Blumberg's propositions are all directed toward women's inequality, these three apply equally well to minority groups. Unfortunately, with the possible exception of the level of technical expertise, none of these components of strategic indispensability can be measured at the aggregate level used in this dissertation. However, value to the productive process and ease of replacement can be inferred from labor force participation rates. Technical skills can be defined in terms of college education, and autonomy can be inferred from rates of self-employment or as unpaid family workers.

These factors vary within and across societal lines and, in general, the more strategically indispensable women and/or minorities are or become, the more likely they will be able to acquire control over resources and gain economic power (1984 p. 62).

In all cases, the labor force participation rates have increased over the four decades as have the level of education of all groups (albeit that some still have very low

levels of college completion). The degree to which groups are involved in self-employment or as unpaid family worker has not changed as much as have other variables, but the groups with high levels of involvement throughout the decades also have high levels of managerial representation and income rates—an indication of at least some degree of autonomy.

Adalberto Aguirre and Jonathan Turner

Adalberto Aguirre and JonathanTurner (1998) offer a theory of ethnic relations in which they link the degree of ethnic stratification to four main factors: discrimination, identifiability, group size, and threat. Aguirre and Turner define ethnic stratification as the "persistent overrepresentation of an ethnic sub-population in a particular social class position" (p. 35). The actual class position is created by a process that begins with the degree to which a group is identifiable or distinctive in terms of "distinguishing biological, behavioral, organizational, and cultural characteristics" (p. 35). The more identifiable the group, the greater the discrimination. In turn, the more a group is discriminated against, the more identifiable they become. The lack of resource shares results in: (a) ethnic stratification coming about, increasing or being reinforced and (b) the group becoming more identifiable and distinctive (pp. 32-35). It is difficult to develop and apply measures of their concept of identifiabilty and apply them to women or to minority groups, chiefly because both physical and cultural or social characteristics contribute to identifiability. Still, women can be substituted for minority groups and the same conditions will apply.

The severity of this process depends in part on group size and in part on the group's entrepreneurial and educational resources. The larger the group in comparison to

the dominant group, the more of a threat the minority group poses and the more likely the dominant group is to discriminate against them. The more entrepreneurial and educational resources groups possess, the more likely they are to either be a threat to the dominant group or the more they will come into competition with the dominant group (Aguirre and Turner 1998, pp. 38-39).

These ideas are somewhat confusing, possibly even contradictory. In the view of Aguirre and Turner, acquiring educational resources increases the threat to the dominant group and hereby increases the extent of discrimination. Nonetheless, acquiring greater resource shares is necessary to achieve a higher position in the ethnic stratification system. This dissertation avoids the conceptual dilemma by focusing on the latter idea. It explores how income and jobs are outcomes of educational and entrepreneurial resources. These resources are represented by college graduation and self-employment, and positive relationships to income and jobs are predicted. It is also important to understand that acquisition of these resources will often generate hostility, but that alone does not prevent the minority group from managing to achieve better jobs or higher incomes. In Aguirre's and Turner's view, increasing numbers of women entering the work place, gaining higher status occupations, and finding places in the political system presents a challenge to men's dominance and become a threat when women start exhibiting behaviors or assuming positions seen as belonging to men. Furthermore, the more women acquire entrepreneurial resources, the less subject they are to men's control and the more able they are to compete with men for scarce and valued resources. Such situations are virtually identical to those of minority groups and may result in greater discrimination and a reduction of resource shares. Women's access to resources is

similar to that of minority groups in education, entrepreneurial involvement, and work settings. The data available do not allow a separate analysis of women's and men's involvement in entrepreneurial areas, but in those that can be analyzed (education for example) the same interpretations suggested by Aguirre and Turner apply equally well to women. Women's labor force participation rates make a good surrogate for increased population size. In this case it isn't how many women are in the population, but rather how many are entering the workforce as competition for jobs. In other words, increased labor force participation rates could be an indication that a greater number of women are accessing better jobs and income and, at some level could create a greater threat to the dominant group in much the same manner as increased population size, educational or entrepreneurial resources.

Elizabeth Esterchild

Esterchild's (1994) general theory of stratification was intended to apply to both women and minority groups. In order to provide a framework for understanding the positions of groups and individuals in the stratification system, Esterchild proposed that around the world, in all types of societies, all work activities can be divided into five types or levels (Almquist 1994). These tiers are hierarchically rated and ranked, so that working in the highest level brings huge rewards and resources to those persons while working in the lowest level brings very few and much smaller rewards. These rewards are both tangible and intangible, consist of rights and privileges as well as monetary compensation, and involve control over property that can be income-producing in itself. This model depicts the structural characteristics of society, but, beyond some general comments, Esterchild does not attempt to explain the "shape" that exists in any given

society, which is formed by the amount of time and effort devoted to each level of activity. For instance, hunting and gathering societies and simple horticultural societies devote very little time and effort to the top three activities—societal control, supervision of production, and exchange value production. Instead, their activities are highly concentrated in producing food and objects to be consumed at home, i.e., use value production, and to a lesser extent, in maintaining the household and its members. In contrast, use value production nearly disappears in advanced industrial societies. The amount of maintenance activity remains high because, despite the appearance of many labor saving household devices, the general standards for maintaining a home and its people have risen.

These activity levels cannot be measured with the data in this dissertation, but the dependent variable for work activities is managerial job access which would fall into the activity level dealing with the control and supervision of the productive process, involvement directly in the productive process, or in the distribution of products. The persistent underrepresentation of women and minority groups, particularly the larger, less well educated ones, in this category is supportive of her proposal that such groups are limited to other (probably lower) activity levels. The same would hold for income rate. The higher activity levels bring greater financial rewards, and the persistently low levels of income rate for most women and minority groups is supportive of this idea.

TABLE 4.1. WOMEN'S AND MEN'S ORI SCORES AND GENDER RATIO OF ORI,

1960 – 1990

	1960			1970			1980			1990		
	Women	Men	Ratio	Women	Men	Ratio	Women	Men	Ratio	Women	Men	Ratio
African American	12	21	58	17	36	48	45	55	82	56	60	93
Native American	18	28	62	29	61	47	43	59	72	72	72	100
Chinese	65	185	35	46	137	33	54	110	49	91	136	67
Filipino	19	21	88	21	37	56	25	44	57	52	64	80
Japanese	44	117	37	46	141	33	50	122	41	90	177	51
Mexican American	30	36	85	23	48	48	27	37	73	50	45	111
Puerto Rican	14	38	36	17	50	35	28	46	61	61	63	97
Cuban	N/A	N/A	N/A	16	89	18	40	96	42	76	110	69
Median	19	36	58	22	56	41	42	57	59	67	68	88
Range	53	164	53	30	105	38	29	85	41	41	132	60
White	48	137	35	48	146	33	53	103	51	90	126	71

N/A Data not provided by Census Bureau for this year

TABLE 4.2. WOMEN'S AND MEN'S INCOME RATE AND GENDER RATIO OF INCOME RATE, 1960 – 1990

	1960			1970			1980			1990		
	Women	Men	Ratio	Women	Men	Ratio	Women	Men	Ratio	Women	Men	Ratio
African American	24	55	44	32	65	49	38	64	60	52	63	82
Native American	24	44	56	26	54	48	35	66	53	36	60	60
Chinese	50	85	60	42	81	51	50	89	56	56	90	62
Filipino	37	74	50	54	78	70	68	88	77	74	91	81
Japanese	48	105	46	50	117	43	61	123	49	74	140	53
Mexican American	27	76	36	29	73	40	37	73	51	39	61	64
Puerto Rican	47	72	65	46	79	58	37	70	53	38	75	51
Cuban	N/A	N/A	N/A	44	86	51	44	84	52	46	81	57
Median	37	74	50	43	79	50	41	79	53	49	78	61
Range	26	61	29	28	63	30	33	59	28	38	80	31
White	35	105	33	39	110	36	44	106	42	52	106	49

N/A Data not provided by Census Bureau for this year

TABLE 4.3a. CORRELATIONS AMONG DEPENDENT VARIABLES, 1960

	Women's ORI	Men's ORI	Gender Ratio of ORI	Women's Income Rate	Men's Income Rate	Gender Ratio of Income Rate
Dependent Variables						
Women's ORI	1.000					
Men's ORI	.703	1.000				
Gender Ratio of ORI	-.214	-.775	1.000			
Women's Income Rate	.721	.827	-.631	1.000		
Men's Income Rate	.857	.685	-.286	.811	1.000	
Gender Ratio of Income Rate	.000	.396	-.571	.450	-.143	1.000

TABLE 4.3b. CORRELATIONS AMONG DEPENDENT VARIABLES, 1970

	Women's ORI	Men's ORI	Gender Ratio of ORI	Women's Income Rate	Men's Income Rate	Gender Ratio of Income Rate
Dependent Variables						
Women's ORI	1.000					
Men's ORI	.530	1.000				
Gender Ratio of ORI	-.067	-.855	1.000			
Women's Income Rate	-.096	.143	-.096	1.000		
Men's Income Rate	.108	.714	-.735	.667	1.000	
Gender Ratio of Income Rate	-.430	-.204	.042	.587	.156	1.000

TABLE 4.3c. CORRELATIONS AMONG DEPENDENT VARIABLES, 1980

	Women's ORI	Men's ORI	Gender Ratio of ORI	Women's Income Rate	Men's Income Rate	Gender Ratio of Income Rate
Dependent Variables						
Women's ORI	1.000					
Men's ORI	.857	1.000				
Gender Ratio of ORI	-.286	-.690	1.000			
Women's Income Rate	.108	.311	-.647	1.000		
Men's Income Rate	.214	.476	-.857	.778	1.000	
Gender Ratio of Income Rate	-.120	-.287	.347	.211	-.275	1.000

TABLE 4.3d. CORRELATIONS AMONG DEPENDENT VARIABLES, 1990

	Women's ORI	Men's ORI	Gender Ratio of ORI	Women's Income Rate	Men's Income Rate	Gender Ratio of Income Rate
Dependent Variables						
Women's ORI	1.000					
Men's ORI	.905	1.000				
Gender Ratio of ORI	-.738	-.833	1.000			
Women's Income Rate	.204	.431	-.778	1.000		
Men's Income Rate	.429	.643	-.881	.874	1.000	
Gender Ratio of Income Rate	-.524	-.476	.214	.275	-.190	1.000

TABLE 4.4. CHANGE IN SCORES, 1960 -1990

	ORI Score		Gender Ratio of ORI	Income Rate		Gender Ratio of Income Rate
	Women	Men		Women	Men	
African American	44	39	35	28	8	38
Native American	54	44	38	12	16	4
Chinese	26	-49	32	6	5	2
Filipino	33	43	-8	37	17	31
Japanese	46	60	14	26	35	7
Mexican American	20	9	26	12	-15	28
Puerto Rican	47	25	61	-9	3	-14
Cuban[1]	60	21	51	2	-5	6
Median	48	32	30	12	4	11
Range	-12	-32	7	12	19	2
White	42	-11	36	17	1	16

[1] 1970 to 1990

TABLE 4.5. POPULATION SIZE, 1960 - 1990

	1960	1970	1980	1990	Change
African American	18,848,619	22,539,362	26,482,349	29,930,524	11,081,905
Native American	546,228	760,572	1,534,336	2,015,143	1,468,915
Chinese	236,084	433,469	810,078	1,648,696	1,412,612
Filipino	181,614	336,823	781,894	1,419,711	1,238,097
Japanese	473,170	586,675	716,331	866,160	392,990
Mexican American	1,160,090[1]	4,532,435	8,678,632	13,393,208	12,233,118
Puerto Rican	892,513	1,429,396	2,004,691	2,651,815	1,759,302
Cuban	N/A	544,600	806,223	1,053,197	508,597
Median	546,228	673,624	1,172,207	1,831,920	1,285,692
Range	18,667,005	22,202,539	25,766,018	29,064,364	10,397,359
White	158,837,671	178,119,221	180,602,838	188,424,773	2,958,710

N/A Data not provided by Census Bureau for this year
[1]Only includes five Southwestern states

TABLE 4.6. PERCENT FOREIGN BORN, 1960 - 1990

	1960	1970	1980	1990	Change
African American	1	1	3	5	4
Native American	<1	<1	2	2	2
Chinese	40	47	63	69	29
Filipino	49	53	65	64	15
Japanese	21	21	28	32	11
Mexican American	41	18	26	33	-8
Puerto Rican	N/A	1	3	1	0
Cuban	N/A	82	78	72	-10
Median	31	19	27	33	2
Range	49	81	75	70	21
White	6	5	4	5	-1

N/A Not included in census data

TABLE 4.7. PERCENT COLLEGE GRADUATES, 1960 – 1990

	1960		1970		1980		1990	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
African American	3	2	4	3	8	8	12	11
Native American	1	2	3	4	6	9	9	10
Chinese	13	16	17	25	30	44	35	47
Filipino	11	5	27	15	41	32	42	36
Japanese	6	12	11	19	20	35	28	43
Mexican American	2	3	1	3	4	6	6	7
Puerto Rican	1	2	2	2	5	6	9	10
Cuban	N/A	N/A	7	13	13	20	15	18
Median	3	3	6	8	11	14	13	15
Range	11	15	25	23	38	38	36	40
White	N/A	N/A	9	14	14	22	19	22

N/A Data not provided by Census Bureau for this year

TABLE 4.8. PERCENT IN LABOR FORCE, 1960 – 1990

	1960		1970		1980		1990	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
African American	42	72	48	70	53	67	59	67
Native American	25	59	35	63	48	69	55	69
Chinese	44	79	49	79	58	74	59	73
Filipino	36	83	49	73	68	78	72	79
Japanese	44	80	55	79	59	79	56	76
Mexican American	29	78	36	77	49	80	55	80
Puerto Rican	36	80	32	76	40	71	50	71
Cuban	N/A	N/A	51	83	55	78	56	75
Median	36	79	48	76	54	76	56	74
Range	19	23	24	20	28	13	22	14
White	35	81	41	77	49	76	56	55

N/A Data not provided by Census Bureau for this year

TABLE 4.9. PERCENT SELF-EMPLOYED AND UNPAID FAMILY WORKERS, 1970 - 1990[1]

	1970	1980	1990
African American	3	2	3
Native American	6	2	6
Chinese	11	3	8
Filipino	4	1	3
Japanese	11	3	7
Mexican American	4	4	4
Puerto Rican	3	2	3
Cuban	5	6	7
Median	5	3	5
Range	8	5	5
White	N/A	8	8

[1]Data not provided by census for 1960

TABLE 4.10. PERCENT PRIVATE WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS, 1970 – 1990[1]

	1970	1980	1990
African American	75	70	73
Native American	70	66	71
Chinese	70	76	79
Filipino	78	79	80
Japanese	68	71	73
Mexican American	82	81	83
Puerto Rican	86	80	78
Cuban	89	84	82
Median	77	78	78
Range	20	17	12
White	N/A	76	78

[1]Data not provided by census for 1960

TABLE 4.11. PERCENT EMPLOYED IN GOVERNMENT, 1970 - 1990[1]

	1970	1980	1990
African American	21	27	18
Native American	24	19	23
Chinese	19	16	14
Filipino	18	18	17
Japanese	20	21	19
Mexican American	13	15	12
Puerto Rican	12	17	18
Cuban	6	10	11
Median	19	18	17
Range	18	17	11
White	N/A	16	14

[1]Data not provided by census for 1960

TABLE 4.12. PERCENT EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING, 1960 – 1990

	1960	1970	1980	1990
African American	21	24	23	18
Native American	16	23	20	16
Chinese	14	17	20	19
Filipino	11	16	7	15
Japanese	12	16	6	14
Mexican American	21	27	27	21
Puerto Rican	52	41	33	20
Cuban	N/A	34	26	17
Median	16	24	22	17
Range	41	26	27	7
White	28	25	22	18

N/A Data not provided by Census Bureau for this year

TABLE 4.13. PERCENT WOMEN MARRIED, 1970 - 1990[1]

	1970[2]	1980[3]	1990[3]
African American	41	44	31
Native American	54	49	46
Chinese	59	60	60
Filipino	58	63	59
Japanese	43	61	60
Mexican American	59	61	61
Puerto Rican	55	40	40
Cuban	58	54	53
Median	57	57	56
Range	18	23	29
White	62	59	57

[1]Data not provided by Census Bureau for 1960
[2]Age 16 plus
[3]Age 15 plus

TABLE 4.14 PERCENT WOMEN DIVORCED 1970 - 1990[1]

	1970[2]	1980[3]	1990[3]
African American	5.1	5.4	11.5
Native American	6	11	11
Chinese	2	3	3
Filipino	2	4	5
Japanese	3	5	7
Mexican American	4	5	5
Puerto Rican	5	12	11
Cuban	2	12	12
Median	4	2	9
Range	4	9	9
White	3	7	9

[1]Data not provided by Census Bureau for 1960
[2]Age 16 plus
[3]Age 15 plus

TABLE 4.15. NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN PER 1000 WOMEN AGES 35 TO 44, 1970 – 1990[1]

	1970	1980	1990
African American	3,817	3,355	2,250
Native American	4,554	1,688[2]	2,469
Chinese	3,005	2,233	1,703
Filipino	3,300	2,216	1,898
Japanese	2,301	2,155	1,470
Mexican American	4,530	3,646	3,277
Puerto Rican	3,418	3,202	2,450
Cuban	2,064	2,053	1,756
Median	3,359	2,225	2,074
Range	2,490	1,958	1,807
White	3,047	2,671	1,961

[1]Data not provided by census for 1960
[2]Women 15 to 44

Table 4.16. Change in ORI Scores Rank Order, 1960 to 1990

	Women's ORI Rank Order		Men's ORI Rank Order		Gender Ratio of ORI Rank Order	
	1960	1990	1960	1990	1960	1990
African American	7	6	6.5	7	4	4
Native American	5	4	5	4	3	2
Chinese	1	1	1	2	7	7
Filipino	4	7	6.5	5	1	5
Japanese	2	2	2	1	5	8
Mexican American	3	8	4	8	2	1
Puerto Rican	6	5	3	6	6	3
Cuban	8[1]	3	3[1]	3	8[1]	6

[1]1970 Rank order

Table 4.17. Change in Income Rate Rank Order, 1960 to 1990

	Women's Income Rate Rank Order		Men's Income Rate Rank Order		Gender Ratio of Income Rate Rank Order	
	1960	1990	1960	1990	1960	1990
African American	6.5	4	6	6	6	1
Native American	6.5	8	7	8	3	5
Chinese	1	3	2	3	2	4
Filipino	4	1.5	4	2	4	2
Japanese	2	1.5	1	1	5	7
Mexican American	5	6	3	7	7	3
Puerto Rican	3	7	5	5	1	8
Cuban	4[1]	5	2[1]	4	3.5[1]	6

[1] 1970 Rank order

CHAPTER V

THE MINORITY GROUP EXPERIENCE: CORRELATIONS AMONG DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

This chapter describes correlations between labor force outcomes and a series of predictor variables. Tables 5.1 through 5.4 at the end of this chapter contain these correlations. The purpose of this research is to explore the conditions associated with being well or poorly represented in managerial jobs and with having high or low incomes. Therefore, the rank order correlations are intended to be descriptive rather than causal. The raw scores used to compute Rho are from the tables reported in chapter four. SPSS version 10.0 was used to compute the rank order correlations. Levels of statistical significance are not included because statistical significance assumes a random sample, which is precluded by the nature of this research, and statistical significance is to a large degree a function of sample size. The limited number of cases makes it unlikely that statistical significance would be found consistently.

A major consideration for this chapter is to avoid blaming the victims. The correlates of labor force outcomes are mainly internal characteristics of the various groups; they do not measure the type of treatment people receive from employers. Some may be tempted to label those with lower status jobs and smaller incomes as instrumental in producing their own limited prospects. For example, larger indigenous groups such as African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans should not be seen as failures for not acquiring higher labor market status. Instead, it should be recognized that the smaller groups, especially those from Asia, comprise streams of largely voluntary immigrants. They are typically highly educated, and enter the United States under two

types of provisions: those designed to reunite family members and those designed for the United States to acquire highly skilled workers (Fong 2000; Woo 2000). While Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos enjoy greater access to managerial jobs than the indigenous minorities, their credentials are still likely to be discounted somewhat, and their jobs and income would be higher than they are now, if the United States were free of stereotyping and discrimination.

A third important concern in this chapter is to avoid creating ecological fallacies as the findings are being interpreted. Quite simply, an ecological fallacy occurs when a researcher generalizes from the findings discovered for one unit of analysis and applies them to another unit of analysis. In this project, the units of analysis are groups, and it would be erroneous to make inferences about individuals. From the results presented here, it would be tempting to say that individuals who are college educated are likely to have higher incomes than those who do not. This would be a mistaken assumption. Instead we can only conclude that people in groups that have large proportions of college educated people are likely to have higher average incomes than those groups who do not. The difference is subtle, but important.

The strength of a correlation is determined by its value, and direction has no influence on strength. Values greater than .801 are considered to be very-strong, values ranging from .601 to .800 are considered to be strong, values from .401 to .600 are said to be moderate, and values that are .201 to plus or minus .400 are considered to be weak. Values below .200 are considered uncorrelated.

Data for 1960 are less complete than for 1970, 1980, and 1990. The Census Bureau did not provide information on class of worker for minority groups or about

women's marriage and divorce rates or fertility for 1960. As a result, some correlations for 1960 are based on seven rather than eight groups, and some other variables are tapped only for the last three decennial censuses.

Population Size

In 1960, population size had deleterious consequences for all of the occupation and income variables described here. The negative correlations between population size ranged from a low of -.252 with men's ORI to a high of -.607 with women's ORI. These indicated that large population groups such as African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans had only been able to attain low levels of representation in managerial occupations and low income rates. Some of the small population groups—Chinese, Japanese, and Cuban—were able to attain higher level jobs and income. This pattern continued throughout the four decades. The relatively modest correlations in 1960 and 1970 became much stronger in 1980 and 1990. As a result, population size emerged as one of the variables most closely connected with jobs and income.

These results are commensurate with the sociological principle that larger groups experience more outright discrimination than small ones. Additionally, it is perhaps more difficult for large groups than for small groups to be integrated into the economy because they are identifiable (Aguirre and Turner 1998). Rather than being absorbed into the mainstream labor force, many members of race/ethnic minority groups remain heavily concentrated in lower level jobs that rarely have a career ladder leading up to the management rungs. It is also consistent with expectations in this study.

Population size had a somewhat different association with the gender ratios. In 1960, group size was unrelated to the gender ratio of ORI, but was moderately and

negatively associated with the gender ratio of income. The correlations between population size and the gender ratio of managerial jobs grew to .905 in 1980 and dropped down to .762 in 1990. The gender ratio of income followed a quite different path. In 1960 and 1970, population size and gender ratio of income were moderately and negatively related. In 1980, there was no relationship between population size and the gender ratio of income and by 1990 it had shifted to a moderate, positive, relationship between population size and the gender ratio.

The results for the gender ratio of ORI are consistent with the earlier prediction that the higher the average level of management representation, the larger the gender gap between women and men. As population size decreased, management representation increase and as population size increased, management representation decreased so that women's ORI scores were much closer to those of men. This is also true for income rate in the last two decades of the study, but not for the first two. In both 1960 and 1970, the negative relationship between population size and the gender ratio of income indicated that the larger the minority group, the lower the gender ratio, i.e., the larger the gap between women's and men's income. The 1980 correlation was too weak to be considered as related, but the 1990 relationship was consistent with the idea that smaller population minority groups would exhibit large gender gaps.

Why 1960 and 1970 were inconsistent with later trends is not entirely clear. One possibility is a change in the labor force participation of women and men. Over the four decades, the percent of women involved in the labor force increased for all groups, while the percent of men who were in the labor force decreased in all groups except Mexican Americans and Native Americans (see Table 4.7). The amount of decrease for men is

slight, between two and eight percent for most groups, but women's participation rate increased dramatically. Large population group women increased their labor force participation rates by 25 percent or more, while the increase for small groups was generally less than 25 percent. Filipino women are an exception. They comprise a small population group whose labor force participation increased by more than 25 percent.

The literature suggests that women's movement into the labor force is generally into jobs that either historically pay less than men's jobs or are jobs that men are no longer entering to any great degree (Reskin and Ross 1992; Reskin and Padavic 1994). Women's biggest increases in labor force participation began to appear in 1980, when the gender ratio changed signs. This would seem to support the idea that they were indeed entering jobs that paid considerably less than men's and to a greater degree than in the first two decades of the study. Unfortunately, this data does not lend itself to testing this idea.

Percent Foreign Born

The percent of a group that is foreign-born is more closely connected to income than to representation in management. There was a moderate positive relationship between percent foreign-born and women's ORI in 1960, but there was no relationship between the two in1970 and1980, and only a weak, positive one in 1990. For men, the story was much the same. No relationship existed in 1960, and only weak, positive ones in the remaining three decades. The association between percent foreign-born and the income rate was moderate and positive for both women's and men's income in 1960 and became increasingly stronger in both 1970 and 1980 before once again dropping to a moderate relationship in 1990.

The results are in line with the expectation that large numbers of foreign-born members would be associated with high income levels. These are generally small population groups, who are highly educated and have traditionally been involved in self-employment or private wage work.

In terms of the gender ratio, a large number of foreign-born persons was moderately and positively associated with the gender ratio of ORI in 1960, but then became moderately negatively associated in 1970, strongly in 1980, and then once again moderate by 1990. The percent foreign-born was only associated with the gender ratio of income in two of the four decades—1970 and 1990—it was weak in one and barely moderate in the other.

The results support the prediction that the higher the percent of a group that is foreign-born, the wider the gap will be between women's and men's representation in management. The percent foreign-born was not as closely associated with jobs and income as was population size, but it was an especially important variable for income. As foreign-born membership increased, both management and income increased for both women and men—although more so for income than ORI. The gender ratio was not clearly associated in terms of income, but it was fairly clear that as foreign-born membership increases there was a larger gap between the proportions of women and men holding management jobs.

Educational Level of Women and Men

Possessing a college degree is a powerful variable for both women's and men's access to managerial jobs and high incomes. In 1960, the correlations were very strong for women and men, but the correlations with the gender ratios of income and jobs were

weak to nonexistent. The general pattern of association between education and representation in management remained throughout the four decades, but its strength changed considerably. For women, holding a college degree became less associated with representation in management, dropping from a strong association in 1960 to a weak one in 1980 and only recovering slightly by 1990. For men, the association between having a college degree and holding managerial jobs became increasingly stronger. The association was only .505 in 1960, but by 1990 had climbed to an impressive .810.

As with representation in management, college education consistently had a moderate to strong relationship correlation with income rate. In 1960, both women and men from highly educated groups were well paid, but men more so than women. In 1970, the correlation between college graduation and women's income increased dramatically, and by 1990 it was very powerful. For men, the association declined from a very-strong .893 in 1960, to a modest .524 in 1970, but then rose quite quickly to .810 by 1990. In spite of all the ups and downs, overall change in the association over the four decades was slight. The correlations for women ended up slightly higher, and for men slightly lower, in 1990 than they had been in 1960 (see Tables 5.1 and 5.4). High levels of both women's and men's education were associated with larger gaps between women and their male counterparts in both managerial jobs and income. This pattern reoccurs throughout the remaining three decades.

This fits with previous research indicating that greater levels of education benefit both sexes, but men more than women. Regardless of their level of education women are less likely to be granted authority over men and when education is a factor, each additional year of education has about three times the positive effect for men to gain

authority positions than for women (Hill 1980). This seems to be especially noticeable in small, male dominated companies and businesses where opportunities to advance to management were generally limited to begin with. Hagen, Zatz, Arnold, and Kay (1991) found that law firms of this type tended to pass over women associates for promotion to partnership positions even though the women held the same credentials.

Labor Force Participation

The correlation between the rate of women's and men's labor force participation and representation in management steadily declined over the four decades. The association was never more than weak, and by 1980 the association for both women and men was gone altogether. These are indications that in the early decades groups with high levels of labor force participation were more involved in management jobs, but over time, high levels of labor force participation became less and less associated with managerial jobs. In 1960 and 1970 when there was a relationship, small population, well-educated groups with high levels of management representation were the most involved in the labor force. In 1980 and 1990, when no relationship was evident, the groups with the highest involvement were for the most part large population, primarily native-born groups with low levels of management representation. This could account for the shift from a detectable association to no association.

In the case of income, there was a positive association between labor force participation rates of both women and men and income throughout the period. The relationship did decline but not very much. Unlike management representation, there was no major change in the rank order of groups with high income. Small population, well-educated groups that had high incomes in 1960 also had high incomes in 1990.

Women's and men's labor force participation was either very-weakly or not related to the gender ration of income in both 1960 and 1970. This remained the case for women's labor force participation rates in 1980, but men's rates were strongly and negatively associated with the gender ratio in that year. In 1990, women's labor force participation rates were strongly and positively related with gender ratio, but men's labor force participation rates were not associated. This indicates that until 1980, the level of a women from these groups who were in the labor force had little or no association with the gap between women's and men's income, but in the last decade, high levels of minority group women participating in the labor force was strongly associated with a smaller income gap.

Percent in Manufacturing

It is clear that the more groups worked in manufacturing industries the fewer management jobs they held and the lower was their income. The correlations hold for both women and men. The only change over the period was in the correlations between percent in manufacturing and the gender ratio of ORI. It shifted from a weak negative association in 1960 to a moderate positive one by 1990. Manufacturing often provides a few high paying jobs, but the number of managerial positions is limited. In the early decades, the few that were available were likely filled by men but as time went on, more and more women moved into management jobs. However, there is no association at all throughout the period between being employed in manufacturing and the gender ratio of income. In the case of the women in the groups under investigation here, some may have moved into a few more managerial positions relative to their male counterparts, but for them, no real change occurred in terms of income.

The prediction was made that high levels of manufacturing involvement would be associated with both low management representation and low income. The findings bear out this prediction and reveal that it is a well-established pattern. This also supports the idea that for groups weakly represented in management and that have low incomes, the closer minority women come to their male counterparts in both income and management representation.

Class of Worker

There are three categories of class of worker: private wage and salary workers; federal, state or local government workers; and self-employed or unpaid family workers. Information on these is available for all person in each minority group (but not separately for women and men), and is not available at all for 1960. Among these three, the correlations for private wage and salary workers parallels those for manufacturing

Working for a wage or salary was negatively related to women's representation in management throughout the four decades. In 1970, working for a wage or salary had a crippling, negative association of .868 with women's level of representation in management. The association eased over the years, but only in strength. For men, the association in 1970 was positive and moderate. After that, the relationship became negative and weak. The groups who had the highest levels of involvement in this type of work have traditionally been larger, mostly native born with long histories of entrenched disadvantage and discrimination. It is encouraging that the negative association seems to be easing, but the overall effect of this class of work is still detrimental to both sexes' managerial representation. Working for a wage or salary has shown no relationship to income for either sex. For women, this has been consistently the case for the entire

period, and for men there has been some variation in the association, but not to a great extent. Finally, private wage and salary employment has virtually no detectable effect on gender inequality in managerial employment, and only weak and inconsistent effects on gender inequality in income.

Government employment has not been a major source of management jobs for either women or men throughout the four decades. There was a moderate association with women's representation in 1970, but the association declined to nothing by 1990. There was only one year in which government employment was associated with men's ORI—a very weak, negative correlation in 1970. After that, no relationship was evident. Government employment has been a source of jobs for some minorities but it seems that few were management jobs. Nor does it appear that they were particularly high paying jobs. The relationship between government work and income has either been negative or non-existent for both women and men throughout the period of this study.

Government employment had a mild positive effect on the gender ratio of managerial jobs in 1970 and 1980, but this relationship disappeared in 1970. Conversely, this same type of work had a modest negative effect (-.383) on the gender ratio of income in 1970; this had decreased to -.268 by 1990. The implication is that government work does not particularly benefit women's pursuit of jobs that are comparable to men's, and that it actually mildly hampers achieving equality with men in income.

So far, these findings regarding class of worker categories do not fit precisely with the predictions based on Esterchild's (writing as Almquist, 1996) research. Private wage and salary employment as well as government employment had weaker effects on income and on inequality in both ORI scores and income than Esterchild discovered.

One plausible reason for this is that Esterchild included 12 distinct race/ethnic minority groups, while this dissertation includes only eight (seven in 1960). Omitted here are four groups that are very unlikely to be involved in government employment: Other Hispanics (those who are not Mexican Americans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans), Asian Indians, Koreans and Vietnamese. More important, Esterchild's research used the income of year round, full time workers. The current project had to use median income of all those with income, a measure that greatly dilutes its usefulness as a measure of labor force outcomes.

The final class of worker category, which includes both those who are self-employed and those who are unpaid family workers, show correlations that are much more similar to Esterchild's, especially in terms of representation in management. This class of worker category is a good source for both managerial jobs and income. The correlations are consistent and positive for men throughout the four decades. They are consistent and positive for women's access to managerial jobs, but unrelated or weakly associated with higher incomes. Self-employment and unpaid family work is a characteristic of groups with both small populations and high proportions of foreign-born members, some of whom settled in minority group enclaves and established small businesses. Using these enclaves as a starting point, a large number were then able to move out and establish small family owned businesses in areas often avoided by White entrepreneurs.

In many of these small businesses, the husband is listed as the owner (a management position) and the wife as an unpaid family worker or sometimes as a co-manager (Aguirre and Turner 1998; Woo 2000). While women in such arrangements

benefit financially as a family member, the benefit generally does not show up in their incomes. Women's incomes among minority groups heavily involved in self-employment were much different from men's. In 1970, self-employment was associated with a smaller gap between women's income and their male counterparts. By 1980, the relationship had reversed to a strong, negative association that remained moderate in 1990. While it isn't possible to develop any causal connections from this data, it does seem evident that the gender gaps within minority groups get wider as they advance up the occupational and income ladder and narrows as they move down.

Women's Marital Status

The next three variables—percent women married, percent women divorced, and fertility rate—are each clearly concomitant rather than causal variables in relation to occupations and income. Sociologists have long suggested that lower income individuals are more likely than those with higher incomes to never marry, to divorce if they have married and still to have a large number of children (Cherlin 1999). These next few pages explore whether minority groups with varying incomes exhibit the characteristics typically attributed to individuals. Again, the findings may not be entirely consistent with those of Esterchild because of the different groups studied and the different measures of income used in the two projects.

The percent of women who were married was only very weakly associated with having jobs in management for either women or men. There was a modest negative association with the gender ratio of jobs in 1980 and a weaker correlation in 1990. These correlations were negative, so that a high proportion who are married was related to a wider gap between women and men in these jobs. This is consistent with Esterchild's

(Almquist 1995) suggestion that in middle and upper income families, the wife is more supportive of the husband's work career and vice versa (Ritzer and Walczak 1986; Almquist 1996; Esterchild and McDanel 1999a; Esterchild and McDanel 1999b). Her attention is more readily absorbed by homemaking and rearing children, and any extra resources, e.g., time, possessed by the couple will be monopolized by his interests.

The percent of women who were married was not associated with either women's or men's income in 1970, strongly correlated in 1980, and only weakly correlated in 1990. In none of the four decades, however, was the percent married correlated with income inequality between women and men.

The percent of women who were divorced was not at all connected with women's or men's attainment of managerial jobs, except in 1970 when it was negatively associated (-.419) with men's representation therein. At that time there was also a modest (.418) correlation between percent divorced and the gender ratio of managerial jobs. After 1970, however, no relationship existed among these variables.

The relationship between percent divorced and income was a different matter. The more women of a particular group were divorced, the lower was the income of both women and men. The correlations range from a weak -.214 for men's income in 1990 to a strong -.707 for men in 1970. As well and somewhat ironically, the percent of women who were divorced was weakly and negatively correlated with the gender ratio of income, so that the more divorced women, the greater the gap between women and men in income. Speculatively, many divorces involve having custody of children, which may handicap women's opportunities to pursue work and a decent paycheck. In addition they

may receive only limited child support that does little to make their standard of living equivalent to the pre-divorce income (Weitzman 1988).

Women's Fertility

Women's fertility rate is expressed as the number of children ever born per 1000 women aged 35 to 44. Nearly all of the older women will have therefore completed their fertility, but many younger women will continue to have more children. For women, a strong negative correlation between fertility and women's access to management emerged by 1990. For men, the fertility rate was moderately and negatively associated with access to management in both 1970 and 1980 (-.571 in both years). By 1990, the correlation was still negative and quite strong (-.833). In both 1970 and 1980, the correlation between fertility and the gender ratio was moderate to strong (.675 and .571), showing that in groups with large numbers of children, women's representation in management was typically closer to men's than in groups with small numbers of children. By 1990, the correlation had become a perfect positive 1.000, again offering strong support for two ideas: the more a group is represented in management, the smaller their family size, and the higher the level of representation in management, the greater the gap between women and men.

The relationship between fertility rates and income was negative and strong to very strong for both women and men in 1970 and 1980. In1980, the correlation dropped to almost nothing, suggesting that 1980 was a bit of a fluke year. Omitting that year showed a trend over time of fertility being associated with reduced income rates for both sexes. However, fertility was only weakly and inconsistently associated with the gender ratio of income.

Chapter Summary

The findings discussed in this chapter fall into two broad categories—those associated with minority group access to management jobs and income and those associated with the gender relationships within each minority group. There are some important differences in the associations between the two.

Gender Inequality within Groups

Probably the most important gender ratio finding is that the same variables associated with women's access to both income and management jobs are associated with a widening of the gender gap. Membership in small population groups, high percentages of foreign-born members, and high educational levels are all key variables in accessing jobs and income. Women benefit from membership in these groups compared to women in less advantaged groups, but they are often severely disadvantaged relative to their male counterparts. Groups in which women and men have high levels of college education both have high levels of management representation and income, but men gain much greater managerial access and income from their education than do the women of their group. The groups with the highest levels of management representation and incomes tend to also be highly represented in self-employment or as unpaid family workers. Both women and men benefit from this kind of activity, but men clearly more so than women. On the other side of the issue are the variables associated with a narrowing of the gender gap. The only variables that by themselves have had a consistent association with a narrowing of the gender ratio are population size and women's fertility the larger and more fertile the group, the narrower the gap between women's and men's access to

managerial jobs and income. It seems a sad commentary on what it takes to even the gender playing field.

Theoretical Analysis of Gender Findings

Janet Chafetz

Janet Chafetz (1984, 1988) proposes that gender stratification operates along a continuum from no subordination to complete subordination and is related to a number of factors. Among these factors are the degree of gender differentiation present, the degree of ideological support for sex inequality, access to decision making power and authority within the family, and access to educational resources. The gender findings reported in this chapter mesh well with Chafetz's approach. In terms of all women in this study's access to managerial jobs and income it is clear that women are subordinate to men in each area. However the degree to which they are subordinated varies across groups. Within each group, the effect is even more pronounced. In all groups, women have lower income rates compared to their male counterparts, but the gender gap ranges from narrow to very wide. The effect for ORI scores displays almost the full range of Chafetz's continuum where it ranges from no gender gap to very wide ones. These results are associated with several factors that Chafetz identifies as being central to her approach. The more highly educated women are, the greater access they have to jobs and income, supporting Chafetz's proposal that access to education is a key variable to sex inequality. Other factors are revealed when internal gender relationships are examined within groups. In groups with high levels of college graduates there is a larger gender gap in the percentages of women and men with degrees than in less well educated groups. This indicates that women in these groups have less access to internal decision making and

authority—at least in terms of who receives the most education. It also supports the idea that some groups have more gender differentiation and more ideological support for that differentiation than do others. There is no way to explore the factors themselves within each group that could clarify these issues with the present data. It does suggest, however, an area for future research.

Rae Lessor Blumberg

In Blumberg (1984, 1991) suggests that women's involvement in the productive process or ownership of property is not sufficient to women's equality unless other conditions are met. Among those conditions are that the prevailing stratification system must operate in ways that contribute to women's economic power and that women workers must be highly valuable—"strategically indispensable"—to the productive process. Blumberg proposes several means of measuring women's value including their value and ease of replacement, their level of education or technical expertise, and the level of autonomy they enjoy in the work force. The findings in this chapter are consistent with much of her approach. High levels of women's labor force participation, which can serve as a proxy for their value and ease of replacement, were associated (albeit weakly) with both managerial job representation and higher income rates. Granted, labor force participation does not capture all of the factors implied by the concept of strategic indispensability, but it does indicate support. Women's educational level is clearer. Better educated women have higher ORI scores and income rates than do less well educated women. However, within groups the picture is different. Blumberg's ideas suggest that high levels of education should narrow the gender gap as women become more strategically indispensable. This is not the case with these findings in

which groups with high levels of education are associated with larger gender gaps in both ORI and income rate. In addition, the gender gap in the percents of women and men with college degrees within groups also widened as the overall educational level rose. Almost exactly the same is true for the level of autonomy, indicated by levels of self-employment or as unpaid family workers. Women from groups with high levels of participation in this variable have higher ORI and income rates than women from groups with less participation. Within these groups however, the gender gap widens rather than narrows as participation increases.

Elizabeth Esterchild

Esterchild observes that there is consistent evidence that higher status groups have greater gender inequality. She also observes that race/ethnic groups with the highest overall ORI scores (and hence status) are also small groups who are heavily involved in self-employment, usually small family owned businesses. The husband/father is usually categorized as the owner or manager (a management occupation) while women members of the family are categorized as clerical/service workers or unpaid family workers. Another possible reason may be that better off, better educated race/ethnic groups may choose to invest education money in sons rather than daughters for cultural reasons. Daughters are sent to college and earn a degree, but sons are far more likely to receive advanced or professional degrees. In addition, married couples invest more in the husband's career than in the wife's. Gerhard Lenski (1966) also noted that in groups with few resources, the resources tend to be shared relatively equally, while in those with greater resources more powerful individuals (and in this case, men) tend to monopolize the surplus and use it to their own benefit. Most of Esterchild's ideas are supported by

the findings in this chapter. The relationships between the variables thought to be most associated with women's managerial job representation and income and ORI and income rates follow Esterchild's approach quite closely.

Adalberto Aguirre and Jonathan Turner

To apply Aguirre and Turner's (1998) minority group theory to gender one must consider that much of the same factors associated with minority group inequality are also associated with gender inequality and result in similar outcomes. For example, increasing numbers of women entering the work place, gaining higher status occupations, and finding places in the political system presents a challenge to men's dominance and become a threat when women start exhibiting behaviors or assuming positions seen as belonging to men in a manner similar to minority groups entry into the workforce and competing with the dominant group. Furthermore, the more women acquire entrepreneurial resources, the less subject they are to men's control and the more able they are to compete with men for scarce and valued resources. Such situations are virtually identical to those of minority groups and may result in greater discrimination and a reduction of resource shares. Women's access to resources is similar to that of minority groups in education, entrepreneurial involvement, and work settings. It explores how income and jobs are outcomes of educational and entrepreneurial resources. These resources are represented by college graduation and self-employment, and positive relationships to income. It is important to understand that acquisition of these resources will often generate hostility, but that alone does not prevent women from managing to achieve better jobs or higher incomes. In the present findings, women who have made gains in these areas have increased their managerial job representation and incomes, but

are still underrepresented when compared to men in general and especially with men of their own minority groups.

Minority Group Inequality

Small, well-educated groups, with high labor force participation rates, which avoided manufacturing and concentrated on self-employment had both high management representation and high income rates in all periods. Population size and the percent foreign-born were less strongly associated with attaining managerial jobs than was expected, but were in line with expectations about their relationship with women's and men's income. It was expected that the level of college education would be associated with both ORI and income rate, which in fact it was, but it also became increasingly more highly associated with men's ORI and income rate than women

The relationship between class of worker and both representation in management and income rate was not as close as expected. The same is true for marital status, i.e., the percent of women who were married or divorced. For the most part, these concomitant variables bore little relationship to the dependent variables. Fertility rate did reveal that the number of children borne by women seems to be having an increasingly greater association with women's and men's management representation and income rate. There is no basis for speculation as to cause at this point, but the change is worth noting.

Theoretical Analysis of Minority Group Inequality Findings

Janet Chafetz

As with the findings in the previous chapter, Chafetz's gender approach translates well to minority group inequality. In fact, they are nearly identical with gender inequality discussed above. Most of the same factors that Chaftez proposes are associated with

gender inequality are also applicable to minority group inequality. With the exception of Japanese and Chinese men, all of the minority groups are underrepresented in both managerial representation and income. Furthermore, the degree to which they are underrepresented operates along a continuum with the larger, more highly differentiated along race/ethnic lines, groups with well established patterns of ideologically driven discrimination and disadvantage having the least access. In terms of Chafetz's key inequality variables, those same groups are less well educated which in itself is an indicator of higher levels of discrimination and disadvantage. The only factor that cannot be applied from gender inequality to minority group inequality is the factor concerning access to family decision making and authority.

Rae Lessor Blumberg

As with women, minority group involvement in the productive process is not sufficient to achieve equality unless conditions in the prevailing stratification system and their level of value and ease of replacement are also favorable. Minority groups steadily increased in both size and labor force participation rates and in their level of education throughout the period, resulting in increased managerial representation and income for most of them. Groups that already had considerable economic power at the beginning of the study did not have the same gains, but this did not result in their losing their high rank positions. The relationships between educational levels and involvement in self-employment or unpaid family work are especially important. Groups high in those variables remained high in both income and ORI scores, and they were important factors in the gains made by the remaining groups.

Elizabeth Esterchild

Esterchild proposes that different race/ethnic groups have different levels of access to top jobs, and different degrees of occupational gender inequality within groups. These differences result from complex interactions of several main factors. Education, population size, proportion foreign-born, and where and how people made a living. Employment in private wage and salary work, manufacturing, self-employment and government work are all important work variables in Esterchild's view. These ideas are all supported by the chapter findings. Small, well educated, immigrant groups had fairly high representation in managerial positions and high income rates. Large population groups with fewer foreign-born members, less education, and involved in work other than self-employment had much lower scores.

Adalberto Aguirre and Jonathan Turner

Much of Agurirre and Turner's unified theory of minority relations does not lend itself to the data available in this dissertation. One aspect that does deals with group size and in part on the group's entrepreneurial and educational resources. The larger the group in comparison to the dominant group, the more of a threat the minority group poses and the more likely the dominant group is to discriminate against them. The more entrepreneurial and educational resources groups possess, the more likely they are to either be a threat to the dominant group or the more they will come into competition with the dominant group (Aguirre and Turner 1998, pp. 38-39). In the view of Aguirre and Turner, acquiring educational and entrepreneurial resources increases the threat to the dominant group and hereby increases the extent of discrimination. The findings of this chapter do lend support to the concept that large population groups incur greater

discrimination and disadvantage, but do not support the idea that increased education and entrepreneur resources also bring about increased sense of threat and greater discrimination. It may be that the key factor is group size and that small population groups such as those in this study do not trigger a sense of threat to the dominant group no matter how well education or involved in self-employment they may be. However, this is only speculation and cannot be examined with the available data.

TABLE 5.1. CORRELATIONS AMONG INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES, 1960[1]

	Women's ORI	Men's ORI	Gender Ratio of ORI	Women's Income Rate	Men's Income Rate	Gender Ratio of Income Rate
Dependent Variables						
Women's ORI	1.000					
Men's ORI	.703	1.000				
Gender Ratio of ORI	-.214	-.775	1.000			
Women's Income Rate	.721	.827	-.631	1.000		
Men's Income Rate	.857	.685	-.286	.811	1.000	
Gender Ratio of Income Rate	.000	.396	-.571	.450	-.143	1.000
Independent Variables						
Population Size	-.607	-.252	.000	-.595	-.429	-.429
Percent Foreign Born	.429	.029	.429	.522	.429	-.143
Percent Women College Graduates	.786	.270	.000	.559	.714	-.143
Percent Men College Graduates	.821	.505	-.250	.757	.893	-.107
Percent Women in Labor Force	.393	.577	-.750	.721	.607	.179
Percent Men in Labor Force	.357	.198	.000	.667	.607	.179
Percent in Manufacturing.	-.643	-.054	-.286	-.360	-.500	.071
Percent Private Wage and Salary[2]						
Percent Government[2]						
Percent Self Employed and Unpaid Family Workers[2]						
Percent women married[2]						
Percent women divorced[2]						
Number of Children per 1000 women age 35 to 44[2]						

[1]Correlations are based on only seven groups
[2]Data for these variables is not available for 1960

TABLE 5.2. CORRELATIONS AMONG INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES, 1970

	Women's ORI	Men's ORI	Gender Ratio of ORI	Women's Income Rate	Men's Income Rate	Gender Ratio of Income Rate
Dependent Variables						
Women's ORI	1.000					
Men's ORI	.530	1.000				
Gender Ratio of ORI	-.067	-.855	1.000			
Women's Income Rate	-.096	.143	-.096	1.000		
Men's Income Rate	.108	.714	-.735	.667	1.000	
Gender Ratio of Income Rate	-.430	-.204	.042	.587	.156	1.000
Independent Variables						
Population Size	-.241	-.429	.253	-.571	-.500	-.536
Percent Foreign Born	-.120	.310	-.349	.619	.714	.407
Percent Women College Graduates	.337	.429	-.253	.667	.595	.252
Percent Men College Graduates	.566	.595	-.361	.357	.524	.108
Percent Women in Labor Force	.229	.548	-.494	.452	.738	-.062
Percent Men in Labor Force	.036	.643	-.747	.310	.857	.012
Percent in Manufacturing.	-.735	-.286	-.133	-.310	-.167	.120
Percent Private Wage and Salary	-.868	.405	.036	.048	-.048	-.359
Percent Government	.554	-.204	.277	-.381	-.476	-.383
Percent Self Employed and Unpaid Family Workers	.747	.810	-.542	-.143	.381	.371
Percent women married	.108	.214	-.193	-.048	.238	.168
Percent women divorced	-.121	-.419	.418	-.467	-.707	-.313
Number of Children per 1000 women age 35 to 44	.072	-.571	.675	-.690	-.929	-.335

TABLE 5.3. CORRELATIONS AMONG INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES, 1980

	Women's ORI	Men's ORI	Gender Ratio of ORI	Women's Income Rate	Men's Income Rate	Gender Ratio of Income Rate
Dependent Variables						
Women's ORI	1.000					
Men's ORI	.857	1.000				
Gender Ratio of ORI	-.286	-.690	1.000			
Women's Income Rate	.108	.311	-.647	1.000		
Men's Income Rate	.214	.476	-.857	.778	1.000	
Gender Ratio of Income Rate	-.120	-.287	.347	.211	-.275	1.000
Independent Variables						
Population Size	-.095	-.524	.905	-.731	-.833	.180
Percent Foreign Born	-.071	.214	-.643	.790	.690	.036
Percent Women College Graduates	.262	.452	-.619	.898	.667	.419
Percent Men College Graduates	.548	.738	-.762	.108	.762	.144
Percent Women in Labor Force	.143	.333	-.595	.958	.762	.180
Percent Men in Labor Force	-.262	-.024	-.476	.347	.667	-.659
Percent in Manufacturing.	-.333	-.476	.429	-.587	-.500	-.108
Percent Private Wage and Salary	-.548	-.333	-.238	.108	.238	-.275
Percent Government	.333	.167	.238	.072	-.238	.263
Percent Self Employed and Unpaid Family Workers	.190	.262	-.333	-.036	.310	-.647
Percent women married	-.167	.024	-.452	.707	.762	-.120
Percent women divorced	-.119	.071	.024	-.503	-.500	-.299
Number of Children per 1000 women age 35 to 44	-.190	-.571	.571	-.120	-.238	.132

TABLE 5.4. CORRELATIONS AMONG INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES, 1990

	Women's ORI	Men's ORI	Gender Ratio of ORI	Women's Income Rate	Men's Income Rate	Gender Ratio of Income Rate
Dependent Variables						
Women's ORI	1.000					
Men's ORI	.905	1.000				
Gender Ratio of ORI	-.738	-.833	1.000			
Women's Income Rate	.204	.431	-.778	1.000		
Men's Income Rate	.429	.643	-.881	.874	1.000	
Gender Ratio of Income Rate	-.524	-.476	.214	.275	-.190	1.000
Independent Variables						
Population Size	-.595	-.857	.762	-.527	-.762	.452
Percent Foreign Born	.238	.357	-.500	.503	.452	.238
Percent Women College Graduates	.405	.595	-.833	.862	.881	.119
Percent Men College Graduates	.690	.810	-.929	.802	.810	.024
Percent Women in Labor Force	-.048	.095	-.476	.766	.476	.714
Percent Men in Labor Force	-.262	.024	-.095	.395	.405	.024
Percent in Manufacturing	-.310	-.619	.548	-.515	-.524	.071
Percent Private Wage and Salary	-.381	-.333	.119	.096	.071	.238
Percent Government	.143	.167	.071	-.156	-.095	-.286
Percent Self Employed and Unpaid Family Workers	.786	.833	-.595	.263	.405	-.357
Percent women married	.071	.262	-.214	.383	.357	-.024
Percent women divorced	.000	-.095	.048	-.323	-.214	-.238
Number of Children per 1000 women age 35 to 44	-.738	-.833	1.000	-.778	-.833	-.286

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This dissertation has explored changes in managerial job representation and income rate separately for women and men among the United State's eight largest race/ethnic group across the four decades of 1960 to 1990. The purpose has been to determine how much change occurred in that period in race and ethnic inequality and in gender inequality within each race/ethnic group. Race/ethnic and gender inequality in income and access to high paying jobs have typically been studied separately in sociology. These issues were explored simultaneously by comparing women and men within each group, comparing women across the different race/ethnic minority groups, and comparing men across the different groups. Insights from theories of gender stratification have been applied to issues of minority group inequality and insights from theories of minority group inequality have been applied to gender stratification.

The research was confined to managerial occupations because they are the jobs that carry the highest pay, prestige, and authority. The increased representation of women and/or minorities in these occupations increase the potential of gaining the power to make decisions that can affect large numbers of persons, including decisions that could advance minority and/or women's interests.

The research was done in two steps. First was a cross-sectional analysis for each of the four decades. Second, change was examined across the four decades of the study in each outcome variable and in rank order correlations (Spearman's Rho) among the variables. Four dependent and fifteen independent variables were used. The dependent variables involved representation in managerial jobs and income separately for women

and men, race and ethnic inequality in access to income and occupations, and gender inequality within each race/ethnic group. The independent variables were those that are believed to have the greatest impact on minority women's and men's access to jobs and income.

Data to measure the variables were drawn from the U. S. Census report on the general social and economic characteristics for each decade. The dependent variables to measure access to managerial jobs were measured using the Occupational Representation Index (ORI) developed by Esterchild (writing as Almquist, 1996). The dependent variables for income were measured using an index of Income Rate which provided a represent that was fairly uniform across the different groups, the four decades, and between women and men. Gender inequality within the groups was measured by calculating a Gender Ratio for both the income rate and the ORI. High gender ratios indicated a small gender gap and a low gender ratio indicated a large gender gap. Census figures were used in calculating the independent variables.

The limitations of census data were taken into account as much as possible. Adjustments were made to account for changes in occupational classifications throughout the four decades. This made it necessary to remove some occupations from the calculations. It was also necessary to use income data on all persons with income rather than the more preferable year round, full time workers because the more desirable data was not consistently available.

All calculations were performed using SPSS version 10.0 software. Spearman's Rho rank order correlations were computed among the variables and results are reported in tables throughout the chapters.

Highlights of Findings

Nearly all groups were better represented in managerial jobs and had higher incomes in 1990 than they did in 1960. Most of the gains were in absolute terms, but in 1990 minority women and men were still substantially underrepresented in managerial jobs compared to their share of the total labor force, and the incomes of most groups were still less than the median rate of all men with income.

The rank order of minority group access to managerial jobs and income changed across the four decades. For both women and men, the groups with the highest ORI scores and incomes in 1960 also had the highest ORI scores and incomes in 1990. Most of the change in rank order was among the groups with low absolute scores. Mexican American women dropped five places in ORI rank order between 1960 and 1990, but their rank order of income remained within one place of what it had been in 1960. Mexican American men dropped three places in ORI rank order and two in income for the same period. Filipino women dropped three places in ORI rank order, but raised almost three ranks in income rate between 1960 and 1990. In contrast, Filipino men raised two ranks in ORI score, and dropped two places in income in the same period.

The relationship between the rank order of minority women's and minority men's ORI scores changed considerably over the four decades. In 1960, women and men of large population groups with less access to educational or entrepreneurial resource and with low absolute ORI scores had quite different rank orders. In contrast, groups that had high levels of educational and entrepreneurial resources, and were smaller in population, had very similar rank orders. In 1990, women's ORI rank order was either the same as

n (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2 at the end of the chapter). The

gender gap in access to managerial jobs narrowed in nearly all groups with some women equaling or barely surpassing men of their groups. While the gender gap in income also narrowed, in no case did it reach or even come close to parity between women and men of the same group.

Women made considerable gains in representation in management in the four decades of this dissertation. African American, Puerto Rican, and Native American women reached or neared parity in ORI scores with men of their race/ethnic group; Mexican American women exceeded Mexican American men's ORI score. However, most minority women were underrepresented in managerial jobs compared to their representation in the overall labor force.

The median income rate for the eight groups of women was 37 in 1960; by 1990 it had increased by 12 points to 49. The median income rate for men increased by only four points from 74 to 78. At the same time the median gender ratio of income increased from 50 to 61. Unfortunately, the change is more of a reflection of how poorly paid women were in 1960 than it is of any substantial increase in their income.

The changes in ORI and income rate are traceable to changes in the variables that were thought to be associated with both minority women's and men's access to managerial jobs and well-paying jobs. Groups that were well educated, small in population, with high labor force participation rates, and who established small businesses, and had both high levels of representation in managerial jobs and high income rates throughout the four decades. The associations between access to managerial jobs and both population size and percent foreign born were lower than was predicted but were consistent with predictions. The percent who are college graduates

was, as expected, associated with both ORI and income rate but became increasingly more so for men than for women during the four decades.

The source of employment for minority women and men, i.e., class of worker, was not related to either ORI or income, but still supported the idea that high levels of managerial representation were more likely for groups that avoided manufacturing industries and government work in favor of self-employment or private wage and salary jobs.

The concomitant variables related to women's marital status and fertility were all but unrelated to the dependent variables apart from an increasingly greater association over time between women's fertility rate and women's and men's managerial representation and income rate.

The key finding regarding the gender ratios was that the same variables associated with men and women having access to managerial jobs and income were also associated with a wider gender gap in both. Women members of minority groups with high ORI scores and income rates did much better than women members of less advantaged groups, but were at a distinct disadvantage compared to their male counterparts. In addition, men benefited more from the variables most associated with high incomes and managerial representation than did women. Only two variables were associated with a narrowing of the gender gap—larger population size and higher fertility. None of these patterns were strongly apparent in the findings of the early decades but were quite clear by 1990.

All groups with the exception of Chinese men increased their managerial representation during the four decades. African American women and men increased their managerial representation and income rate in terms of absolute scores, but were near

the bottom in rank order in both 1960 and 1990. The gender gap also narrowed considerably in income. African American rank order on the gender ratio of ORI remained unchanged across the four decades, but by 1990, the gap in income rate between African American women and men was the smallest of all groups. Native American women and men also increased their absolute ORI and income rate scores. Women reached parity with men in managerial jobs, but, as with African Americans, the rank order did not change.

For most groups, the gap between women's and men's income rate narrowed only slightly, and Native Americans slipped downward in rank order on this variable. Chinese women increased their presence in managerial jobs, but had only a very small increase in income rate. Chinese men had a precipitous drop in their ORI scores and only a small increase in income rate. Even though Chinese women's ORI scores went up, and Chinese men's went down, the gender ratio of ORI narrowed only slightly and the Chinese ranked near the bottom in rank order on the gender ratio of ORI. Nor did the gap narrow appreciably in income rate. They also moved down in rank order on this variable. The Japanese enjoyed increased absolute scores for both sexes in managerial jobs and income rate, but the gender ratio for both narrowed only slightly and the rank orders for both remained at or near the very bottom. Filipino women and men also increased their managerial representation and income rates, but in their case, the gap in access to managerial jobs widened slightly between 1960 and 1990. It did narrow somewhat for income. Their rank order for the gender ratio of ORI did not change, and moved downward two places for the gender ratio of income rate (see tables 6.1 and 6.2 at the end of the chapter).

Mexican Americans of both sexes increased their ORI scores, but the increase for men was very small. In fact, by 1990 Mexican American women had surpassed Mexican American men in managerial representation and their gender ratio of ORI was ranked at the top in 1990 (see table 6.1). Mexican American women also slightly increased their income while Mexican American men's income rate dropped over the four decades but not enough to bring women's and men's income to parity. Their rank order of income did improve considerably. Puerto Rican women and men made considerable gains in managerial job access, narrowed the gender gap to near parity, and rose three places in rank order. The picture was much different for income rate. Puerto Rican women's income rate declined in the four decades and men's increased only slightly. The gender gap widened and their rank order for income rate dropped to last place. Cubans also had considerable gains in absolute scores for ORI and narrowed the gender gap in ORI. They also came up two places in rank order between 1970 (the first year for which data on Cubans are available) and 1990. As with Puerto Ricans, the picture is different for income rate. Cuban women had a very small increase in income rate, and Cuban men had a small decline. The gender gap in income rate narrowed fractionally, but they did move up in rank order in this variable.

The distinction between changing rank order and absolute scores is important to note. A number of factors can influence rank order, including score ties which can result in a very few point change having a disproportionate impact on that group's rank order. Only a few groups actually lost ground in terms of absolute scores and for the one that lost the most, Chinese men, the loss did not have much of an impact. In this case it was due to the extraordinarily high scores that Chinese men had throughout the period.

Theoretical Implications

It is difficult to sort out the factors most associated with women's managerial representation over the four decades. Women's scores were much less consistent and predictable than were men's. This is partly due to the character of women's labor force participation—they are more likely to work part-time, or move in and out of the labor force with greater frequency than men. However, women's continued underrepresentation in spite of considerable gains is in line with theoretical literature on gender inequality. Janet Chafetz (1984, 1988) points out that sex inequality is in part the result of the nature of the work organization and the degree of ideological support for sex inequality. Clearly, there are very powerful structural forces at work that inhibit women's ability to achieve parity with their male counterparts in access to managerial jobs. Equally clearly, there has to be a considerable degree of gender differentiation and ideological support for the factors underpinning both gender differentiation and structural inequality in order for it to continue. These structural forces include the way that employers treat women and minorities. Women are lumped together in a narrow range of occupations while men are given greater consideration for a wide variety of work arenas. Minorities are shuttled into low-level jobs and occupations with limited opportunities for advancement. Over time, these practices have become institutionalized and part of the structure of the workplace.

Rae Lessor Blumberg's (1984, 1991) approach to gender inequality also has support from these findings. For women to advance they must gain considerable control over economic resources and be able to translate that control into advantage. It is quite clear that women have gained control over better jobs and by definition, economic

resources. Yet they still lag well behind men in representation in the higher paying jobs. The most likely explanation from Blumberg's perspective is that powerful persons still have control over the most influential and powerful jobs in the managerial category and use that control to block women's access, probably through the discounting process, to these elite positions. The available data do not allow this idea to be directly tested, but the effect can be inferred.

The question remains whether or not Chafetz and/or Blumberg's approach can be applied to gender inequality within groups. Part of the problem is that both approaches use societies as their unit of analysis. The units of analysis when examining the gender gap within each minority group are the groups themselves. This means that some caution must be used when making inferences. In Chafetz's approach, almost certainly the degree of ideological and/or religious support for sex inequality and the degree of gender differentiation, along with access to familial decision making power and authority could be a factor in larger gender gaps if it can be demonstrated that such factors are a part of the group's culture. Blumberg's approach is somewhat easier to apply to within-group gender inequality but also cannot be directly supported by the available data. Using her approach, groups in which men are dominant and by tradition control resources, such as who goes to college, male children would be more highly valued and receive a greater allotment of family resources. For example, by tradition male children might be the first and most highly educated and women last and least educated. Additionally, tradition and culture may place greater emphasis on men's occupations and careers than on women's. This doesn't mean that women would be neglected, and the more resources the group acquired, the more women would benefit, but not to the same extent as men. In short,

some minority group women might have better access to good jobs than other minority women, but not to the same extent as their male counterparts.

Adalberto Aguirre's and Johathan Turner's (1998) approach to minority group inequality provides useful insights into gender relationships within groups. In their view, class position is created and maintained through a process that includes the degree of a group's identifiability and the degree of threat the group presents to the dominant group. The degree of threat is mediated primarily through the size of the group and the degree to which they possess educational and entrepreneurial resources. Aguirre and Turner were concerned with inequality between minority and majority groups, but they are also useful in exploring relationships between women and men within a minority group. Population size plays a role in that the larger the population of the group, the smaller the gender gap in both representation in management jobs and income (Almquist 1996; Esterchild and McDanel 1999a; Esterchild and McDanel 1999b). Large population groups are mostly concentrated in low level jobs with limited incomes and advancement opportunities (Almquist 1996; Esterchild and McDanel 1999a; Esterchild and McDanel 1999b). The income of both sexes is needed, and neither is likely to have a substantially higher income than the other. Groups with better access to education and who have entrepreneurial resources are mainly small population with more invested in men's careers than in women's and, as a result, have a wider ORI and income gap between women and men. Women do not pose a threat to men of their own group in quite the same way that minority groups do as competitors for jobs with Whites or other minority groups, but their presence in the workforce alongside men may be threatening to cultural

ideas or group values. In this case, the issue is not women in competition with men, but rather the work and income relationship between women and men within groups.

Women's representation in management and their income rates are another matter. Women may represent a threat to all men in the sense that as more women enter the labor force they may encounter hostility and find many paths to better jobs and income blocked or perhaps sidetracked. Women's labor force participation rose dramatically between 1960 and 1990, but the types of jobs they were getting were not the kind of jobs that paid very high salaries. Even the very large numbers of women entering management related occupations did not bring them anything approaching income parity.

The smaller, well-educated group's greater involvement in managerial jobs and higher incomes indicate activity levels closely resembling those described by Esterchild (writing as Almquist 1994) as those that supervise and control surplus production, those engaged in the productive process, and/or engaged in the process of distributing products. The high levels of self-employment and wage and salary work coupled with higher income rates identified with these groups provide good evidence. However, the data are not sufficient to draw any inferences about the types of activities in which the lower ranked groups are involved. However, some inferences may be drawn about the differences in the activity levels between women and men within groups. In the higher ranked groups, the degree of gender inequality in managerial jobs is higher than in the lower ranking groups, indicating a quite different set of relationships between women's and men's productive activities. In the lower ranked groups, the gender gap is narrower and in some cases non-existent. The level of activity cannot be determined (although the lower income rate would bear out that they bring far fewer rewards than do the higher

ranked jobs), but it seems likely that if women and men are performing the same types of jobs, they would be at fairly low levels. Additionally, the findings that even in those groups where women have achieved or exceeded parity with men in managerial occupational access men have higher income rates indicates that there is still a difference in the two sexes relationship to the productive process.

Theoretical Speculation

Rae Lesser Blumberg's (1984, 1991) approach is highly insightful and tantalizing. Unfortunately, her ideas cannot be directly measured in this dissertation—but neither can they be contradicted. Blumberg emphasizes the importance of economic control and separates it from ownership or participation in exchange value production. She also emphasizes that economic control is not dichotomous, but rather exists along a continuum from low to high and is moderated by a mechanism she terms "discounting." Low level gains in economic control are reduced by discounting when they move to a higher level. Several of the factors that she proposes are important to this process for women can apply equally well to minority groups. This seems to be especially so for what she terms "strategic indispensability." This involves a number of factors among which are how valuable and easy to replace workers are to the productive process, the level of technical expertise the workers hold, the degree of autonomy the workers enjoy, and the degree to which worker come into competition with each other.

Minority workers are very important to the productive process as a source of cheap unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled labor, and often to give the appearance of equality in the front office (Collins 1989; Almquist 1995; Almquist 1996; Collins 1997; Aguirre and Turner 1998). Minorities are less likely to hold college degrees than Whites,

lowering their level of technical expertise, and those that do hold college degrees are often in professional and/or technical areas rather than ones geared toward management (Amott and Matthaei 1991; Almquist 1996; Collins 1997; Esterchild and McDanel 1999a; Esterchild and McDanel 1999b).

Work force autonomy is closely linked to high-level occupations in executive, administrative, and managerial or professional and technical areas. Most minority groups studied here are underrepresented in managerial areas. The groups identified as having high levels of managerial jobs, Chinese and Japanese specifically, which may grant them autonomy are also groups identified in the literature as being associated with high levels of involvement in professional and technical jobs (Almquist 1996; Aguirre and Turner 1998; Esterchild and McDanel 1999b; Chung 2000; Fong 2000; Fong and Shinagawa 2000; Woo 2000).

Employers have long used "split labor market" practices against minority groups in order to keep wages and benefits low. Separate but indigenous groups will often be pitted against one another in competition for low level jobs, or outside minorities will be imported (or their importation will be threatened) to keep workers in line and out of unions (Aguirre and Turner 1998; Marger 1999).

Nearly all groups made gains in numbers of college graduates, labor force participation, and degree of self-employment. Yet most minority groups remained substantially underrepresented in managerial jobs and income throughout the four decades. Additionally, they have not been able to translate the gains they have made into meaningful in access to control of economic resources.

The prevailing stratification system is White dominated, and minorities are at a distinct disadvantage. Minority contributions are devalued and discounted at all levels in order to protect dominant group advantage, just as Blumberg proposes that women's contributions are devalued and discounted to protect men's advantage. For example, increased income enables more minorities to afford to send children to college thereby increasing the numbers of college graduates. The net effect of increased numbers of college graduates on representation in management and income is less than it is for Whites is largely attributable to discounting. The same principle applies to labor force participation. Increased labor force participation does not generate the same level of rewards for minorities as it does for Whites, but it has somewhat increased their well-being. The prevailing stratification system is still probably the dominant factor in minority group access to economic control. Blumberg and Esterchild (1990) both have proposed that the only effective way to reduce or eliminate inequality is to alter the distribution of economic power and change the present class system.

The easiest way to reduce women's threat to men's income and occupational dominance is to ensure that the types of jobs that are available to women are inferior in all but name or are those that are declining in value to the productive process. What this may mean is that women were sidetracked into these kinds of occupations even when their credential qualified them for better jobs. Women are moved out of the running for good jobs and income by shunting them into management related or similar occupations through a process that involves discounting women's abilities and contributions much as Blumberg (1984, 1991) has described. Regrettably, none of this can be substantiated by the results of this dissertation, but the results do not "discount" it either.

Implications for Future Research

The results of this dissertation indicate that there are a large number of areas that need to be explored. The present study needs to be expanded to include a wider range of minority groups. It is also very important that the factors that the research indicates are closely associated with women's and minority group access to managerial jobs and income need to be explored in detail. Population size emerged as an important factor, with smaller population groups seeming to enjoy a degree of advantage over large groups. While this is predicted in the theoretical literature, there is nothing in either theory or the data that indicates a dividing line between what is small and what is large. Nor is it clear whether it is actual population size or the concentration of numbers that is more important to minority group disadvantage. The percent of a group that is foreign-born is another important variable, but again it is not entirely clear how it works. For example, Japanese Americans have among the highest ORI scores and income rates for both women and men, and a large gender gap. Mexican Americans have among the lowest ORI scores and income rates for both women and men and have no gender gap in ORI and a much smaller one for income rate than do the Japanese. Yet both have almost exactly the same percent foreign-born. It is important that we explore these areas more completely.

Table 6.1. Rank Order of Women's and Men's ORI Scores and Gender Ratio of ORI, 1960 and 1990

	1960			1990		
	ORI		Gender Ratio	ORI		Gender Ratio
	Women	Men		Women	Men	
African American	7	8	4	6	7	4
Native American	5	6	3	4	4	2
Chinese	1	1	7	1	2	7
Filipino	4	7	1	7	5	5
Japanese	2	2	5	2	1	8
Mexican American	3	5	2	8	8	1
Puerto Rican	6	3	6	5	6	3
Cuban[1]	8	3	8	3	3	6

[1]Score is for 1970

Table 6.2. Rank Order of Women's and Men's Income Rate and Gender Ratio of Income Rate, 1960 and 1990

	1960			1990		
	Income Rate		Gender Ratio	Income Rate		Gender Ratio
	Women	Men		Women	Men	
African American	6.5	6	6	4	6	1
Native American	6.5	7	3	8	8	5
Chinese	1	2	2	3	3	4
Filipino	4	4	4	1.5	2	2
Japanese	2	1	5	1.5	1	7
Mexican American	5	3	7	6	7	3
Puerto Rican	3	5	1	7	5	8
Cuban[1]	4	2	3	5	4	6

[1]Score is for 1970

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