

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TRULY DISADVANTAGED

A Thesis by

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Bachelor of Arts, Wichita State University, 2009

Submitted to the Department of Sociology  
and the faculty of the Graduate School of  
Wichita State University  
in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

December 2011

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The following faculty members have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in Sociology.

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## ABSTRACT

The importance of race as determinant of social mobility is still an issue that's subject for debate. Particularly among Black Americans, in the midst of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the progress of Black American is undeniable yet there still the question of educational inequality, social problems, and income inequality so prevalently associated with inner city Black citizens. Using William Julius Wilson seminal work, the Truly Disadvantaged as a springboard, this thesis examines the implications of the declining significance of race by investigating the social and income differences of Black and White urban males.

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# **The Truth About The Truly Disadvantaged**

## **Chapter 1 Introduction**

William Julius Wilson authored a revolutionary book entitled the “Truly Disadvantaged: the Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy” (1987) which examined burgeoning poverty among inner city Black Americans during the 1980s and the associated problems. In his book, Wilson discusses a multitude of issues that affected the livelihoods of urban Blacks. Among those problems, the issues involving the urban Black male were a recurring theme. Wilson cites rampant joblessness, underrepresentation in job markets, lack of education, increased instances of divorce, increased criminal activity and decrease in the eligibility to marry among the problems surrounding urban Black males (Wilson 1987). The focus of this study is to observe the differences in income, education, family structure and employment between Black and White urban males. Using the Current Population Survey (CPS) dataset to draw a sample, this study is a comparison of urban Black males with their urban White counterparts whom Wilson states are living in the same conditions but seem to fare better financially. Because Wilson’s study was longitudinal it is impossible to replicate his research methods using the datasets available (see limitations). Therefore, using the Truly Disadvantaged as a template, this study is cross-sectional. The observations Wilson made on educational background, marital status, employment status, regional differences, income and spatial diffusion will be examined as variables and compared through race. The argument of this thesis is the environment (available opportunities and socioeconomic status) creates the individual and not the other way around.

## **Chapter 2. Literature Review**

### **2.1 Overview of the Truly Disadvantaged**

According to Wilson's seminal work, between the 1940s and well into the late 1960s, urban Blacks communities were thriving. Changes in the societal policies had become conventional granting more opportunities to Blacks in America. The urban Black population was diversified by class (lower, working and middle). The working and middle classes were filled with professionals (teachers, lawyers, doctors, small business owners) that contributed to prosperity of their neighborhoods (Wilson 1987). The mid-1960s marked the beginnings of the degradation of the urban neighborhoods in the United States and the mid-1970s saw the widespread impoverishment of large metropolitan areas such as New York, Detroit, Washington D.C., Pittsburg and Chicago due to economic recession, progressive increases in urban populations and the disappearance of manufacturing based jobs. Although the entirety of the urban population had begun a downward spiral, according to Wilson, the urban Blacks in particular suffered the most and had undergone a rapid decline due to the changes in urban metropolises.

As the economy shifted, deindustrialization occurred giving way to the information age, increasing technical jobs and the demand for more skilled highly educated laborers (Wilson 1987). Factories which granted the majority of urban Black males work had moved out of many central cities and the number of industry jobs many working and middle-class Black Americans depended on started to dwindle. Replacing these jobs were low wage service sector jobs with lower pay and few benefits leading to unemployed, displaced workers. Furthermore, the growing demand for skilled professionals and the migration of factory-based work out of central cities led

to a mass “exodus” of working and middle class Black urbanites, following the demand and moving to suburban areas leaving the lower class behind (Wilson 1987).

With the loss of its middle and working classes, Black neighborhoods underwent a geographic stigma Wilson refers to as “the concentration effects of social isolation,” the loss of valued members of the social network which lead to better employment, quality services and active role models (Wilson 1987). These groups which would have acted as support buffers during recession were gone, leaving the lower class (without the means to move out of these cities) to their own devices. Without steady employment, Black urban communities fell into shambles. The marriage rates for Black Americans had fallen dramatically across all age cohorts (Wilson 1987:69). However, the birth rate among urban Black women continued to rise. Crime rates in inner cities also rose due to the lack of steady income. Moreover, an influx of young migrants began to fill these urban neighborhoods. However, the circumstances they found themselves in were no better than current residents. Furthermore, many of the migrants were young adults and according to Wilson a positive correlation can be found between income and age. The older the individual, the more likely their income would be higher. Conversely, young adults made less money than their older counterparts, further propagating urban poverty (Wilson 1987:36). The end results acted as a domino effect, creating a new “underclass” of urban citizens from Black and migrant Americans.

Among all of the occurrences and problems found in urban Black communities, one constant was the social and economic effects on urban Black males. Wilson explains the deindustrialization of urban areas combined with the high demand of high skill technical workers and nationwide recession negatively affected the Black male labor-force. In the past, only a high school education was needed to acquire blue-collar based work and a great majority of Black

workers depended on the jobs factories and manufacturers provided. The loss of gainful jobs caused displacement among Black workers and without obtaining higher education, employment of urban Black workers declined. According to Wilson, the number of Black males who held steady jobs suffered a 24 percent decrease between 1930 and 1983 (Wilson 1987:82). While there were a number of theories associated with the declining marriage rate among Black women, such as their growing independence and overdependence on welfare programs, Wilson attributed the joblessness and unemployment among urban Black males as the primary reason behind the rise of female head of households and single mothers among Black women (Wilson 1987). Unemployed men were considered less desirable and unmarriageable than men with steady jobs. Wilson theorized the climb in unemployment and increase in crime associated with inner city Black males was related to the decreasing opportunities, absence of higher education and the deteriorating economy. However, Wilson observed these conditions during the 1980s, which raises the question whether or not the conditions among Black males still persist today?

## **2.2 The Black Male: Individual Factors**

### **2.2.a.1 Age**

Age affects both earnings and wealth accumulation for workers. For example, past studies suggest that as workers age, income rises and then levels off and stagnates (Johnson and Neumark 1996; Shapiro and Sandell 1985). Age is also a dimension of human capital, as an individual progressively ages, s|he generally accumulates labor experience in a field of work or numerous fields affecting available opportunities and income (Becker 1962). However, there are indications of aging being injurious to income growth. Evidence shows that income for older workers tends to decrease after the age of 40 (Shapiro and Sandell 1985). During the 1960s and the 1980s the urban Black population was relatively young. According to Wilson, the median age

of a population determines income and profession (Wilson 1987:36). From Wilson's data, the average median age for whites was 30.3 in urban areas, while for blacks the median age was 23.9 and between 1970 and 1977 the number of blacks aged 14 to 24 had increased by 28 percent (Wilson 1987:36). Wilson states the reason behind the increasing number of Black youths in urban cities was due to young Black migrants. These migrants drastically affected the age structure of urban Black males. The young males overcrowded the labor market. However, the rate of black migrations into urban cities had actually dropped during the 1970s as most blacks started to move out of urban metropolises. Mostly, the growth in population among urban blacks was due to the increase in birth rates (Wilson 1987:35). Still, migration had continued to occur, albeit at a slower pace as poor young blacks moved into neighborhoods looking for better opportunities. Although, inner city migration had slowed, it still had a great impact on urban neighborhoods to which Wilson attributes as a source of social dislocation (Wilson 1987:37).

Research corresponds with Wilson's observations on youth and the workforce growth. Studies have concluded the labor force in general was flooded with young workers aged 20 to 34 from the late 1960s to the 1970s (Freeman 1979). The labor market saw an increase by a third of workers in their early to late-twenties and early to mid-thirties (Freeman 1979). The result was an increase in unemployment due to the loss of work, changes in the market and increased competition for work. The median age among the Black population has increased but still remains younger than Whites in the US which is understandable. Overall, the median age of the Black population in 2004 was 31. Meanwhile, 31 percent of the population was under 18 (US Census Bureau 2004). In comparison, the median age of non-Hispanic Whites was 40 years and only 22 percent was under 18. Granted, these numbers are not a good depiction of the working force among Black males, however, the results do show how young the population is.

### **2.2.a.2 Family Structure**

There are a number of studies which contain findings on the financial benefits of marriage for men (Ahituv and Lerman 2007; Loh 1996; Mincy, Sinkewicz and Hill 2009). Studies have shown that on average, men who are married have higher annual earnings than men who are single or cohabitating (Hersch and Stratton 2000). Another study has found this trend also held true for married fathers when compared to single fathers (Mincy, Sinkewicz and Hill 2009). The findings in a study by Loh (1996) show the rates of married men's earnings increased further if their spouse was college educated. When compared to never-married males, wage's increased for those in their first marriage as they age (Ahituv and Lerman 2007). Another study showed that between 1976 and 1980 married men in the same profession and from the same socioeconomic backgrounds earned 11 percent more than men who have never married (Gray 1997).

Furthermore, men who were separated or divorced still saw gains in income over men who were never married (Gray 1997). This research also showed a significant wage decline for married men between 1989 and 1993. Gray attributes this to a reduction in work productivity among men (Gray 1997). For Black males, these trends carry over from study to study. One study has shown Black men who marry stand to benefit financially regardless of their socioeconomic background and marital situations (Nakosteen & Zimmer 1987). In a sample drawn from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, Black men who were married earned 25 percent more than unmarried Black men (Hill 1979). Black males also experienced wage increases at a faster rate than their White counterparts (Ahituv and Lerman 2007). Based on the literature, there are no economic reasons for Black males not to marry given the circumstances.

However, according to Wilson, the urban Black family structure and marriage rate from the 70s to mid-80s was in disarray due to a number of influences. Among these influences, Wilson determined that the economic backgrounds of single Black males played a primary role in the problems associated with Black women and marriage (Wilson 1987: 91). The systematic breakdown of the Black American family structure is not a new subject and has been under debate since the 1960's. Researchers regard the deterioration of the Black family structure as the catalyst for a majority of the issues surrounding poor Black communities such as Black's overrepresentation in poverty and the rise in female-headed families (Chilman 1991; Thomas and Horton 1992). Further evidence corroborating this statement can be found in the often cited Moynihan Report, which states the problems within Black society stems from the weakening of stable Black families. Daniel Patrick Moynihan listed how nearly a fourth of all Black families were female-headed. Meanwhile, out-of-wedlock births had risen from 16.8 percent to 23.6 between 1940 and 1963. This was eight times the illegitimate birth rate for Whites which had only risen from 2 percent to 3.07 percent, within the same timeframe (Moynihan 1965).

Wilson's findings are similar to what Moynihan found, however, both studies differ on the exact origin of the problem. Moynihan attributed past and, at the time, modern events such as the enslavement of Blacks and the restructuring of the nation's economy during 19th century as well low wages, urbanization during the Industrial era and the rampant unemployment amongst Black men. Still, Wilson also believed that widespread unemployment among Black males from the 1960s to 1980s may have been the definitive reason behind the declining marriage rates within Black urban communities. As Black males lost their jobs they were more unappealing to Black women and the pool of eligible men dried leading to separation, divorce and Black single females marrying later in life when compared to White single females (Wilson 1987).

Further literature also supports Wilson's hypothesis. Lichter, McLaughlin, Kephart and Landry (1992) using the National Longitudinal Survey (NLSY) discovered delayed marriages among Black females were due to economically based reasons, concluding when Black women had access to the marriage pools available to single White women, the probability for early marriage increases. However, even when their marriage pools are similar, 50 to 60 percent of unmarried Black females were still delaying marriage when compared to unmarried White females (Lichter et al. 1992). Lichter et al. (1992) also determined the importance of economic stability among the Black women of urban communities. Results of their study show the number of unmarried Black women in their 20's outnumbered unmarried Black males 3 to 1. Lichter et al. stated the major reason behind Black women delaying marriage was the men in these communities were often impoverished and considered undesirable candidates for marriage (Lichter et al. 1992). The results of Lichter et al. contradict conventional studies on marriage premium. It could be assumed the reasons behind the marriage rate decreased among Black women is either due to the employment status of Black men or Black males themselves delaying marriage to inner city Black women.

Past research has also made connections between race, income and family structure Teachman, Tedrow and Crowder discovered that White families saw an increase of median income from \$40,000 to \$47,000 between 1970 and 1997, nearly an 18 percent gain within a span of 27 years (Teachman, Tedrow and Crowder 2000). Meanwhile, the median income of Black families in his study was only a little over half of White families, \$24,400 in 1940 and \$28,000 in 1997 (Teachman et al. 2000). In general, studies have shown that married couples benefit over couples who are divorced or cohabitating (Martin 2006; Teachman et al. 2000). This statement is especially pronounced in Martin's (2006) study, which compiled data from the 1976

to 2000 CPS datasets to examine differences in family incomes, ranking them in quintile form. His findings on basic family structure naturally showed single-parent families were concentrated at the bottom with single-fathers dispersed across the lower three quintiles. Single-female families were concentrated at the very bottom (Martin 2006). Moreover, Martin further compared the amount of inequality between single and cohabiting and dual parent families. Martin attributed 41 percent of the increase in inequality among American families from 1976 to 2000 to changes in family structure. Martin goes on to state 49 percent of inequality among Black American families between 1979 and 1989 was also because of changes in their family structure (rise of single mothers and changes within the economic and job markets between the 1970s to 1980s) corresponding with Wilson's findings.

Most of the past literature agrees the decline of the Black family structure had affected the urban Black dynamic in various negative ways. The rise of Black female head of households and absence of profitable marriage prospects among urban Black males led to declines in income and wealth among urban Black families. From Wilson's perspective, the direct reason behind the decline is related to the lack of beneficial opportunities and loss of social connections after the disappearance of industry jobs. However, lack of higher education among urban Black males is also a viable reason behind the urban Black dynamic.

### **2.2.a.3 Human Capital**

Individualists list educational attainment and gains in work experience such as on-the-job training and active repetition under human capital theory, which dictates individual characteristics determine increases in income. To summarize Becker (1962), education, training and work experience are the basic elements of what makes profitable, valued workers, as

workers make gains in several areas. Through education experience and innate characteristics, workers could see returns in increased earnings, job mobility and job security if the field they were employed in was in high demand (Becker 1962). Traditionally, education is seen as the choice of an individual. A common argument some human capital theorists is about the difference between Black and White workers is that Blacks lack the general characteristics Whites have to be successful (Darity 1982). Indeed, Wilson himself states to the 1980s during which a large majority of inner city Whites males ages 16 to 64 had attended some college; while most inner city Blacks males were lacking high school education excepting from those residing in the West (Wilson 1987: 102).

Aside from Wilson, past literature has also established a connection between inadequate education and disadvantages of Black males (Blake and Darling 1994; Garibaldi 1997; Noguera 1996; Son, Model and Fisher 1989). For poor urban Black youths, the observations Wilson made may have strong effects on education overall. For example, Edgar G. Epps discussed how many Black men lacked general education exceeding high school and how furthering their education also proves difficult for Black males. Typically, even if Black males do enter college, they do not enter directly after high school like their White peers (Epps 1995). Although more Black males had been entering college, the number of college graduates among Black males was declining. According to Garibaldi (1997) fewer Black males out of the Black population in general had graduated from college with a Bachelor's degree from 42 percent in 1976 to 36 percent in the mid-1990s. Even fewer Black males had graduated with Doctorate degrees within that time frame, 39 percent out of 1,254 in 1976 to 37 percent out of 1,287 in 1995 (Garibaldi 1997). The lack of a proper education could explain some of the disparity in earnings among Black and White males.

Even with higher education Black males still find themselves behind White males in earnings. True, the wage gap for Black Americans has narrowed since the number of Blacks attending and graduating from college had greatly increased (JBHE Foundation 2003). However, for Black males the unequal wages are still an ever present hurdle which differences in education can only marginally explain. For example, the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education Foundation published an article in 2003 comparing income between Black and White male professionals. Findings showed the median yearly income for Blacks males who obtained a bachelor's degree was \$40,770 in 2002, while Whites made an average of \$49,498, a difference of 18 percent (JBHE Foundation 2003).

The income gap substantially increases when comparing professional (judicial, medical and technical) and doctoral degrees. Blacks who obtained their JD or MD only earned 73.4 percent of Whites in the same or similar fields. Furthermore, Blacks who obtained their Ph.D. earned 75.6 percent the median income of Whites who obtained their Ph.D. Speculation of the reason behind the gap was the clientele Black professionals catered to which were often other Black Americans who were economically disadvantaged. The fields of study Black scholars chose to pursue in college may also have been a large determinant in the gap since Black scholars (40 percent in 2003) received their post-doctorate degrees in subjects like education. These subjects are outside of more profitable fields such as natural sciences and technology (JBHE Foundation 2003). This discussion offers insight into how Black professionals can obtain higher education but still make less than their White peers.

The theory of human capital aside, an argument can be made that schooling is not based on individual choices but rather structurally based due to the lack of socioeconomic resources, quality schools and teachers and early access to college experience in urban sub-society. Support

for this argument can be found in the Truly Disadvantaged with the migration of teachers among middle-class Black professionals and the decline of quality public services in Black communities (Wilson 1987). Wilson argued public schools lost role models and quality teachers during the “exodus” as they subsequently left urban cities for suburban areas (Wilson 1987).

## **2.3 The Black Male: Structural Factors**

### **2.3.a.1 Unemployment and Underemployment of Black Males**

Wilson argued that underemployment and unemployment were prevalent among urban Blacks during the 1960s and 1970s. Both unemployment and underemployment among Black workers in general are well-documented phenomena in past research (Abowd and Killingsworth 1984; Blake and Darling 1994; Moore 2010). Moore (2010), using a cross-reference of the Current Population Survey (CPS) and the Displaced Workers Survey (DWS), saw a greater percentage of Black males unemployed compared to White males. In addition to higher unemployment, Black males were also unlikely to be rehired to full-time positions (Moore 2010). A study conducted by Abowd and Killingsworth (1984) has shown when compared to White workers, being Black increased the probability of being unemployed after controlling for other factors such as age and education. In urban areas, even as the manufacturing industry had declined in metropolitan cities, White workers still seemed to come out ahead of Black workers in employment (Mouw 2000).

One possible reason behind the past problems with urban employment could stem from the concentration of Blacks in urban neighborhoods. As Mouw (2000) discovered in his study of the job markets of Chicago and Detroit, despite being in closer proximity to inner city jobs than White workers, inner city Blacks still had higher unemployment. 21 percent of Black workers

were unemployed compared to 6.1 for Whites in Detroit and three times the rate in Chicago, from the 1980s to the early 1990s. This was partially attributed to the high population of Blacks in both cities and the competition for work that ensued (Mouw 2000). The concentration is a topic Wilson has discussed before in the form of “social isolation”: the loss of gainful employment and opportunities by being cut-off from influential contacts (Wilson 1987).

Wilson asserts race has lost its significance in the lives and opportunities of Blacks stating their conditions, both academically and economically, had greatly improved from the late 1940s to 1950s. However, Wilson states conditions had declined during the 1960s due to the recession, overconcentration in Black neighborhoods and deindustrialization (Wilson 1987:7). As the demand for service sector work increased and manufacturing work decreased, blue-collar high-skill work declined in central cities. Blue-collar, low-skill jobs became the staple in urban communities. These jobs were commonly part-time, offered lower pay and little to no benefits for workers compared to white-collar and blue-collar, high-skill jobs which offered full-time status, benefits and at times union support. According to Wilson the importance of race had dissipated.

But recent research shows race in general is still a significant determinant of employment, opportunities and the benefits garnered on the job. For example, Reid and Rubin’s (2003) report on the dual economy market (the existence of two separate economic sectors in the US determined by technology, development and demand) illustrates that despite experiencing decreases in employment between 1974 and 2000, White males were able to recover from the slow market and rise to 20 percent increase in employment in both desirable and undesirable job markets. White males also managed to stay ahead of males in minority groups in annual earnings, making on average \$7,000 more in low-skilled work and \$14,000 more high-skilled jobs than all

other sub-groups (Reid and Rubin 2003). Another study refuting Wilson's theory of the declining significance of race is provided by Abowd and Killingsworth (1984). Through hypothetical simulations and regression analysis, Abowd and Killingsworth discovered that the very characteristic of being Black drastically increased the probability of being unemployed compared to Whites (Abowd and Killingsworth 1984). Black males, in particular young Black males, however have seen a trend of decreases in both employment and annual earnings from the mid-1970s to 1980s (Bound and Freeman 1992).

Wilson had observed the shift in demand from industry-based, high-skill blue-collar jobs to skilled white-collar jobs coincided with substantial growth in the low-skill jobs in the service sector (Wilson 1987). This growth is illustrated in Meisenheimer II's (1998) report as the number of jobs in the service sector had increased from 10 percent across the US during 1945 to 29 percent by 1995. In contrast, manufacturing and industry based jobs were at 40 percent in 1945 and had a rapid decline to 15 percent by 1995 (Meisenheimer II 1998). Studies have shown the inequality in the distributions of Black male. Evidence can be seen in the US Census Bureau 2004 summary which illustrates Blacks in general were spread across occupations in both service (23.5%), and management/professional (26.7%) based jobs. However, there was a lower concentration of Whites in the service sector (13.7%) and a higher percentage of White workers (37.6%) in management and professional positions. Studies have shown Blacks are often underrepresented in white collar positions when compared to Whites (Smith 1997) and often see more disparities in wages in blue-collar positions than in white-collar positions due to discrimination (Bjerk 2007).

With underemployment, Black workers in general have a difficult time being re-employed when they are laid-off or displaced compared to White workers, especially if they settle for part-

time jobs (Moore 2010). Underemployment in urban metropolises also seems to be a result of overconcentration of Blacks as seen in a study conducted by Tigges and Toole (1993). This study showed the larger the number of Black workers in urban areas, the less likely opportunity becomes available for better work with increases in part-time work and underemployment being closely associated with Black workers. Meanwhile, Whites that faced the same conditions saw neither gains nor losses in employment (Tigges and Toole 1993).

Most workers during the mid-1970s and 1980s faced a form of unemployment known as “job displacement,” or “joblessness” in the words of Wilson. The term is defined as experienced workers were laid-off or terminated due to the closing of their place of employment (Kletzer 1998). Other studies have also found Black workers became vastly underrepresented in urban labor markets as urban cities faced deindustrialization (Bederman and Adams 1974). According to Kletzer, this displacement was more prevalent among Black workers when compared to Whites. However, the problem had narrowed for Black workers during the 1980s and the rates between Black and White had closely converged (4 percent for Blacks, 4.1 percent for Whites) during the early 1990s (Kletzer 1998). Contrary to Kletzer’s findings, Bates’ (1995) report on the early labor force and Black males’ participation illustrated how displacement among Black workers was still very much a problem during the 1980s, especially in the Midwest. The Midwestern states’ job market was saturated with blue-collar manufacturing jobs which Black workers had flooded into. However, after the economic shift and the recession, the job market lost the majority of blue-collar manufacturing work during the mid-1980s leading to loss of employment for Blacks and a drop in Black families’ average income (from 73 percent of the average income of White families to 52 percent) (Bates 1995).

Upon comparing the unemployment rates of White and Black males, during the 1940s to 1960s, the employment rate between White and Black workers was extremely close and at times the Black employment rate was slightly higher than Whites (Bound and Freeman 1992; Jaynes 1990). Black workers, however, were highly concentrated in low wage jobs and wage differences were greater between the two racial groups between the 1940s through the 60s (Jaynes 1990). During the mid-1970s to the late 1980s, Jaynes (1990) stated there was a drop in Black males entering low-wage occupations. He maintains a large number of Black males either work very little or not at all in the traditional job market. Meanwhile the employment gap between Black and White workers had slowly expanded and the Black employment rate was 56 percent or 14 percentage points behind White's (Jaynes 1990; Jaynes 1998). These findings provide evidence of Wilson's observation of the transitional phase of the job market, from industrial to technical based work, and the effect it had on Black male workers.

### **2.3.a.2 Region and Urban Life**

Regional differences in income among Black and White males varies depending on the research and data observed. Some researchers say that income inequality between Black and White male workers was more pronounced in the west (Bates 1995; Cohen 1998; Topel 1994) which may be related to the decline in industry and manufacturing work in the region (Bates 1995) as well as increases in immigrants and their participation in the labor force (Topel 1994). However, there are studies which suggest Black workers face the most income inequality in the South (Beggs, Villemez and Arnold 1997; Hirschman and Blankenship 1981) with researchers stating more Blacks are heavily concentrated there and thus have to contend for profitable employment (Beggs, Villemez and Arnold 1997). In a more detailed view of region and inequality, Lynch, Smith, Harper and Hillemeier (2004) saw income inequality varied in specific

areas between 1978 and 2000. However, most of the said inequality among Black and White males in metropolitan areas remained highly concentrated in the Southern states even after American society became more progressive (Lynch et al 2004). A few of Wilson's theories about urban Black social and economic mobility stem from the migration of Blacks to southern and northern areas. Wilson stated the mass-movement of Black migrants from rural areas to urban cities resulted in higher concentrations of poverty among Blacks (Wilson 1987: 34). However, according to Wilson, the migration patterns of Blacks tapered off during the 1970s, as a flux of an approximate 653,000 Black families left urban cities (Wilson 1987: 35).

Still, after the economy had changed and deindustrialization had occurred, Black males who depended on blue-collar industry work found themselves trapped in degrading urban neighborhoods (Wilson 1987). Wilson discussed the theory of social isolation, how Black residents of poor neighborhoods are cut-off from beneficial contacts (Wilson 1987: 63). Without influential contacts for work and opportunities, social mobility was more difficult. There is literature that suggests the over concentration of poor minorities, most notably Black, in neighborhoods is the reason behind the disproportional gap of opportunities between Blacks and Whites. The theory of social isolation was tested and expanded upon by Tigges, Browne and Green (1998). While conducting their study in Atlanta, Tigges et al. concluded not only were poor urban Blacks less likely to have beneficial contacts but also they lacked quality public services. Furthermore, Tigges et al. speculated deindustrialization may have played a smaller role in social isolation because Atlanta had not lost industrial work compared to other large metropolitan areas (Tigges et al. 1998).

The theory of social isolation among Black underclass is further expanded in the form of theories of economic segregation within urban areas (Sigelman, Bledsoe, Welch and Combs

1996; Massey and Denton 1987; Massey and Denton 1988; Massey and Denton 1989). In short, Blacks are the most isolated racial group when compared to other minorities in metropolitan areas (Massey & Denton 1987) and suffer the most from being clustered together. Massey and Denton (1988, 1989) developed a theory of “hypersegregation” (how urban Black residents are effectively cut-off from other racial groups) to explain the centralization of urban Blacks which adheres to Wilson’s theory of social isolation and its detrimental effects.

There is evidence that this trend of over concentration of Blacks which continues to persist in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In the year 2000, 20 percent of Blacks resided in the South with 20 percent living in major metropolitan areas (McKinnon 2001). Furthermore, a 2004 Census report states the majority of the US Black population lived in Southern states and states with high urban populations such as Texas, New York and Georgia. The Southern states in particular had the highest Black concentrations such as Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, where one of every fourth person was reportedly Black (US Census Bureau 2004). This data corresponds with the findings of past researchers including Wilson’s.

#### **2.4. Hypotheses**

Based on Wilson’s book and other previous literature, I developed nine hypotheses. These hypotheses test three types of theory: race, individual and structural. The hypotheses are as followed:

- **Race Segment**

1. Net of other factors, White males’ income will be higher than Black males’.

- **Individual Segment**

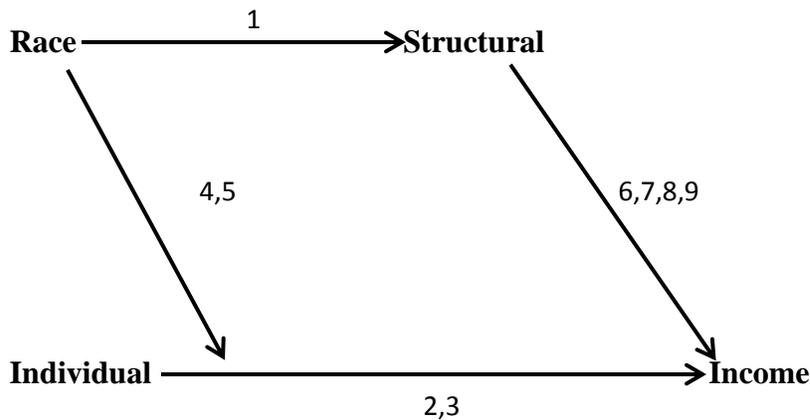
2. Black males will have a lower overall level of education than White males.

3. At every level of education, White males will have higher incomes than Black males.
4. White males are more likely to be married than Black males.
5. More Black males will have children out of wedlock compared to White males.

- **Structural Segment**

6. Net of other factors, older White males will make more annually than older Black males.
7. Black males will be more concentrated in lower skilled jobs than White males.
8. Black males are more likely to be concentrated in part-time work than White males.
9. Net of other factors, southern Black males' income will be lower than non-southern Black males'.

**2.5. Theoretical Model**



This model represents the connection between the variables and the hypotheses of this thesis.

This thesis is primarily focused on racial, individual and structural aspects of urban Black and White males. The racial model segment has several connections to each of the hypotheses. While Wilson states race has lost the majority of its significance in modern society, he still acknowledges race does influence both individual life choices and opportunities to a degree. Previous literature states there is a direct connection between race and income reflected by

Hypothesis 1, net of all factors, urban Black males will make less than urban White males, but it is also speculated structural factors also have influence in this aspect as well. On the individual side, human capital (i.e. education and experience) is widely regarded as investments in one's own individual abilities. Hypothesis 2 and 3 are seen as individual choices. However, an argument can be made that education could also be influenced by structural barriers (i.e. family socioeconomic status, region and residence). Marriage and childbirth are also seen to be motivated by individual choice, as reflected by Hypotheses 4 and 5 but, it is worth noting researchers have made arguments of the structural factors associated between the choices made by Black and White individuals (Moynihan 1965; Wilson 1987). In the structural segment, concerning hypothesis 6, age is traditionally seen as a form of human capital and acts as a proxy for experience, as an individual grows older, labor experience and income should increase tangentially. Due to the influence of race and employment opportunities, it is expected White males will benefit more from all forms of human capital when compared to Black males. Hypothesis 7, Black males will be concentrated in lower skilled jobs and 8, Black males are more likely to be concentrated in part-time work than White males. Hypothesis 9 is both racially influenced and structurally influenced according to the literature. Since a large majority of Black citizens are concentrated in southern states, a comparison of southern and non-southern urban Black males is conducted to identify income differences. It is expected that Southern Blacks' incomes will be lower due to structural-based barriers.

### **Chapter 3. Data and Methodology**

The data for this study is provided by the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (CPS: ASEC) which has been distributed monthly for the past 50 years (CPS ASEC Supplement 2009). Conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor

Statistics, the survey consists of 57,000 households and is conducted once a month for four months total in one year and respondents undergo follow-up interviews the year afterwards. The interviews are run consecutively every year. In total, the sample contained 157,326 respondents, 15 and older, from 2009 after weights were applied to the data. The dataset used for this study was provided by Wichita State University with the original (raw) data edited and prepared for direct analysis in SPSS by David Wright Ph.D. Because the study focused on Black and White males, unrelated races, ethnicities and women were excluded from the sample set using SPSS statistical software. This study also focused on urban respondents in the dataset and sample restrictions were used to remove respondents from rural areas. Unfortunately due to issues with security, the dataset provided did not specify exact metropolitan areas the respondents originated from. However, all respondents were classified as urban residents across the CPS dataset. In order to obtain a better representation of Black respondents, a random sample had to be re-generated from the modified CPS dataset via data manipulation using SPSS, creating a ratio of 70 percent White and 30 percent Black for a total of 10,341 cases in the study.

### **3.1 Dependent Variables**

Income is the dependent variable for this study, which was based on the annual wages and salaries represented by an interval level variable in the CPS in whole dollar amounts. A sample restriction was imposed on the variable, limiting yearly wages to a minimum of \$12,000 and a maximum of \$100,000. It is expected that White males on average will earn more than Black males net of other factors.

### **3.2 Individual Based Independent Variables**

Race is the most important independent variable. The original variable in the CPS raw dataset exhaustively covers a number of categories (African American, Caucasian, Asian, Puerto Rican, etc.) through a multiple choice question containing a selection of 21 different racial identifiers. Because the focus of this study is a comparison of Black and White males' incomes, this variable was recoded and condensed in SPSS into a more simplified metric. The new race variable contains five categories, (White, Black, Asian, Hispanic and Other). Since this study was only interested in Black and White males, sample restrictions were set within SPSS removing women and filtering race. The only categories used were "White non-hispanic" and "Black non-hispanic" males.

Age in the CPS is an interval level variable measuring all respondents' individual ages in years. Sample restrictions were applied to limit the target age range between 16 and 64. As people grow older income tends to gradually increase, level off and decrease. To account for the non-linear relationship between income and age, a new transformed age variable had to be created by standardizing and squaring the original age variable.

Education in the CPS was measured as a 16 category ordinal-level variable with values ranging from below first grade to doctorate. This variable was recoded into four variables relating to educational attainment. One of the variables is a five level ordinal based variable rating whether or not the respondent completed high school; obtained their high school diploma; attended some college or received their associate degree; received their bachelor's degree or received post-secondary degree. Binary dummy variables were created to distinguish respondents who received their associate, bachelors or post graduate degrees or have yet to complete the college curriculum for use in multivariate regression analysis. Since two of the hypotheses in this study only pertain to respondents who obtained higher education, variables

had to be recoded and separated into a set of binaries to simplify analysis, either the respondents achieved the level of education in question or not. These variables divided education into whether or not they attended college and received an associate's degree, attainment of a college degree (BS, BA) and an advanced degree (MA, MS, Ph.D. and MD). It was expected that White respondents will have achieved higher levels of education than Black respondents which in turn affects income.

Marital status was measured as a six level nominal variable in the CPS. Because this study was only interested in whether or not the respondents were married, ever married or single, the variable was recoded into a three level nominal variable which encompasses these categories. For the purposes of multivariate analysis, marital status was recoded further into dichotomous categories measuring whether respondents were married, never married or divorced. Because one of the hypotheses involves children out of wedlock, two dichotomous variables examining children under the ages of 6 and 18 born to respondents were included in the study. A six category nominal-level variable combining race and marital status was created measuring whether Black and White males of the sample were married, divorced/separated or never married. This variable was used in conjunction with variables measuring respondents with children under the age of 6 and 18 to determine the number of married, single, and divorced adult males in the sample. It is expected that more Blacks will have children and be divorced or never married in accordance to Wilson's observations.

### **3.4 Structural Based Independent Variable**

The variables used for the structural model are employment type, employment status and region. All categories were based on Wilson's work. Beginning with employment, which was

represented by separate variables in the CPS measuring types of occupation and work status. A sample restriction was made on military personnel, excluding them before analysis was conducted. Respondents were classified whether they worked in blue-collar and white-collar positions. These positions were further differentiated by high-skill, requiring higher education, or low-skill, requiring high school education, using a recoded four category nominal-level variable. It was expected that more Black males will be concentrated in lower skilled jobs than White males. The CPS dataset does not contain a variable with unemployment as a category. Past literature indicated part-time employment is a marker of unemployment and joblessness. Therefore, due to the absence of an unemployment-based measure, a five level ordinal variable measuring whether the respondents had a full-time job or part-time job at the time of the survey was dichotomously coded. This variable was recoded into a binary nominal level variable for full-time employment and part-time employment in lieu of a measure for unemployment.

The last structural independent variable is region, which is measured as a nominal-level variable in the provided CPS dataset, representing the West, Midwest, Southern and Northeastern regions of the United States. This study is interested in the amount of income respondents in the South generate annually. Therefore, a binary dummy variable was created for multivariate analysis purposes, separating southerners from all other regions.

## **Chapter 4. Results**

### **4.1 Univariate Analysis**

In Appendix A, Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations for each of the independent variables, race, age, marital status, employment status, region, education, job status, number of respondents with children under 6 and 18 as well as the dependent variable income. The analysis

of the dependent variable, income, shows the average yearly earnings for all respondents was \$45,140 (sd=22080.375). As stated above, the minimum yearly income was \$12,000 and the maximum yearly income was \$100,000. The total number of sampled urban males was 10,341. The majority of the respondents were identified as urban White males (70%; n=7,242) while urban Black males composed thirty percent of the sample (30%; n=3,099). Upon examining the individual model, due to the imposed age restriction, the youngest respondents were 18 while the oldest were 64; however, the average age for respondents was 40 with a standard deviation of 12 years. The results of the univariate analysis for the remaining structural and individual factor variables are the following.

In education, 33.7 percent (3,490) of the sample had only completed high school, 31.6 percent (3,268) reportedly had either received their associate's degree or went to college and had not completed the curriculum. A small portion of the sample, 20.7 percent (2,146), obtained their Bachelor's degree. A small minority, 8.6 percent (888), received an advanced degree and an even smaller percentage, 5.3 percent (549) had never finished high school. Regarding marital status, most of the respondents were married in the target sample, 55.5 percent (5,740). However, there were also a large number of respondents, 31.2 percent (3,225), who never married. The percentage of the sample that had been married and was currently divorced was 13.3 percent (1,376). For family structure, the number of respondents with children under the age of 6 and 18 was also measured. 1,721(16.6%) of the sample had at least one child under the age of 6 in their families. The number of respondents with at least one child under the age of 18 was 3,742 (36.2%).

With regard to the structural model of the thesis and beginning with occupational type, 31.6 percent (3,272) of the respondents in the sample were classified as white-collar, high-skilled

workers. 18.5 percent (1,914) of the respondents were white-collar, low-skilled workers. 28.5 percent (2,950) were classified as blue-collar, high skilled and 21.3 percent (2,204) were blue-collar, low-skilled. The analysis for employment status shows 82.3 percent (8,508) of the sample was working full-time while 18 percent (1,832) of the sample was working part-time. Regionally, a large percentage of the respondents were from the south. Thirty-nine percent (4,032) reported living in southern states. The region with the second highest number of respondents was the midwest at 24.1 percent (2,495). 18.4 percent (1,903) stated they were from the northeast and 18.5 percent (1,910) of the sample was from the west.

#### **4.2 Bivariate Analysis**

Tables 2 through 9 display the bivariate analysis, beginning with the yearly incomes of Black and White males. The average yearly income for Black males was \$38,637.32 while White males averaged \$47,946.69. An independent samples t-test was conducted to see if there was a significant difference between the average incomes of Black and White males (see table 2). The analysis suggests a strong relationship between race and income exists ( $t=21.530$ ,  $p<.001$ ). An analysis of the effect size shows a moderate meaningful statistical difference between the mean incomes of Black and White males (0.413). On average, the sampled urban White males do earn more annually than urban Black males supporting the first hypothesis.

Table 3 displays the results of a chi-square analysis which indicates a significant relationship between race and education. The percentage of urban Black males (40.1%) who had completed high school compared to urban White males (31%) was larger. As predicted, more White males had higher education. (23.2%) graduated from college with a Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Sciences than Black males (15%). While few respondents had obtained post-graduate degrees,

more White males received their advanced degree compared to Blacks (9.5% White, 6.4% Black) supporting hypothesis 2 ( $\chi^2=10,341$ ;  $df=4$ ,  $p<.001$ ). The percentages of urban Black males and urban White males who had attended college or received their associate's degrees were nearly identical with the number of White respondents at 31.7 percent and Black respondents at 31.5 percent.

Table 4 displays the results of a chi-square analysis of race and employment type which shows a significant relationship between the two variables ( $\chi^2 = 295.252$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p<.001$ ). According to the analysis, more White males were concentrated in white-collar, high-skill positions (34.5% White compared to 24.9% Black). There were more Whites than Blacks in white-collar, high-skill positions (19% White compared to 17.3% Blacks). Meanwhile on the other end of the spectrum, as predicted, more urban Blacks were found in blue-collar low-skill positions (18.6% White compared to 32% Black) supporting hypothesis 7. In blue-collar, high-skill positions, there were more urban Whites than Blacks (32% White compared to 26% Black).

A chi-square analysis of race and employment status (whether the respondents work full-time or less) was conducted and the results recorded in table 5. The chi-square analysis was not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=1.959$   $df=1$ ;  $p=.162$ ). The analysis, however, showed that more urban Black workers were in full-time positions compared Whites (83.1% Black; 81.9% White). Furthermore, fewer Black males were in part-time positions overall when compared to White males (18.1% White; 16.9% Black) refuting hypothesis 8.

Table 6 has the results of a chi-square analysis for race and regional area. The analysis revealed a significant relationship between region and race ( $\chi^2=389.398$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p<.001$ ). More Black males in this sample reside in southern urban areas compared to Whites (53.5% Black

compared to 32.8% White). More urban White males could be found in the midwestern (26.5% White compared to 18.6% Black) and western regions (21.6% White compared to 11.2% Black). 19.1 percent of the urban White males and 16.7 percent of Blacks could be found in northeastern areas.

Table 7 displays the results of a chi-square test for race and marital status assessing whether a relationship between the two variables existed. The results show a statistical relationship between race and marital status ( $\chi^2=158.236$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p<.001$ ) supporting hypothesis 5. At the time of the study, within their races, there were more urban White males (59.5%) married than urban Black males (46.20%). There was also an indication that more urban Black males (15.5%) were divorced than White males (12.3%). More urban Black males who had never been married compared to urban Whites (38.3% Black compared to 28.1% White).

Table 8 shows the chi-square analysis for the race and marital status variable and respondents with at least one child under the age of six. Results of the analysis show a strong significant relationship between the two variables ( $\chi^2=776.685$ ;  $df=5$ ;  $p<.001$ ). For Black and White males in this sample, the percentages of those who were married and had at least a child under the age 6 were extremely close (26.0% White; 25.0% Black). Only a minute few were separated or divorced with a child under the age of 6, but when compared to White males, the percentage for Black males was slightly higher (3.9% White; 4.4% Black). Furthermore, there was a larger percent of Black males who had never been married with a child under the age of 6 (4.7% White; 7.8% Black) offering support for hypothesis 4.

A chi-square analysis was performed between the race and marital status variable and respondents with least one child under the age of 18. The results, which can be seen in table 9,

indicate a strong statistical significant relationship between the variables ( $\chi^2=1884.246$ ;  $df =5$ ;  $p<.001$ ). In this analysis, the percentage of respondents who reported having a child under the age of 18 was higher among married urban Black males when compared to married urban White males (53.0% White; 58.7% Black). The percentages of divorced Black and White males with a child under 18 were nearly identical (15.3% White; 15.8 Black). However, the percentage of Black males who were never married but had a child out of wedlock were higher when compared to White males (10.4% White; 16.3% Black) providing further support for hypothesis 4.

### **4.3 Multivariate Regression Analysis**

Table 10 displays the results of a multiple regression analysis which was conducted on the full sample to predict males' annual wages and salaries. Tests for outliers were conducted which resulted in 22 outliers in the model which was considerably less than 5 percent of the total sample. Although the value found in the Mahalanobis distance test (40.482) and the centered leverage value (.004) suggest otherwise, the number of outliers in the sample were too few to warrant removing them.

The adjusted  $R^2$  for the model was .393 meaning these twelve variables account for nearly 40 percent of the variation found in urban men's annual wages ( $F=515.383$ ;  $p<.001$ ). When observing the relationship of each of the independent variables and annual wages, according to the analysis, urban Black males on average earn \$5,486 less than urban White males supporting hypothesis 1. The model shows every yearly increase in age accounts for a \$297 increase in annual wages. However, upon reviewing age when it is standardized and squared, every increase in this transformed age variable results in a \$2,349 decrease in annual wages for urban males in general. For educational attainment, the measure for respondents who only obtained their high

school diploma was excluded by SPSS and used for comparison. According to the analysis, respondents who obtained their bachelor's degree earn on average controlling for race, other individual and structural effects \$9,493 more in annual wages compared to respondents only received their high school diploma. The analysis concludes showing respondents who had obtained their post graduate degree (master's or doctorate) also fared better financially earning \$14,847 more annually than respondents with only a high school diploma.

Urban males who are divorced saw a decrease of \$5,111 in annual wages when compared to urban males who were married. Urban males who have been never married saw an even larger decrease in annual wages, \$7,170 when compared to urban males who are married. Upon conducting the OLS regression, the measure for blue-collar, low-skill was excluded in the regression and used as the comparison group. When comparing employment status with the remaining variables, respondents in white-collar, high-skill jobs earn \$12,867 more than respondents in blue-collar, low-skill jobs on average. When comparing white-collar, low-skill workers, they saw an increase of \$3,558 than blue-collar, low-skill workers in their annual wages. Lastly, blue-collar, high-skill workers earn \$6,453 more than blue-collar, low-skill workers on average. Respondents in part-time positions saw a decrease of \$15,087 when compared to respondents working in full-time positions. Respondents with at least one child under the age of 18 saw an increase of \$4,022 compared to respondents with no children from that age group. Using the aforementioned dummy variable for region, the analysis shows respondents who live in the urban cities of the south earn on average \$2,435 less than respondents who live in other regions

#### 4.4 Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis Results by Race

Table 11 shows the results of an OLS regression which was run separately for urban White and Black males. A modified Chow test was performed on statistically significant coefficients in both models. Starting with White males, according to the analysis the adjusted  $R^2$  for the model for White males was .392 ( $F=390.342$ ;  $p<.001$ ). The income constant for urban Whites was \$31,167. For the original age variable, every increase equates to \$334 more in annual wages for urban White males. When age is standardized and squared, however, urban White males actually saw a decrease by \$2,558 for every increase in transformed variable. The analysis shows White males with a bachelor's degree saw an increase in their annual wages by \$9,576 compared to White males with only a high school diploma. White males with a post-graduate degree saw an increase of \$14,746 when compared to White males with just a high school diploma. Urban White males who are divorced saw a decrease of \$5,327 annually when compared to urban White males who are married. Urban White males who have never been married saw a decrease of \$7,735 when compared to married urban White males. White males with a child under the age of 18 saw a larger increase in annual wages by \$4,220 compared to White males without children.

With regards to employment type, using the blue-collar, low-skill measure as comparison groups, urban White males in white-collar, high-skill positions saw an increase of \$14,257 in their annual salaries compared to urban Whites males in blue-collar, low-skill positions. The annual salaries of urban Whites in white-collar, low-skill jobs saw an increase of \$5,166 compared to urban White males in blue-collar, high-skill positions. Urban White blue-collar, high-skill workers saw an increase of \$7,930 in their annual wages when compared to urban White male workers in blue-collar, low-skill positions. For employment status, urban White males in part-time positions saw a decrease of \$15,652 compared to Whites in full-time positions.

Regionally, urban Whites living in the south saw a decrease of \$2,415 in annual wages compared to Whites residing in other areas in the United States.

Moving on to Black males, the adjusted  $R^2$  of the analysis of Black males was .318 ( $F=123.782$ ;  $p<.001$ ). The constant was higher for urban Blacks at \$31,857. Regarding age, Black males see an increase in annual wages on a yearly basis by \$193. However, when age is standardized and squared, urban Black males saw a decrease by \$1,006. With educational attainment, urban Blacks who obtained their bachelor's degrees saw an increase of \$9,528 compared to urban Blacks with only a high school education. Urban Blacks with post-graduate degrees saw an increase of \$16,638 more compared to Black males with only their high school diplomas.

Urban Black males who are divorced saw a decrease of \$4,092 annually when compared to urban Blacks males who are married. Urban Black males who have never been married saw a decrease of \$6,242 when compared to married urban Black males. Black males with at least one child under the age of 18 saw an increase of \$534 compared to Black males without children in that age group. Regionally speaking, Black males from the south saw a decrease of \$2,778 compared to urban Blacks living in different regions supporting hypothesis 6. Within employment type, Black males working in white-collar, high-skill jobs saw an increase of \$9,608 in their annual salaries compared to Blacks in blue-collar, low-skill jobs. Black males with white-collar, low-skill positions saw an increase of \$1,261 in annual wages compared to Black males in blue-collar, low-skill positions. Black males in blue-collar, high-skill positions saw an increase of \$4,694 compared to Black males in blue-collar, low-skill jobs. Finally, when comparing full-time and part-time statuses among urban Black males, those working part-time saw a decrease of \$11,894 in their annual wages compared to full-time Black workers.

According to the modified Chow analysis, out of the 12 variables used in the regression analysis, only 5 were statistically different across both White and Black groups. Those factors were age ( $z=3.87$ ), transformed age ( $z=-3.99$ ), white-collar, low-skill ( $z=3.95$ ), blue-collar, high-skill ( $z=3.27$ ), and employment status ( $z=-3.96$ ). According to the regression analysis, every yearly increase in age results in an increase of \$333 for White males and an increase of \$193 for Blacks which shows aging is more financially beneficial to urban White males than urban Blacks. Every increase in age when it is standardized and squared, however, attributed to a decrease of \$2,559 in annual wages among urban White males. However, urban Black males saw a decrease of \$1,006. Although, both groups see a decrease in annual wages on this variable, the decrease seems to be more detrimental to White males than Black. When comparing occupational differences between Black and White males, urban Whites working in white-collar, high-skill positions saw an increase of \$14,257 in annual wages when compared to urban Whites in blue-collar, low-skill positions. Black males in white-collar, high-skill positions also saw an increase but the difference is substantially lower for Black males than Whites. For Black males, they only saw an increase of \$9,608 which shows working in white-collar, high-skill jobs was more beneficial to urban Whites than Blacks. Urban White males also saw a larger increase in wages from working in blue-collar, high-skill jobs (\$7,930) compared to urban Blacks (\$4,694). Upon examining type of employment status, White males working in part-time positions saw a decrease of \$15,652 in annual wages and salaries when compared to White males in full-time positions while Black males saw an \$11,894 decrease when compared to Black males reportedly in full-time positions. These results show working in part-time positions is more detrimental to urban White males than urban Blacks.

#### **4.5 Partitioning of the Variance for Annual Wages**

Table 12 shows the results of an OLS regression partitioning the model into three distinct segments: race, individual and structural. The adjusted  $R^2$  was 0.393 ( $p < .001$ ) for the OLS regression containing all three model segments. Thus, close to forty percent of the variance in annual wages is explained by the all of the variables. This leaves sixty one percent of the variance for income unaccounted for. When the race model segment is removed, the adjusted  $R^2$  drops to 0.381. When the individual model is removed, the adjusted  $R^2$  decreases to 0.266. When the structural model is removed, the adjusted  $R^2$  decreases to 0.286. It seems the individual model segment has a greater impact on income than race and structural according to the change in the adjusted  $R^2$ . The structural model segment accounts for fifty one percent of the unique variance in yearly income, while the race model segment accounts only accounts for five percent and the individual segment accounts for forty four percent. The shared variance however accounts for close to half of the total variance.

Interestingly enough, when the regression analysis is run for White and Black males individually, it appears the individual and the structural models explain more of the variance for urban White males than urban Blacks. The adjusted  $R^2$  for Blacks when the individual model is removed is around twenty one percent. However for urban White males, the adjusted  $R^2$  increases to twenty five percent. When the structural model is removed, the adjusted  $R^2$  is twenty three percent but it increases to twenty eight percent for White males. While the differences are slight, the variables of this study better explain income differences with relation to urban White males in this sample leaving open to question what other factors would better reflect urban Black males' incomes.

## **Chapter 5. Discussion**

The results of this thesis provide further support for the observations and theories made in Wilson's research. The factors in both the structural and individual models explain a substantial percentage of the income inequality for Black and White urban males. The structural model of this study had the most influence on income explaining most of the unique variance. The individual model, corresponding with literature, explained the second largest percentage of the variance. Finally, corresponding with Wilson's theory of the declining significance of race, the race model explained smallest percentage of the variance among income of only five percent. What is concerning is the fact variables used in the model explain more of the variance between urban White males than urban Blacks as seen in the independent results of an OLS regression by race. The analysis suggests there are other factors to consider aside from the variables used in the study between the income disparities of Black and White urban males which were not explored within the model. Furthermore, upon comparing the chosen mitigating factors of Black and White urban males, as with most other studies there were a few unexpected results.

The analyses showed most of the hypotheses were supported. The OLS regression analysis of table 10 shows, net of other factors, White urban males earn more annually than Black urban males as predicted in hypothesis 1 of the racial segment of the model. The results of a chi-square analysis revealed indeed a relationship between race and education existed. The urban White males in the sample were more educated than urban Black males supporting hypothesis 2. Although, a greater majority of the Black sample finished high school and the percentage of White and Black males that had either had not finished college or received their Associate degree were nearly similar. Still, a greater percentage of urban White males graduated with their BS/BA than urban Black males. Furthermore, the percentage of White males with advanced degrees, MA to Ph.Ds, was also greater than for urban Black males.

Speculation behind the gap in education among Black and White males which may relate to Black and Darling's (1994) and Epps' (1995) explanations of how Black males in general are unprepared to enter college, often dropping out or foregoing college enrollment. Noguera (1996) offers further support to the unpreparedness of Black students arguing the conditions most inner-city schools are in and how they are unable to properly educate minority students. Moreover, there are explanations that are mostly structurally based such as Massey and Denton (1987; 1988; 1989) and Tigges et al. (1998) theories on overly segregated Black populations which may affect a number of factors outside of income for urban Blacks such as access to quality schools, transportation and access to information for college enrollment.

Hypothesis 3: at every level of education, White males will have higher incomes than Black males, was more or less not supported. While not comparable across race according to the modified Chow, the OLS regression analysis indicated Black males benefited more financially from receiving degrees than White males at the graduate level when controlling for all other factors. According to the OLS regression analysis, urban White males who received their Bachelor's degree were predicted to earn \$9,576 more on average. However, urban Black males who received their degree were predicted to earn \$9,528, a figure strikingly similar to the urban White males. Moreover, Black males who received their Master's or Doctorate received an increase of \$16,638 in annual earnings while White males saw a lower increase of \$14,745. As stated by Becker (1962) and the JBHE Foundation (2003) education is important to closing the income gap between Blacks and Whites. Wilson himself stated the differences in education between urban Black males allowed the better opportunities and mobility among the most educated in urban neighborhoods. These findings are consistent with the results from the JBHE Foundation study of higher education and how it may help in raising income among Blacks.

Chi-square analyses confirmed hypothesis 4: more Black males have children out of wedlock compared to White males. The percentages were higher for Black males who had children under the ages 6 and 18 and the findings corresponded with the rise of Black female head of households discussed in Chilman (1991), Moynihan (1965), Thomas and Morton (1992) and Wilson (1987). Again, a possible reason for the disparities in marriage and childbirth among Black and White males could be the associated financial uncertainties in marrying or staying with urban Black males by Black women. Cohabitation and relations outside of marriage is also a possibility. The OLS regression analysis did show males with children would make more than men, a result that contradicts the study from Mincy, Sinkewicz and Hill (2009).

Hypothesis 5: White males are more likely to be married than Black males, was supported by the findings of a chi-square analysis. Indeed, not only were more White males married, the percentage of non-married Blacks was over double that of Whites' in the sample. These findings are similar to the conclusions of the literature provided by Chilman (1991), Lichter et al. (1992), Moynihan (1965), Thomas and Horton (1992) and Wilson (1987). From the literature, Lichter et al (1992) and Wilson (1987) stated the loss of prosperous marriage candidates among urban Black males caused urban Black women to divorce undesirable men, delay marriage or abstain from marriage all together. It is unknown if this is the case for the Black males in this sample and whether it is still viable as an explanation. Still, the regression results correspond with previous studies on marriage premiums by Ahituv and Lerman (2007), Hersch and Stratton (2000) and Gray (1997) which showed married males and married Black males make more on average when compared to unmarried men. Gray's observation on divorced and never married men was also supported as divorced men made more on average compared to never married men from both races

The results of the OLS regression analysis by race somewhat refutes hypothesis 6: older White males will make more annually than Black males. The Chow analysis showed both the original age variable and the transformed age variable were statistically different across race in the OLS regression analysis. According to the analysis, White males come out ahead when compared to Black males with the original age variable. However, when age is standardized and squared to account for the non-linear nature of income, the findings seem to be less detrimental for Black males compared to White males, although both races saw a decline in annual wages. It is hard to determine the reason behind this development between White and Black males in this sample. However, the loss in income from the standardized age variable seems to correspond with Johnson and Neumark's (1996) and Shapiro and Sandell's (1985) findings of stagnation of income in relation to aging in general.

With respect to employment status and type of employment, hypothesis 7 was supported. A chi-square analysis revealed a significant relationship between race and employment. 30 percent of the Black males in the sample reportedly worked in blue-collar, low-skilled jobs, twice the percentage of White males. Therefore, Black males were heavily concentrated in lower skill jobs than White males as seen in Tigges and Toole (1993) and Meisenheimer II (1998). Reasons behind the job disparity in the sample vary. For example, the differences in higher education among Black and White males as suggested by Blake and Darling (1994) may have an effect on job mobility. The disparity could be the result of concentration effects as suggested by Wilson (1987) or rather hypersegregation, stated by Massey and Denton (1987; 1988; 1989) and Tigges and Toole (1993). Hypersegregation was found to influence employment opportunities among urban Black males as the literature found mostly homogenous Black populations in urban areas led to unsatisfactory jobs and insufficient opportunities as the population grows.

Another possibility contrasts Wilson's hypothesis of the declining significance of race. Contemporary discrimination has been discussed in the literature as potential barriers to Black workers (Bjerk 2007; Smith 1997) although, the Bjerk study only related to income discrimination among Black blue-collar workers. Smith (1997) however, listed discrimination as a factor in the underrepresentation of Black workers in management positions white-collar positions. Concerning income and employment, the OLS regression analyses showed for the most part underemployment and part-time employment is more detrimental for White males than Black corresponding with Wilson's theories on race. The findings for employment type (white/blue collar jobs) were mostly statistically significant for White males compared to Blacks with the exception of blue-collar, low-skill positions. The predicted income of Black males was lower than White males and income differences between Black and White males in both white-collar, high-skill and blue-collar, high-skill positions were statistically different according to the Chow analysis.

A chi-square analysis shows hypothesis 8, Black males are more likely to be concentrated in part-time work than White males, was unsupported as there were more Black males in full-time positions than White males. Moreover, the percentages for urban Black males and urban White males were almost similar for both full-time and part-time positions, (81.9 percent White, 83.1 percent Black, full-time and 18.1 percent White, 17 percent Black part-time). The variable of employment status was used as a proxy for unemployment because of the report conducted by Moore (2010) stated part-time employment is a marker for unemployment, possibly due to high turnover among part-time workers. These findings were surprising and contradicted the literature on Black male workers and employment. Furthermore, the results of the regression analysis working part-time had more of a negative impact on urban White males than Blacks as shown by

the modified Chow analysis and showed White males make more annually working full-time than Blacks.

The results of an OLS regression analysis provided support for hypothesis 9: net of other factors, southern Black males' income will be lower than non-southern Black males. Results show southern Black males earn over \$2,000 less than non-southern Black males annually. The results are similar to Beggs, Villemez and Arnold (1997) and Hirschman and Blankenship (1981) who stated income inequality among urban Blacks is more pronounced in southern states. Overconcentration of urban Blacks in metropolitan areas as stated by Massey and Denton (1989) and the theory of social isolation as discussed by Sigelman et al. (1996) and Wilson (1987) could explain the disparities in income since, according to McKinnon (2001) and the US Census Bureau (2004), the majority of Blacks live in southern states.

## **5.1 Conclusion**

The results of this thesis add to the literature currently available. The implications Wilson made about race can be argued through this research. The results provide evidence of the continuation of income disparities among Black and White males. Although, the influence of race seems to have waned, one can argue there are factors unaccounted for outside of the model presented by this thesis such as historical and contemporary discrimination which affects income differences between Black and White urban males. Furthermore, the variables have more of an effect on the wages and salaries of urban White males than urban Blacks.

There were several limitations to this thesis which need to be addressed. First is the general comparison of Wilson's research to the data of this thesis. Although the findings mostly correspond with Wilson's, this study does not replicate his methods. Wilson's book was based on

longitudinal data and had multiple sources of data while this thesis is only derived from the CPS dataset at one point in time. Because of time constraints and lack of resources, the data used in the thesis was secondary and from one dataset. Second, is the absence of an unemployment variable. The CPS dataset used did not contain a proper measure for unemployment which was unfortunate. Since part-time employment had been considered a contributing factor to unemployment by past literature, a measure of employment status was included in the thesis as a proxy. However, it is unknown whether the reasons behind all the respondents working under part-time status were because of underemployment or unemployment. Thus, the variable does not accurately capture unemployment status among the sample.

Another limitation concerns the variables for employment and education which either was not examined (as in the case of education) or could not be examined (employment) with meticulous detail. For example, educational attainment was distinguished by degree type (undergraduate and graduate/doctoral) but not by field of study. As described in the 2003 JBHE report, it may be more beneficial to observe income differences among the Black and White professionals within the same fields of study. As for employment, the original variable was recoded from a variable listing 16 diverse occupational fields into a variable containing 4 categories, condensing the original to either white or blue-collar work. The distinctions between different service (retail compared with medical) and management (sales based compared to factory based) jobs, however, were not observed which may have offered more insight into income inequality among race. A decision was made to recode both variables to allow easier analysis. However, the recode categorizes the sample into generic education and work classifications and fails to answer the type of industry or field of education the respondents are in.

Another concern was the treatment of marital status and family structure variables within the thesis. Both variables were incorporated into individual model, however, researchers such as Massey and Denton, Hill, Mincy and Sinkewicz and Wilson himself viewed the decline in urban marriage and birth rates as the result of structural based influences. It was impossible to determine whether or not divorces, marriage reluctance and unwed fatherhood were based on independent choices among the sample or if fathering a child was directly caused by structural conditions using the available dataset. Another concern is the influence of racial discrimination on income, education and overall opportunities of Black males within the sample. The CPS dataset did not have a way to directly measure discrimination experienced by urban Black males and the majority of past literature commented on how influential historical and contemporary discrimination was on the lives of Black males. Since the OLS regression analyses explain the variance for White males of the sample more than the Black, discrimination could still be a prominent factor in the status of the urban Black males from the sample.

Limitations aside, results showed the structural model was seen to have the greatest effect on urban males in this thesis. The individual elements from the model (education, regional differences, etc.) may be related to disparities in income. There should be more focus on both employment and education such as type of degree earned and type of service, industrial or management work respondents are in. Also, further research should examine the income differences of Black and White males beyond the measures provided in this study. As previously stated, the variables in the individual and structural models only account for some of the variation in income, meaning there are other variables behind the income disparities of Black and White males.

Regarding marriage rates and race, more in-depth research is necessary to determine the reasons behind the differences between urban Black and White marriage rates. As stated in the previous literature review, both income and joblessness/unemployment have been linked to reluctance to marry among Black women. Still, there may be other factors aside from the assumed traditional and perhaps stereotypical explanations. As the research shows, Black males who are married tend to have higher annual wages and salaries when compared to unwed Black males, therefore there is very little reason for Black women to refuse marriage despite the lower socioeconomic status of urban Black males. Perhaps the Black men of this sample are foregoing marriage, however, this is only speculation. The findings of this thesis seem to be consistent with Wilson's observations of the dwindling pool of marriageable men but since Wilson's study was longitudinal, it is impossible to determine within the scope of this study.

## **5.2 Policy Implications**

Judging from the analysis, structural factors have the most influence on urban Black males and possibly urban Blacks in general. The toll globalization has had on urban manufacturing jobs and in turn Black employment has been well-established so if these higher-compensating jobs were to return it would improve the livelihoods of urban Blacks. Hypersegregation has also been determined a factor for the opportunities made available to urban Blacks by past literature. Because most are clustered in southern states, if greater incentives were offered to move poor denizens to affordable housing outside of metropolitan areas or assistance programs initiated to disperse and relocate ghetto residents would be beneficial to the American society in general. Programs such as Section 8 do exist, however, the housing provided still group the poor together and only promulgates the issue of hypersegregation. Such programs must be reformed in order to allow economic progress and social mobility of the people who utilize these services.

Regarding education, as the analyses and literature shows, White males are more educated than Black males. Furthermore, studies have shown gains in education leads to gains in income. Reasons behind the disparities in education include diminishing public school budgets due to neighborhoods' lower property values, delays in college enrollment (Epps 1995) and the unpreparedness of urban Black high school students as they transition to college as seen in Blake and Darling's (1994) study. Noguera's (1996) qualitative study on the transformation of a troubled California-based high school showed increased performance in studies by students and increased interest in attending college after the curriculum was restructured. If public schools were to receive better funding source aside from property taxes and were to undergo the same or similar transformations as seen in Noguera's study it could lead to greater college enrollment and possibly completion by Black males. On the college level, programs such as Wichita State's Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA) mentor program may help ease the unfamiliarity of college life and Wichita State's McNair Program helps in the transition to graduate school. The OMA in particular has had success in helping minority students make the transition from high school to colleges by offering free tutoring and personal mentors to aid new students. Furthermore, there is also the issue of Wilson's theory of social isolation or rather the concentration effects of social isolation which plays a part in opportunities and information available to urban Blacks. If a greater emphasis is placed on attending college in inner-city public schools and if students were made aware of grants and scholarships, this disparity could change.

Ultimately, Wilson's theory of declining significance of race was moderately supported based on the findings of this thesis and variables used. However, whether racial discrimination plays a larger role in overall Black social mobility and income is still subject for debate. After all, the

urban Black males of this study were overly concentrated in southern areas and Black males were primarily in low income based work. Furthermore, the variables used explained slightly more of the variation in relation to urban White males than urban Blacks. Hopefully, the research from this thesis can be used as a new starting point to pique interest for future studies. The majority of the variables included in this thesis offer some clarification to the disparities in income among urban males. A more comprehensive study may explain the causes behind the disparities. As seen in this thesis, there are still unidentified factors affecting income differences between Black and White urban males unaccounted for that further research can uncover.

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## APPENDIX

Table 1: Independent and Dependent Univariate Analysis

<b>Yearly Wages and Salaries:</b>	
Minimum	\$12,000
Maximum	\$100,000
Mean	\$45,140.84
Standard Deviation	22080.375
<b>Race and Ethnicity</b>	
<b>White</b>	7,242
Percentage	70.00%
<b>Black</b>	3,099
Percentage	30.00%
<b>Total</b>	10,341
<b>Age</b>	
Minimum	18
Maximum	64
Mean	39.6956
Standard Deviation	11.93522
<b>Education:</b>	
<b>Less than High School Diploma</b>	549
Percentage	5.30%
<b>High School Diploma</b>	3,490
Percentage	33.70%
<b>Some College Including Associate's Degree</b>	3,268
Percentage	31.60%
<b>Obtained a BA or BS</b>	2,146
Percentage	20.70%
<b>Obtained an Advanced Degree</b>	888
Percentage	8.60%
<b>Marital Status</b>	
<b>Married</b>	5,740
Percentage	55.50%
<b>Previously Married</b>	1,376
Percentage	13.30%
<b>Never Married</b>	3,225
Percentage	31.20%
<b>Has at Least One Child Under the Age of 6:</b>	
<b>Yes</b>	1,721
Percentage	16.60%
<b>No</b>	8,620
Percentage	83.40%
<b>Has at Least One Child Under the Age of 18:</b>	
<b>Yes</b>	3,742
Percentage	36.20%
<b>No</b>	6,599
Percentage	63.80%
<b>Job Status</b>	
<b>White Collar High Skill</b>	3,272
Percentage	31.60%
<b>White Collar Low Skill</b>	1,914
Percentage	18.50%
<b>Blue Collar High Skill</b>	2,950
Percentage	28.50%
<b>Blue Collar Low Skill</b>	2,204
Percentage	21.30%
<b>Employment Status</b>	
<b>Full-Time Employment</b>	8,508
Percentage	82.30%
<b>Part-Time Employment</b>	1,832
Percentage	17.70%
<b>Region:</b>	
<b>Northeast</b>	1,903
Percentage	18.40%
<b>Midwest</b>	2,495
Percentage	24.10%
<b>South</b>	4,032
Percentage	39.00%
<b>West</b>	1,910
Percentage	18.50%

**Table 2: T-Test Results of Race and Annual Wages**

Race	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	df	es
White non-hispanic	7,242	\$47,946.69	22651.69	21.530***	6865.595	0.413
Black non-hispanic	3,099	\$38,583.21	19145.911			

\*\*\* p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \* p < .05

**Table 3: Chi Square Analysis of Race and Attainment of Higher Education**

	Education Attainment				
	Less Than High School Diploma	High School Diploma or Equivalent	Some College, Two Year Associate, or Less	College Degree BS or BA	Advanced Degree MA, MS, JD, Ph.D
<b>White Non-Hispanic:</b> (N=7,242)	(N=549)	(N=3,490)	(N=3,268)	(N=2,146)	(N=888)
% Within Race	4.60%	31.00%	31.70%	23.20%	9.50%
% Within Status	60.50%	64.40%	70.20%	78.40%	77.60%
<b>Black Non-Hispanic:</b> (N=3,099)					
% Within Race	7.00%	40.10%	31.50%	15.00%	6.40%
% Within Status	39.50%	35.60%	29.80%	21.60%	22.40%
<b>Total: N=10,341</b>	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$\chi^2$  (df=4, N=10,341)  
=134.754,  $p < .001$

**Table 4: Chi Square Analysis of Race and Employment Type**

Race	Work Status				Total (N=10,341)
	White Collar High Skill (N=3,272)	White-Collar Low Skill (N=1,914)	Blue-Collar High Skill (N=2,950)	Blue-Collar Low Skill (N=2,204)	
<b>White Non-Hispanic:</b> (N=7,242)					
% Within Race	34.50%	19.00%	31.50%	18.60%	100.00%
% Within Status	76.40%	71.90%	72.50%	55.60%	
<b>Black Non-Hispanic:</b> (N=3,099)					
% Within Race	24.90%	17.30%	26.20%	31.60%	100.00%
% Within Status	23.60%	28.10%	27.50%	44.40%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	

$\chi^2$  (df=3, N=10,341) = 295.252;  $p < .001$

**Table 5: Chi Square Analysis of Race and Employment Status**

Race	Employment Status			Total (N=10,341)
	Full-Time Employment (N=8,508)	Part-Time And Below (N=1,832)		
<b>White non-hispanic:</b> (N=7,242)				
% Within Race	81.90%	18.10%		100.00%
% Within Status	69.70%	71.40%		
<b>Black non-hispanic:</b> (N=3,099)				
% Within Race	83.10%	16.90%		100.00%
% Within Status	30.30%	28.60%		
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>		<b>100.00%</b>

$\chi^2$  (df=1, N=10,341) = 1.959,  $p = .162$

**Table 6: Chi Square Analysis of Race and Region**

Race	Region					Total
	North east (N=1,904)	Midwest (N=2,494)	South (N=4,033)	West (N=1,910)	(N=10,341)	
<b>White non-hispanic:</b> (N=7,242)						
%Within Race	19.10%	26.50%	32.80%	21.60%		100.00%
%Within Region	72.70%	76.90%	58.90%	81.90%		
<b>Black non-hispanic:</b> (N=3,099)						
%Within Race	16.70%	18.60%	53.50%	11.20%		100.00%
%Within Region	27.30%	23.10%	41.10%	18.10%		
<b>Total</b>	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%		

$\chi^2$  (df=3, N=10,341) =  
389.398;  $p < .001$

**Table 7: Chi Square Analysis of Race and Marital Status**

Race	Marital Status			Total
	Married (N=5,740)	Previously Married (N=1,375)	Never Married (N=3,225)	
<b>White non-hispanic:</b> (N=7,242)				
% Within Race	59.50%	12.30%	28.10%	100.00%
% Within Status	75.10%	65.00%	63.20%	
<b>Black non-hispanic:</b> (N=3,098)				
% Within Race	46.20%	15.50%	38.30%	100.00%
% Within Status	24.90%	35.00%	36.80%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	

$\chi^2$  (df=2, N=10,341) = 158.236,  $p < .001$

**Table 8: Chi Square Analysis of Race and Marital Status With a Child Under 6**

Has At Least One Child Under The Age of 6	Race and Marital Status						Total (N=1,034)
	White and Married (N=4,310)	White and Separated or Divorced (N=894)	White and Never Married (N=2,038)	Black and Married (N=1,430)	Black and Separated or Divorced (N=481)	Black and Never Married (N=1,188)	
<b>Yes (N=8,620)</b>							
% Within Race and Marital Status	26.00%	3.90%	4.70%	25.00%	4.40%	7.80%	100.00%
% Within Status	65.10%	2.00%	5.50%	20.70%	1.20%	5.40%	100.00%
<b>No (N=1,721)</b>							
% Within Race and Marital Status	74.00%	96.10%	95.30%	75.00%	95.60%	92.20%	100.00%
% Within Status	37.00%	10.00%	22.50%	12.40%	5.30%	12.70%	100.00%
<b>Total</b>	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	

$\chi^2$  (df=2, N=1,034) = 776.885,  
*p* < .001

Table 9. Chi Square Analysis of Race and Marital Status With a Child Under 18

	Race and Marital Status						Total (N=1,0339)
	White and Married (N=4,309)	White and Separated or Divorced (N=894)	White and Never Married (N=2,038)	Black and Married (N=1,430)	Black and Separated or Divorced (N=481)	Black and Never Married (N=1,187)	
<b>Has At Least One Child Under The Age of 18</b>							
<b>Yes (N=6,598)</b>							
%Within Race and Marital Status	53.00%	15.30%	10.40%	58.70%	15.80%	16.30%	100.00%
%Within Status	61.00%	3.70%	5.70%	22.50%	2.00%	5.20%	
<b>No (N=3,741)</b>							
%Within Race and Marital Status	47.00%	84.70%	89.60%	41.30%	84.20%	83.70%	100.00%
%Within Status	30.70%	11.50%	27.70%	8.90%	6.10%	15.10%	
<b>Total</b>	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	

$\chi^2$  (df=2, N=1,0339) =  
1884.246,  $p < .001$

**Table 10: Multivariate Regression Analysis of The Full Sample**

	<b>B</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>β</b>	
<b>Constant</b>	38771.550	1064.961	-	***
<b>Race</b>	-5486.244	387.596	-.114	***
<b>Age</b>	297.815	17.158	.161	***
<b>Standardized Age</b>	-2348.954	186.657	-.103	***
<b>Attainment of BS/BA</b>	9492.732	462.001	.174	***
<b>Attainment of MA/Ph.D</b>	14846.893	676.132	.188	***
<b>Divorced</b>	-5111.000	544.858	-.079	***
<b>Never Married</b>	-7170.076	495.956	-.150	***
<b>Child Under The Age of 18</b>	1417.930	415.845	.031	***
<b>White Collar High Skill</b>	12867.113	535.081	.271	***
<b>White Collar Low Skill</b>	3557.837	548.911	.063	***
<b>Blue Collar High Skill</b>	6453.006	491.734	.132	***
<b>Employment Status</b>	-15086.670	455.471	-.261	***
<b>Respondents in the South</b>	-2574.263	355.024	-.057	***
<b>adj R<sup>2</sup></b>	0.393			
<b>F</b>	515.383	***		
<b>N</b>	10,341			

\*\*\*p<.001; \*\*p<.01; \*p<.05

**Table 11: OLS Regression of Urban Males' Annual Wages/Salaries By Race**

	White non-Hispanic				Black non-Hispanic				Modified Chow
	B	SE	$\beta$		B	SE	$\beta$		
<b>Constant</b>	31167.231	1180.204	.	***	31856.751	1606.917	.	***	
<b>Age</b>	333.778	20.956	.179	***	193.955	29.426	.116	***	3.870491666 ***
<b>Standardized Age</b>	-2558.520	231.265	-.110	***	-1006.018	312.526	-.049	***	-3.99318537 ***
<b>Attainment of BS/BA</b>	9575.940	545.018	.179	***	9528.344	868.672	.178	***	
<b>Attainment of MA/Ph.D</b>	14745.758	678.212	.310	***	16638.220	1275.859	.213	***	
<b>Divorced</b>	-5327.168	680.956	-.077	***	-4091.693	883.618	-.077	***	
<b>Never Married</b>	-7735.065	624.939	-.154	***	-6242.277	790.885	-.159	***	
<b>Children Under The Age of 18</b>	1649.737	518.064	.035	**	534.473	681.597	.013		
<b>White Collar High Skill</b>	14257.462	795.448	.185	***	9608.276	868.297	-.077	***	3.948109905 ***
<b>White Collar Low Skill</b>	5165.696	703.500	.089	***	1261.040	863.869	.025		
<b>Blue Collar High Skill</b>	7929.863	636.245	.160	***	4694.033	759.060	.108	***	3.267049152 ***
<b>Employment Status</b>	-15652.422	550.268	-.266	***	-11893.775	773.649	-.233	***	-3.95904277 ***
<b>Respondents from the South</b>	-2414.500	444.249	-.050	***	-2778.383	571.916	-.072	***	
<b>adj R<sup>2</sup></b>	0.392				0.318				
<b>F</b>	390.342	***			121.248	***			
<b>N</b>	7,241				3,098				

(\*\*\*p<.001; \*\*p<.01; \*p<.05)

**Table 12: Partitioning of Shared and Unique Variance of Individual and Structural Segments**

	<u>B</u>	<u>β</u>	<u>part</u>		<u>sq part</u>	<u>per model segment</u>	<u>pct of total</u>
<b><u>Race Segment Only</u></b>							
<b>Black</b>	5486.244	.114	.108	***	0.01166	0.012	5.28%
<b><u>Individual Segment Only</u></b>							
<b>Age</b>	297.815	.161	.133	***	0.01769		
<b>Age Standardized</b>	-2147.825	-.094	-.088	***	0.00774		
<b>Attainment of BA BS</b>	9492.732	.174	.157	***	0.02465		
<b>Attainment of MA PhD</b>	14846.893	.188	.168	***	0.02822		
<b>Divorced</b>	-5111.000	-.079	-.072	***	0.00518		
<b>Never Married</b>	-7170.076	-.150	-.111	***	0.01232		
<b>Child Under 18</b>	1417.930	.031	.026	**	0.00068	0.096	43.68%
<b><u>Structural Segment Only</u></b>							
<b>White-Collar, High-Skill</b>	12867.113	.271	.184	***	0.03386		
<b>White-Collar, Low-Skill</b>	3557.837	.063	.050	***	0.00250		
<b>Blue-Collar, High-Skill</b>	6453.006	.132	.101	***	0.01020		
<b>Employment Status</b>	-14584.113	-.252	-.247	***	0.06101		
<b>South</b>	-2574.263	-.057	-.072	***	0.00518	0.11275	51.04%
					<b>Total Unique Variance</b>		0.221
					<b>Total Shared Variance</b>		0.172
					<b>Total Variance (adj R Squared)</b>		0.393 ***

(\*\*\*p<.001; \*\*p<.01; \*p<.05)