THE EFFECT OF THE HOUSEHOLD DIVISION OF LABOR ON THE INCOME OF MEN
AND WOMEN

A Thesis by

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I 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 gender wage gap still exists, with women earning about 73% of what men earn. One

factor that has been recently looked at as contributing to this earnings gap is household labor.

Women are still completing the majority of household labor despite cultural trends otherwise.

Traditionally, there have been three schools of thought in income determination. The

Individual model argues that individuals make investments in human capital through education

and experience which increases their productivity, and therefore their attractiveness to potential

employers. Employers pay higher premiums for more valuable employees. The Structural

model argues that there is a hierarchy of positions in the economic structure, each with a preset

range of income. An individual's position in the hierarchy determines their income. Researchers

from a Gender model of income determination argue that discrimination, harassment, and the

unequal treatment of women workers force women into lower paying jobs. This study combines

the three models of income determination into the alternative model of income determination,

with household labor as a component of the Gender model.

The 2004 American Time Use Survey (ATUS) was used to test hypotheses of income

determination. The full alternative model explained 56% of the variance in income (adjusted R

squared .562). Multiple regression results showed that household labor was not a major factor in

the variation between men and women's income, going against the bulk of the previous

literature. Implications for findings were discussed.

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1. Introduction

While the participation of women in the labor force has increased dramatically over the past few decades, women's income has remained behind that of men. This gender wage gap has yet to be fully explained. A factor recently looked at by theorists of income is the effect of household labor time on income (Coverman, 1983; Noonan, 2001; Powers, 2003; Shelton and Firestone, 1988; Shelton and Firestone, 1989; Shirley and Wallace, 2004). Women are still responsible for the bulk of work at home despite cultural trends otherwise. This factor could be limiting their group earning potential and is a subject worth consideration.

Previous literature exploring the effect of household labor on women's income has resulted in three models of income determination. The Individual model argues that individuals make investments in human capital through education, experience, and training, which increases their productivity, and therefore their attractiveness to potential employers. Employers pay higher premiums for more valuable employees (Becker, 1965). The Structural model argues that there is a hierarchy of positions in the economic structure, each with a preset range of income. An individual's position in the hierarchy determines their income potential (O'Connor, 1973). Researchers from a Gender model of income determination argue that discrimination, harassment, and the unequal treatment of women workers forces women into lower paying occupations (Jacobs, 1989; Reskin and Roos, 1990). This study will approach this topic using an alternative model of income determination, composed of the Individual model, Structural model, and Gender model. Secondary data analysis will be conducted using the 2004 data set of the American Time Use Survey (ATUS).

2. Literature Review

2.1 Individual Model

Rational choice theory assumes that actors are rational beings (Homans, 1974). Part of this rationality is that they attempt to maximize the efficient use of their resources, also known as their utility (Homans, 1974). It is thought that individuals have a hierarchy of preferences. Actors make goal-oriented choices based on their hierarchy of preferences. The actor anticipates the outcome of choices and calculates which action would maximize utility. Individuals are limited by their access to resources and to information and must find the best way to maximize returns (Coleman, 1992).

Human Capital theory posits that individuals differ in their amount of productivity. Individuals try to maximize their productivity by accumulating skills, which is also known as their human capital (Becker, 1964). Skills are gained through education or through experience, which is largely a function of age. It is advantageous for workers to maximize their human capital because employers pay workers based on how effective a worker can expected to be in the workplace, paying more for employees who have had experience or training related to the job (Becker, 1964).

Household labor negatively affects the income of women because it discourages investment in human capital activities and reduces their time and effort in the labor force. Women with household responsibilities, including childcare, cannot spend as much time increasing their labor market skills as other workers and have less incentive to do so because of decreased time in the labor market (Becker, 1975). Women choose lower paying positions because they have other benefits, such as flexible hours, that allow women to take care of children and home life. Women choose jobs that are less intensive and do not require travel or

odd hours, and therefore pay less than other jobs (Becker, 1985). Further, women are more

likely to leave the workforce for periods of time which reduces their work experience and limits

income potential. Therefore, it is beneficial for women to select occupations where the penalty

for leaving, or the atrophy rate, is the lowest which tend to be lower paying occupations that

require few skills (Polachek, 1987).

The question that has yet to be answered is why women are more involved in childcare

and the domestic sphere than men. One theory is that women have a comparative advantage at

staying home with the children because they are intrinsically better at childcare. It would take

men more time to develop childcare skills than women who innately possess them. Therefore, it

makes sense for women to take care of children and the domestic sphere because it involves less

cost for them than men (Becker, 1985).

Studies supporting human capital theory have found that increases in education and work

experience decrease the amount of household labor women do (Bergen, 1991) and increase

income (Hersch, 1991). Also, women who work part-week, part-year, and shift schedules spend

more time on domestic work (Silver and Goldscheider, 1994). One particular study found that

men are more likely than women to take on additional paid work and to miss a family occasion

or holiday (Meninno and Brayfield, 2002). Other studies have failed to find the link between

household labor, wages, and flexibility of job hours (Stratton, 2001).

2.2 Structural Model

The Structural model of income inequality views society as a hierarchy of economic

positions. Each position in this hierarchy has a preset range of income. Regardless of individual

differences, the range of income assigned to positions limits individual income potential.

Dual economy theory's basic premise is that the economy is divided into two sections, the center and the periphery, which operate under different structural conditions. The center contains large firms that are highly diversified in their production and are geographically disperse. These firms are less susceptible to market forces and have a higher overall cash flow than firms in the periphery. The periphery is constructed of smaller firms that are less geographically dispersed and produce small lines of related products (Averitt, 1968). Jobs in the center firms tend to pay more than those in the periphery, mainly to guarantee a regular and trained work force. Further, center firms can afford to recognize unions which increase wages for workers. Periphery jobs pay comparatively less and have less incentive to pay well to secure a workforce because market pressures often make this type of work seasonal or temporary (O'Connor, 1973).

Segmented labor market theorists divide the economy into three sections, bifurcating the center by the amount of autonomy available to workers. These three segments are the independent primary sector, the subordinate primary sector, and the secondary sector. The independent primary sector contains professional and managerial jobs with opportunities for advancement, job security, and worker autonomy within informal codes of conduct. These jobs require formal education and are the highest paying jobs. The subordinate primary sector contains semi-skilled blue and white-collar jobs that pay slightly less than independent primary sector jobs. These jobs require job specific skills that are learned through training and have some opportunities for advancement. Unlike upper-tier jobs, the jobs in this sector are closely supervised (Gordon, Edwards, and Reich, 1982). Jobs in the secondary sector involve no skill and are the lowest paid jobs. They have little opportunity for advancement, are highly supervised and structured, and have high turnover rates (Piore, 1975).

Dual economy theory views women as disproportionately involved in periphery occupations, though the reason for this is debated. One explanation is that it is the irregularity of work in the peripheral sector that makes those jobs more desirable since they would offer greater flexibility (O'Connor, 1973). Others argue that it is active discrimination that keeps women from the center firms and unions (Bibb and Form, 1977; Beck, Horan, and Tolbert, 1978). Regardless of their reason, however, there are several studies that offer empirical evidence that women's involvement in the periphery and not their individual human capital is what lowers their earnings (Bibb and Form, 1977; Beck, Horan, and Tolbert, 1978; Coverdill, 1988).

Segmented labor market theorists see the differences in wages between men and women as being from job-level segregation, where women occupy positions that have less opportunity for mobility (Reid and Rubin, 2003). One study found that women face a barrier moving into the independent primary sector jobs regardless of their human capital (Waddoups and Assane, 1993). However, most studies of labor market segmentation have not supported the explanation that women's lower earnings is due to their position in jobs in the lower sectors and have found unexplained differences between men and women's income within sectors and occupations (Boston 1990; Gittleman and Howell, 1995; Reid and Rubin, 2003).

2.3 Gender Model

Unlike other explanations of income determination, feminism looks at gender as a process instead of a worker characteristic. Women are systematically devalued and sorted by hierarchies of social structure. Dual systems theory breaks these structures into class and gender hierarchies, with class oppression stemming from social relations of production and sex oppression stemming from the social relations of reproduction (Hartmann, 1979). Women's

lower wages are a reflection of their devalued position in both the hierarchies of capitalism and patriarchy.

Women, regardless of employment status, tend to be responsible for the majority of household labor (Artis and Pavalko, 2003; Berardo, Shehan and Leslie, 1987; Coverman, 1983; Hochschild, 1989; Kamo, 1988; Noonan, 2001; Shelton and Firestone, 1989; Shelton, 1990). Research on household labor varies, finding that women perform more household labor and childcare than husbands do by about 22 to 24 hours per week (Berardo, Shehan and Leslie, 1987; Coverman, 1983). While the gap in time doing domestic chores has decreased slightly over time, there is evidence that this decrease is because women are doing less household labor, not because men are doing more (Shirley and Wallace, 2004).

This involvement in the domestic sphere affects women's labor force participation. Women have less time and energy available for paid work than men. Also, in order to integrate domestic and paid work, women tend to choose jobs with convenient hours and close locations that would allow them to integrate their dual responsibilities. Women may also receive discrimination from employers who assume that household labor time will place them at a disadvantage in the workplace (Coverman, 1983).

Several studies have linked time spent in domestic labor with a decrease in wages for women, with greater penalties incurred by women than men for their time working in the domestic sphere (Coverman, 1983; Noonan, 2001; Powers, 2003; Shelton and Firestone, 1988; Shelton and Firestone, 1989; Shirley and Wallace, 2004). It is estimated that participation in household labor accounts for 8.2 percent of the wage gap, and further decreases earnings through work experience, occupational location, and hours worked per week (Shelton and Firestone,

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1989). Another study found domestic labor accounted for 19 percent of the gap in men and women's earnings in professional, managerial, and technical occupations (Powers, 2003).

The demands of household labor result in the devaluation of women in economic positioning, with women being sorted into lower paying occupations. Most gender theories of the income disparity between men and women focus on the sex segregation of occupations, with occupations dominated by women paying less than male dominated occupations. Crowding theory asserts that the concentration of women in female dominated occupations lowers the wages of those occupations (Bergmann, 2005). Since women are excluded from higher paying occupations dominated by men because of discrimination, they crowd the women's labor market. The labor market expands to accommodate the number of workers available while the overall level of productivity stays constant. Therefore, individual productivity decreases and the value of the work is lessened, causing reduced wages. Women in male dominated occupations are still paid less because employers know that women's only major option is the low wage women's labor market. Likewise, men in women dominated occupations are paid more than women because employers know that men can attain higher wages in the men's labor market (Bergmann, 2005).

Jacobs (1989) found that the majority of women move in and out of male dominated occupations at some point in their life. For every eleven women who enter a male dominated occupation, ten leave. Jacobs (1989) explains this pattern of mobility by his theory of social control. Social control begins with gendered socialization that discourages women from performing male typed jobs. When women do enter male occupations, they face harassment and discrimination. Women receive less informal on the job training and are treated as outsiders by coworkers. The different treatment women receive in male dominated work makes them less

productive, reinforcing stereotypes and expectations. Social control maintains occupational

gender segregation because many of these women who enter male dominated occupations

ultimately return to female dominated occupations (Jacobs, 1989).

Reskin and Roos (1990) found that women move into occupations after those occupations

lose their income premiums. Employers have a queue of preference of potential employees with

qualified, white males at the top. When an occupation or position no longer attracts the preferred

employees, employers are forced to move down the labor queue to the next best option. In their

study of occupations that changed from male dominated to female dominated, Reskin and Roos

(1990) found that these occupations declined in prestige and wages before women were able to

move into them. Women were able to move into some occupations after the occupations

expanded. However, women become segregated within the occupations to positions in the field

that have less income potential and less potential for advancement (Reskin and Roos, 1990).

2.4 Alternative Model

Gender ⟶ Structure
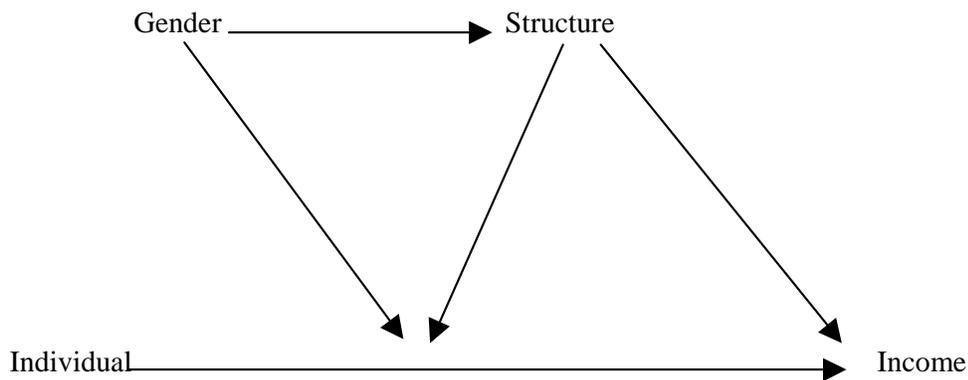
Individual ⟶ Income

Adapted from Wright 1992

The alternative model for income determination is comprised of three parts; the

Individual model, the Structural model, and the Gender model. The Individual model argues that

individuals make rational decisions to increase their human capital, which makes them more

productive and increases their marketability to employers. They accomplish this task by investing in things such as education and on the job training. It is believed that an increase in human capital will increase income. The Structural model argues that an individual's location in the economic structure determines their potential income. For example, workers in the core sector of the economy, which is composed of larger firms, have higher wages than workers in the periphery because the core sector has a higher capacity to create profit and depends on a stable and reliable workforce, which is secured through higher incomes. The periphery, however, has less capacity to create profit and no incentive to maintain a stable workforce. It is believed that a position in large firms in the core sector would result in increased income. The Structural model also has an affect on income by mitigating the effect of individual differences. For example, a low-skill occupation, such as cashier, would not reward a worker for a college degree with a higher income the way a high-skill occupation would, such as manager. Occupation limits the effect of human capital differences on income. The Gender model argues that discrimination against women has indirectly resulted in their lower income. Discrimination forces women into different occupations than men. Women are concentrated in occupations with lower wages because of discriminatory hiring practices as well as harassment and unequal treatment that they face while in male dominated occupations. Gender is also believed to have an effect on individual human capital choices. For example, gender expectations result in women's caring for the bulk of the household and childcare duties, which means women have less overall job experience and tenure. It is believed that gender's effect on structural and individual factors will result in lower income for women.

3. Data and Methodology

3.1 Data Used

This study uses the 2004 survey of the American Time Use Survey (ATUS). Sponsored by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and conducted by the Census Bureau, the ATUS is designed to collect information on how people living in the United States spend their time. The survey universe includes all United States residents that are at least fifteen years of age, excluding active military personnel and people residing in institutions. The ATUS is a stratified, three-stage sample. Since the ATUS sample is derived from the Current Population Survey (CPS) sample, it is first corrected for CPS over sampling of less populous states. The next stratification is based on the race, ethnicity, the presence and age of children, and the number of adults in adults-only households. Finally, a person from each household after the second stage was randomly selected for the ATUS. Participants were each given a single interview by phone to report their activities on a designated day.

The sample size of the 2004 ATUS is 26,328. Several sample restrictions are imposed for this study to better represent the target population based on the dependent variable of income. Only employed individuals were selected and self-employed individuals were removed from the sample. Age was restricted to ages eighteen to sixty-four since those are the ages when most individuals are employed. Finally, only individuals with weekly incomes from ten dollars to three thousand dollars were selected to remove those with unusual incomes. The final restricted sample size is 6,702.

Weights, when available, must be imposed so that findings will be generalizable to the target population. The ATUS uses a weight that corrects for over sampling of certain days of the week. Weekend activities were over-represented because fifty percent of the sample reported on

weekend activities and fifty percent reported on activities during the five weekdays. Weights are often not compatible with multivariate analysis since cases are multiplied by the weight ratio, increasing the sample size. This increase in sample size will result in an underestimate of sampling error and an overestimate of significance. A relative weight was created for this sample by dividing the weight by the mean of the weight. Relative weights maintain the ratios created by weights without inflating the sample size.

3.2 Variables

The dependent variable used for this study is the weekly earning of individuals. This is an interval measure in dollars per week, and ranges from ten to three thousand dollars per week. From this variable, income quartile, quintile, and centile variables were created for additional analysis. Scholars often transform income into a log measure to correct for skewness. This study attempted to achieve a normal distribution in order to keep the dependent variable in dollars. This is advantageous because dollars are a more understandable unit for description.

There are several independent variables included in this study. The Individual model includes the variables of age, education, region of residence, and metropolitan residence. Age is measured as an interval variable and it is expected that weekly income will increase as age increases. Education is measured as an ordinal variable with the five levels of less than high school diploma, high school diploma or G.E.D., some college and associate degrees, bachelor's degree, and graduate degree (masters, doctorate, professional degree). From this variable a binary variable measuring attainment of a bachelor's degree and above was created, where one is equal to those who have a college degree. It is expected that as education increases weekly income will increase. An analysis of variance test showed that individuals in the South and Midwest had less income than individuals in other regions, so region of residence is measured as

a binary variable where one is equal to those residing in the South or Midwest and zero is equal to those residing in the West or Northeast. It is expected that weekly income will be less for individuals residing in the South or Midwest than those residing in the West or Northeast. Metropolitan residence is a binary variable in which one is equal to metropolitan residence and zero is equal to rural residence. It is expected that individuals residing in metropolitan areas will have higher weekly income than individuals residing in rural areas.

The Structural model includes the variables of work hours per week, multiple jobs, union membership, government employment, industry type, occupational prestige, and occupation type. Work hours per week is an interval measure and it is expected that weekly income will increase as work hours increase. Multiple jobs is a binary variable in which one is equal to a holding of multiple jobs and it is expected that weekly income will be greater for individuals who hold multiple jobs. Union membership is a binary variable in which one is equal to union membership. It is expected that weekly income will be greater for union members than those who are not union members. Government employment is a binary variable in which one is equal to government employment and zero is equal to employment in the private sector. It is expected that weekly income will be greater for government employees than those in the private sector. Industry type is a binary variable in which one is equal to employment in the goods-producing sector and zero is equal to employment in the service sector. It is expected that weekly income will be greater for individuals employed in the goods-producing sector.

Occupational prestige is an interval scale that ranges from 0 to 100 depending on the prestige of the occupation. It is expected that weekly income will increase as occupational prestige increases. Occupation level is measured as a set of four binary variables; white-collar high-skill, white-collar low-skill, blue-collar high-skill, and blue-collar low-skill. White-collar

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high-skill occupations include technical and professional positions, such as doctors, as well as upper management positions. White-collar low-skill occupations include things such as clerical work and sales. Examples of blue-collar high-skill occupations include repair work and precision production work, such as pattern making. Blue-collar low-skill occupations include general laborers like machine operators, janitors, and food service workers. It is expected that weekly income will increase as occupation level increases from blue to white collar and from low skill to high skill.

The Gender model includes the variables sex, occupational sex segregation, race-ethnicity, minority status, marital status, children under six years, spouse work status, and the time variables of total domestic labor, household labor variables, shopping, work related activities, personal care, leisure, and exercise and sports. Sex is a binary variable in which one is equal to female. It is expected that weekly income will be greater for men than women. Occupational sex segregation is an interval index that measures the degree of sex segregation within an occupation. The measure was created by dividing the percent of women in each occupation by the percent of women in the labor force. An occupational sex segregation score of one would indicate that men and women are equally distributed. Values under one indicate that women are underrepresented and values over one indicate an over representation of women. It is expected that weekly income will be greater for individuals with an occupational sex segregation score closer to zero.

Variables of race-ethnicity, minority status, and immigrant status are also included in this model segment because the process by which minorities are devalued and sorted by hierarchies of social structure is analogous to the process undergone by gender. Race-ethnicity was created from a variable measuring race and a variable measuring ethnicity. These variables were

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combined into a nominal variable with the five categories of White Non-Hispanic, Black Non-Hispanic, Asian Non-Hispanic, Other Non-Hispanic, and Hispanic. From this nominal variable a binary variable was created measuring minority status in which one is equal to Black Non-Hispanic, Other Non-Hispanic, and Hispanic. Since the Asian Non-Hispanic group had the highest mean weekly income, they were grouped with the White Non-Hispanic group in order to not to misrepresent the income of other minorities. It is expected that weekly income will be lower for minority groups. United States immigrant status is a binary variable in which one is equal to immigrant. It is expected that weekly income will be less for immigrants than natural born citizens.

Marital status is a set of three binary variables, which are married, never-married, and ever-married. For each binary variable in the set, one is equal to those who belong to that marital category and zero is equal to those who do not. It is expected that weekly income will be greater for individuals who are married than those who have ever or never been married. Children under six years is a binary variable in which one is equal to those who have children under six years of age. It is expected that weekly income will be less for those with children under six. Spouse work status is a binary variable where one is equal to those with spouses that work full-time and zero is equal to those with spouses that work part-time or not at all. It is expected that income will be greater for individuals who have spouses that work full-time.

Time variables included in the study are total domestic labor, household labor variables, shopping, work related activities, personal care, leisure, and exercise and sports. Total domestic labor includes all cleaning, repair, and maintenance in or around the home as well as household management. The household labor variables included in this study are cleaning, laundry, food preparation, childcare, travel associated with childcare, and an aggregate measure of household

labor that includes all of these categories. Shopping is a time measure of all consumer related activities. Work related activities include any time spent at work, preparing for work, or searching for work. Personal care includes sleeping and grooming activities. Leisure includes socializing and leisure activities such as relaxing and watching television. Exercise and sports includes time spent exercising, participating in sports, and attending sporting events.

These time variables are interval level and measure time engaged in these tasks in hours per week. Binary measures for these time variables were created as well, where one is equal to those that participate in that task and zero is equal to those who do not participate in that task. It is expected that income will be greater for those who do not participate in household labor.

3.3 Methodology

Bivariate analysis comparing group means of men and women was performed in the form of a T-test for the total sample and separately for full-time workers. Another T-test was performed to compare group means of men and women for time variables. An ordinary least squares (OLS) regression was performed to determine the independent effect of the independent variables on income. The regression analysis was completed separately for the total sample, for men, and for women, using both an aggregated and a disaggregated model, and then selecting for only married individuals with children.

3.4 Hypotheses

Based on the alternative model of income determination, the following are hypothesized:

1. Weekly income increases as age increases net of other factors.

2. Weekly income increases as level of education increases net of other factors.

3. Weekly income will be greater for employment in the goods-producing industries net of other factors.

4. Weekly income will increase as occupation/skill-level increases net of other factors.

5. Women will be concentrated in lower paying occupations.

6. Weekly income will be less for women than men net of other factors.

7. Weekly income will decrease with household labor participation net of other factors.

4. Results

4.1 Univariate and Bivariate Analysis

The results of univariate and bivariate analysis for the full sample, shown in Table 1, revealed a statistically significant difference between the weekly earnings of men and women. Mean weekly earnings for men and women showed a statistically significant difference, with men earning $782 and women earning $571, indicating a pay gap of 73%. Median income values showed a pay gap still being present, with men earning a median weekly income of $675 and women earning $480, indicating a pay gap of 71%. This supports hypothesis 6, that weekly earnings will be less for women.

For individual level factors, men are slightly younger on average than women (38.9 versus 39.3). Regarding educational attainment, men are less likely to have a college degree (28.8% versus 31.4%). When education is disaggregated, men are more likely than women to have less than a high school diploma (12.3% versus 9%) and to have a high school diploma (32.2% versus 28.4%), but less likely to have some college education (26.7% versus 31.2%). There are no statistically significant differences between men and women's likelihood of having a bachelor's degree or a graduate degree. Men are more likely than women to live in the South or Midwest United States (59% versus 61.4%). There were no statistically significant differences between men and women's likelihood to live in a rural area.

The Structural model had several statistically significant differences between men and women. Men worked more hours per week than women (43.5 versus 36.9) and were more likely to be union members than women were (13.2% versus 11.4%). Men were less likely to be in government jobs than women were (14.3% versus 20.2%) and more likely to be in goods-producing industries (32%) than women were (10%). Regarding occupations, men were less likely to be in white-collar high-skill occupations (32% versus 45%), less likely to be in white-collar low-skill occupations (16% versus 33%), more likely to be in blue-collar high-skill occupations (29% versus 4%), and men were more likely to be in a blue-collar low-skill occupation (24%) than women were (18%). When looking within blue-collar and white-collar occupations groups, men were more likely than women to be in high-skill occupations (61% versus 49%). This lends partial support to hypothesis 5 that states that women will be concentrated in lower paying occupations. There were no statistically significant differences between men and women in holding multiple jobs.

The Gender model showed statistically significant differences regarding occupational sex segregation, where 1 indicates an equal distribution of men and women. Men were more likely to be in an occupation where women are under-represented (.64) and women were more likely to be in an occupation where women are over-represented (1.44). This also lends partial support to hypothesis 5 that women will be concentrated in lower paying occupations. Men were more likely to be an immigrant (16.2%) than women were (12.7%). Regarding marital categories, men were more likely to be married (61.1% versus 55.6%) and never-married (30.1% versus 27.2%) but less likely to be ever-married (8.8%) than women were (17.3%). Men were more likely to have a child under six years of age (22% versus 18.2%), less likely to have an employed spouse (46.7% versus 53.6%) and less likely to have a spouse that works full-time than women were

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(33.9% versus 49%). There were no statistical differences between men and women regarding

minority status.

Table 2, univariate and bivariate analysis for full-time workers, revealed similar results to

Table 1. Men have statistically higher weekly earnings ($837) than women ($688), revealing a

pay gap of 82.2%. Median income values showed a pay gap still being present, with men

earning a median weekly income of $720 and women earning $596, indicating a pay gap of 71%.

This supports hypothesis 6, that weekly earnings will be less for women.

In Individual model factors, men were slightly younger on average than women (39.5

versus 40.6). Among full-time workers, men were still less likely to have a college education

than women were (30.4% versus 34.5%). Disaggregated education showed that men were more

likely than women to have less than a high school diploma (11.5% versus 7.6%) and a high

school diploma (32.2% versus 29.4%), and less likely to have some college education than

women were (25.8% versus 28.4%). Attainment of a bachelor's degree showed no statistically

significant differences but men were less likely than women to have a graduate degree (9.8%

versus 11.8%). There were no significant differences between men and women for rural

residence or residence in the South or Midwest United States.

There were several differences between men and women in the Structural model. Men

had a statistically significant difference in work hours from the work hours of women (45.7

versus 43), men were less likely to be government employees (14.3%) than women were

(22.2%), and men were more likely to be in a goods-producing industry than women were (35%

versus 13%). Men being more likely to be in a goods-producing industry partially supports

hypothesis 5, that women will be concentrated in lower paying occupations. Regarding

occupations, full-time working men were less likely to be in white-collar high-skill occupations

(33% versus 48%) and white-collar low-skill occupations (15% versus 32%), and men were more likely to be in blue-collar high-skill occupations (30% versus 5%) and blue-collar low-skill occupations (22%) than women were (15%). Looking within white-collar and blue-collar occupations, men are more likely to be in high-skill, higher paying occupation than women (63% versus 53%). This also lends partial support to hypothesis 5, stating that women will be concentrated in lower paying occupations. There were no statistical differences between men and women regarding holding multiple jobs or being a union member.

The Gender model showed statistically significant differences regarding occupational sex segregation, where 1 indicates an equal distribution of men and women. Men were more likely to be in an occupation where women are under-represented (.62) and women were more likely to be in an occupation where women are over-represented (1.40). Men were more likely to be an immigrant than women were (16.1% versus 12.3%). Among marital categories, men were more likely to be married (64.7% versus 57.1%) or never-married (26.1% versus 23.6%), and less likely to be ever-married than women were (9.2% versus 19.3%). Men were more likely to have a child under six years of age (23% versus 15.8%), less likely to have an employed spouse (49.4% versus 54.3%), and less likely to have a spouse that works full-time than women were (36.1% versus 50%).

Table 3 provides a comparison of household labor participation rates and weekly hours of household labor for those that do participate. This revealed that across all categories men had lower participation rates in household labor than women and that men spend less hours than women on household labor. When looking at various time factors across sex categories, men have less participation in total domestic labor than women (64.9% versus 83.5%) and among those that do participate, spend fewer hours per week (12.5 versus 14.7). This includes

household labor as well as other domestic chores such as lawn care, car care, and repair work. When looking at only household direct labor, which includes cooking, cleaning, laundry, childcare, and travel associated with childcare, men still participated less than women (52% versus 79.3%) and for less hours per week than women (9.9 versus 16.3).

Other time variables showed that men shopped less (38.3% versus 48.7%), and spent less hours shopping per week (5.4 versus 7). Men were more likely to participate in work related activities (72% versus 69.1%) and spent more hours per week doing work related activities (57.4 versus 51.4). There was not a statistically significant difference between participation in personal care activities, but men spent less time on personal care than women (61.7 versus 63.6). There was a statistically significant difference between men and women regarding leisure activities, which includes things such as socializing, relaxing, and watching television. Men were more likely to participate in leisure activities (95.5% versus 93.6%) and spent more hours per week on leisure activities than women did (28.9 versus 25.1). There were no statistical differences between men and women's likelihood of spending time on sports and exercise, but among those who participate men spent more hours per week than women did (14.2 versus 9).

When looking just at the participation rates in direct household labor and hours per week of time spent on direct household labor, there were statistically significant differences between men and women across various categories. Among marital status categories, married men participated less in household labor (58.1% versus 87.3%) and spent less time (10.9 hours per week versus 17.6). This was true for ever-married men (55.6% versus 79.2 %, 9 versus 15.5 hours) as well as never-married men (38.5% versus 62.9%, 7 versus 13 hours). For both groups, participation rates and hours were highest for married individuals and were higher for ever-

married individuals than never-married individuals. The remainder of categories look at only married individuals.

Among married individuals, earning quintiles revealed that participation rates generally increased for men as income increased, though rates for the top and bottom 20% of earners were almost the same. Participation rates remained fairly constant across earning quintiles for women. Weekly hours of household labor stayed fairly constant across income groups for men but generally decreased for women as income increased. Within earning quintile groups, men participated less in household labor than women and spent less time than women did on household labor.

Across age cohorts for married individuals, men's participation rates generally increase with age and peaked for 30 to 39-year-olds while women's participation rates increased with age and peaked for the 40 to 49 year age group. Hours per week of household labor were fairly constant for men from 18 to 49 and decreased for those 50 and older. Women's hours per week increased with age and peaked for the 30 to 39 age-cohort, then fell gradually for older cohorts. Within age-cohort groupings, 18 to 24-year-old men were less likely to participate in household labor than women (50.6% versus 79.9%), but there were no statistical differences between men and women for hours per week of household labor. Within all other age cohorts, men were both less likely to participate in household labor and spent less time doing household labor than women did.

Across educational groups for married individuals, men's participation rates rose greatly with increased educational attainment, whereas women's participation rates rose slightly with increased educational attainment with the exception of women with graduate degrees, which had the lowest participation rate for women across educational groups. Hours of household labor per

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week rose for men as educational attainment rose with the exception of men with graduate degrees, who had fewer hours. Women's hours per week fluctuated slightly across educational groups. Within all educational attainment groups, men were less likely to participate in household labor than women and spent less time on household labor than women did.

In general for married individuals, part-time workers had slightly higher participation rates in household labor than full-time workers. Part-time men spent slightly more hours per week than full-time men on household labor, however this difference between hours was greater between part-time and full-time women. Within part-time and full-time groups, men were less likely to participate in household labor than women and spent fewer hours per week on household labor than women did.

Across occupation groups for married individuals, household labor participation rates increased as occupation level increased from blue-collar low-skill to white-collar high-skill for men and fluctuated slightly for women. Time spent on household labor for men was lowest for blue-collar low-skill workers but fairly constant for all other groups. For women, household labor time was highest for blue-collar low-skill workers. Within occupational groups, men had lower participation rates in household labor and spent less time on household labor than women spent on household labor.

For married persons, participation rates in household labor were greater if spouses work part-time than full-time. For women with a spouse that worked full-time, hours per week spent on household labor were slightly higher than for women with a spouse the worked part-time or less. Men's hours per week spent on household labor were fairly consistent regardless of spouse work status. Within spouse work status groups, men consistently had lower participation rates and spent less time on household labor than women did.

4.4 Multivariate Analysis

Multivariate analysis using OLS regression for the three models of income determination that compose the alternative model, shown in Table 4A, revealed an adjusted R squared of .562 (significant at the .000 level). This suggests that the alternative model explains 56.2% of the variance in weekly earnings. OLS regressions by sex also showed statistically significant adjusted R squared values of .547 for men and .544 for women, explaining 54.7% of variance for men and 54.4% of the variance for women. The full sample regression showed that being female resulted in a reduction of $74.74 dollars in weekly earnings, net of other factors. This supports hypothesis 6 that weekly income will be less for women net of other factors.

In the Individual model, every year increase in age resulted in a gain in weekly income of $5.64. This supports hypothesis 1 that an increase in age will result in an increase in income net of other factors. Men received greater returns for age net of other factors than women ($6.29 versus $4.74). Increased education also resulted in an increase in income, as hypothesized. Having a college degree increased weekly income by $197.64 per week net of other factors. Men received greater returns on education than women net of other factors ($218.23 versus $173.32). These results support hypothesis 2 that increases in education will result in increased income net of other factors. Rural residence lowered weekly income by $107. 89 net of other factors. Residence in the South or Midwest United States also lowered weekly income net of other factors, with individuals with residence in those areas earning $51.38 less per week than those in other areas.

In the Structural model, every additional hour of work per week resulted in an additional $14.01 in weekly earnings net of other factors. Holding multiple jobs decreased weekly income, reducing it by $121.80 per week net of other factors. Union membership resulted in an increase

in income of $95.48 net of other factors. Being in a goods-producing industry increased weekly earnings by $45.63 per week. This supports hypothesis 3 that employment in the goods-producing industry will result in higher weekly income. However, this does not hold up for men and women. While men received an increase of $54.95, this is a non-significant variable for women net of other factors. Lending support to hypothesis 4 that income will increase as occupation or skill-level increases, an increase in occupational prestige of one point results in an increase in weekly income of $9.48 net of other factors. Men receive greater returns than women for increases in occupational prestige net of other factors ($10.89 versus $7.81).

Among factors in the Gender model, an increase in occupational sex segregation of one point, which indicates a greater percentage of female employees, decreased weekly earnings by $64.86 net of other factors. This supports hypothesis 5, which states that women will be concentrated in lower paying occupations net of other factors. Minority status resulted in a decrease in earnings of $66.11 net of other factors. Men received a greater penalty for minority status than women net of other factors (-$90.05 versus -$41.97). Immigrant status also resulted in lower weekly earnings net of other factors, with immigrants receiving $86.57 less per week. Marital status had different effects for men and women. Married individuals receive an increase of $80.12 per week but men received a greater return for marriage than women ($104.86 versus $43.76). While having children under 6 years of age was a significant factor that increased weekly income for the full sample by $32.57 net of other factors, it did not hold up when divided by sex. Having children under 6 years of age was a non-significant factor for both men and women. Having a spouse that works full-time resulted in a decrease in weekly income net of other factors of $71.08. Household labor participation was non-significant and had no independent effect on weekly income net of other factors.

Table 4B reported multiple regression results for disaggregated factors for the alternative model of income determination. The adjusted R squared is .568 (significant at the .000 level), which suggests that the model explains 56.8% of the variance in weekly earnings. Separate analysis by sex also resulted in significant adjusted R squared values of .553 (55.3%) for men and .548 (54.8%) for women.

With the exception of having a high school diploma, disaggregated education showed that increases in educational attainment result in increased income net of other factors, as stated by hypothesis 2. Having a high school diploma raised the weekly income for women over not having a high school diploma by $38.22 net of other factors. However, having a high school diploma was not a significant factor for the full sample or for men, net of other factors. Greater educational attainment beyond a high school education resulted in more weekly income for each level. Some college education results in an increase of $101.06, a bachelor's degree results in an increase of $246.68, and a graduate degree results in an increase of $387.28 in weekly income beyond that of the excluded group of less than a high school diploma, net of other factors.

Disaggregated occupational groups showed that there is a corresponding increase in income for each occupation level above blue-collar low-skill, which supports hypothesis 4 that weekly income will increase as occupation or skill-level increases net of other factors. Being in a blue-collar high-skill occupation resulted in an increase of $41.06 over those in blue-collar low-skill occupations net of other factors. Men were the only group to receive an increase in income over the excluded group, though, since their income increased by $65.39 and women's income decreased by $3.68 net of other factors. Working in a white-collar low-skill occupation resulted in an increase in weekly income net of other factors of $130.54 over those in the excluded group of blue-collar low-skill. Men received greater returns than women for belonging

to this occupation group, net of other factors ($168.88 versus $79.88). Working in a white-collar high-skill occupation resulted in an increase of $262.41 over those in blue-collar low-skill occupations net of other factors. However, this does not hold up for men and women. While men received an increase of $335.77, this was a non-significant variable for women net of other factors.

Marital categories showed that ever-married individuals receive $70.14 less than married individuals net of other factors. Men's weekly income received a greater loss than women for being ever-married over those that are married (-$93.33 versus -$40.31). Never-married individuals receive $82.77 less per week than married individuals net of other factors.

Disaggregated household labor factors showed some statistically significant categories for income, net of other factors. Participation in food preparation results in a decrease in weekly earnings of $26.96 net of other factors. This relationship does not hold true for men and women, though. Food preparation is a non-significant variable for men but decreases women's income by $26.30 per week, net of other factors. Participation in childcare resulted in an increase in weekly income of $36.92 net of other factors. Once again, this did not hold true for both men and women. Men received an increase in income of $56.34 net of other factors while childcare was a non-significant factor for women's earnings net of other factors. Participation in interior cleaning, laundry, and child related travel were non-significant and had no independent effect on weekly income net of other factors.

Table 5A shows results OLS regression for the three model of income determination for only married individuals with children. This revealed an adjusted R square of .535 (significant at the .000 level). This suggests that the alternative model explains 53.5% of the variance in weekly earnings. OLS regressions by sex also showed statistically significant adjusted R

squared values of .487 for men and .513 for women, explaining 48.7% of variance for men and 51.3% of the variance for women. The full sample regression showed that being female resulted in a reduction of $89.73 dollars in weekly earnings, net of other factors. This supports hypothesis 6 that weekly income will be greater for men than women net of other factors.

For individual-level factors, a year increase in age resulted in a gain in weekly income of $6.90, supporting hypothesis 1 that weekly earnings will increase as age increases, net of other factors. Men received greater returns for age net of other factors than women ($8.45 versus $4.19). Increased education also resulted in an increase in income, as stated in hypothesis 2. Having a college degree increased weekly income by $227.65 net of other factors. Men once again received greater gains for increased age than women, net of other factors ($265.78 versus $161.53). Rural residence lowered weekly income by $113.35, net of other factors. Residence in the South or Midwest United States also lowered weekly income net of other factors, with individuals with residence in those areas earning $47.50 less per week than those in other areas. This relationship did not hold up when divided by sex, however. Men who live in the South or Midwest receive $57.42 less per week than those in other areas net of other factors, but for women region of residence was a non-significant factor.

For structural-level factors, every additional hour of work per week resulted in an additional $15.04 in weekly earnings net of other factors. Holding multiple jobs decreased weekly income, reducing it by $155.42 per week net of other factors. Union membership resulted in an increase in income of $75.97 net of other factors. Being in a goods-producing industry increased weekly earnings by $60.18 per week over being in a service industry. This supports hypothesis 3 that employment in the goods-producing industry will result in higher weekly income. Lending support to hypothesis 4 weekly income will increase as occupation or

skill-level increases, an increase in occupational prestige of one point results in an increase in weekly income of $9.95 net of other factors.

Among factors in the Gender model, an increase in occupational sex segregation of one point, which indicates a greater percentage of female employees, decreased weekly earnings by $81.13 net of other factors. This lends further support for hypothesis 5 that women are concentrated in lower paying occupations. Minority status resulted in a decrease in earnings of $75.86 net of other factors. This relationship did not hold up when divided by men and women. While status as a minority resulted in a decrease in men's weekly earnings of $118.30, minority status was a non-significant factor for women's earnings net of other factors. Immigrant status resulted in lower weekly earnings net of other factors, with immigrants receiving $86.57 less per week. Having a spouse that works full-time resulted in a decrease in weekly income net of other factors of $112.21. Having a child under six years of age and household labor participation were non-significant factors and had no independent effect on weekly income net of other factors.

OLS results for disaggregated factors for married individuals with children were reported in Table 5B. The adjusted R squared is .535 (significant at the .000 level), suggesting that the model explains 53.5% of the variance in weekly earnings. Separate analysis by sex also resulted in significant adjusted R squared values of .495 (49.5%) for men and .494 (49.4%) for women.

Disaggregated results for education generally supported hypothesis 2 that weekly income will increase with increased education, net of other factors. The exception was having a high school diploma, which was a non-significant factor for the full sample and for men, but significantly increased women's weekly earnings by $103.76 over those with less than a high school diploma. Some college education results in an increase of $160.04, a bachelor's degree

results in an increase of $333.38, and a graduate degree results in an increase of $400.53 in weekly income beyond those with less than a high school diploma net of other factors.

Disaggregated occupational groups had mixed results. Being in a blue-collar high-skill occupation was a non-significant factor for the full sample and for women, but increased men's weekly income by $84.20 over those in blue-collar low-skill occupations, net of other factors. Working in a white-collar low-skill occupation resulted in an increase in weekly income net of other factors of $153.61 over those in the excluded group of blue-collar low-skill. Men received greater returns than women for belonging to this occupation group, net of other factors ($185.86 versus $76.83). Working in a white-collar high-skill occupation resulted in an increase of $262.41 over those in blue-collar low-skill occupations net of other factors. Once again, men received greater gains in income for belonging to this occupation group than women ($327.46 versus $195.07).

Disaggregated household labor factors for married individuals with children showed only one statistically significant category for income attainment, net of other factors. Participation in laundry results in a decrease in weekly earnings of $48.81 net of other factors. However, this relationship was not true when looking at men and women. Participation in laundry decreased men's income by $101.49 but was a non-significant factor for women's income net of other factors. Participation in food preparation, interior cleaning, childcare, and child related travel were non-significant and had no independent effect on weekly income net of other factors.

4.3 Partitioning of Variance

Table 6 shows a comparison of the Individual model, Structural model, and Gender model, to see which best explains the variance in weekly earnings. The full sample had an adjusted R squared of .562, suggesting that 56.2% of the total variance was explained. For men,

the full model explained 54.7% of the variance, and for women it explained 54.4% of the variance. Removing the Structural model caused the greatest change in adjusted R squared values, with at 33.6% decrease for the full sample, a 32.2% decrease for men, and a 41.7% decrease for women. This is supported by the standardized beta values, which indicated that work hours per week was the most important factor for explaining variance followed by occupational prestige. Removal of the Individual model resulted in the next greatest change in adjusted R squared values, with an 11% change for the full sample and for men and a 12.7% change for women. The Gender model explained the least amount of variance in weekly earnings. Removing this model segment resulted in a 7.1% change in adjusted R squared values for the full sample, a 4.8% change for men, and a 3.5% change for women.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Discussion

There are seven hypotheses for income determination for this study. Within individual level factors, it was hypothesized in hypothesis 1 that weekly income will increase as age increases net of other factors. The data supported this hypothesis. Multiple regression analysis showed that every year increase in age increased earnings for both the full sample and for those married with children. It was also hypothesized for the Individual model that weekly income will increase as education increases net of other factors, as stated in hypothesis 2. This hypothesis was generally supported by the data. Tables 4A and 5A show that having a college degree increases income over not having a college degree, net of other factors, for both the full sample and for married individuals with children. Disaggregated educational attainment, shown in Table 4B and 5B, showed that individuals with some college education, a bachelor's degree, and a graduate degree earned more over those without a high school diploma net of other factors,

with income gains increasing with each increase in attainment. Significant gains for having a high school diploma over those with no high school diploma only occurred for women net of other factors.

In the Structural model, hypothesis 3 stated that weekly income will be greater for goods-producing industries net of other factors. The data supports this hypothesis. Multiple regression analysis for both the full sample and for married individuals with children showed that income was greater for individuals in goods-producing industry over those in service industries, net of other factors. It was also hypothesized for the Structural model that weekly income will increase as occupation or skill-level increases, as stated by hypothesis 4. This hypothesis was generally supported. Multiple regression analysis in Tables 4A and 5A showed that a one point increase in occupational prestige resulted in an increase in weekly income net of other factors for both the full sample and for married individuals with children. Occupation levels shown in Tables 4B and 5B showed that there was generally an increase in income associated for each occupation or skill level above blue-collar low-skill occupations, with the exception of blue-collar high-skill occupations for women in the full sample and married women with children.

For the Gender model, it was hypothesized in hypothesis 5 that women will be concentrated in lower paying occupations. This hypothesis was supported. Bivariate analysis showed that women were more likely to be in occupations where women are over-represented. Multivariate analysis of the occupational sex segregation variable showed that a one point increase in occupational sex segregation, indicating overrepresentation of women, resulted in a decrease in weekly income net of other factors. Also supporting this hypothesis was the fact that women were less likely than men to be in goods-producing industries (Tables 1 and 2), which were shown to have greater income than service industries net of other factors through

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multivariate analysis. Finally, women are more likely to be in low-skill occupations, as shown through bivariate analysis, and low-skill occupations generally have lower incomes than high-skill occupations net of other factors. Breakdown by sex was slightly more complicated, however. High-skill occupations in the blue-collar group were shown to have more income than low-skill occupations, except among married individuals with children, where this was only true for men. High-skill occupations in the white-collar group were shown to have higher income than low-skill occupations in this group, except for women in the full sample.

Also hypothesized for the Gender model was that weekly income will be less for women than men net of other factors. This hypothesis was supported by the data. Bivariate analysis showed that there was a significant difference in earnings of men an women, with women earning 73% of what men earn for the full sample, and 82.2% of what men earned for full-time workers. This was also true when controlling other factors in multivariate analysis where being female resulted in a decrease in income net of other factors. The final hypothesis for the Gender model was hypothesis 7, which states that weekly income will decrease as participation in household labor increases net of other factors. This hypothesis was only partially supported. The aggregate measure of household labor was a non-significant factor for income attainment net of other factors (Tables 4A and 5A). For the disaggregated household labor measure that broke up household labor into food preparation, interior cleaning, laundry, childcare, and child related travel, the results were varied, as shown in Tables 4B and 5B. For the full sample, participation in food preparation lowered income net of other factors for the total sample and for women but was a non-significant factor for the income of men net of other factors. Childcare increased income for the total sample and for men but was not a significant factor for the income of women net of other factors. Among married individuals with children, participation in laundry

significantly decreased income for the full sample and for men, but was a non-significant factor for women, net of other factors.

5.2 Limitations

The use of secondary data analysis lead to several limitations for this study. The literature suggests that women's leaving the labor market reduces their experience and their income (Polachek, 1987). However, the only measure of work experience for this data set was the proxy measure of age, which assumes that older individuals would have more work experience. Using age overshadows any actual differences between men and women in their accruement of work experience because it does not reflect time away from the labor market. Also, human capital theorists believe that women choose lower paying positions because they offer flexible hours or are closer to home, allowing women to take care of home life more easily (Becker, 1985). This data set did not include variables that measured the approximate distance of work to home or work hour flexibility. There was no measure for type of degree or major, which may have had an impact on income attainment. Additionally, there was no measure for firm size, a factor that dual economy theory espouses as having direct relationship to income attainment (O'Connor, 1973). Time measures were self-reported, which may have resulted in unreliability of the data.

5.3 Implications

Despite limitations, this study has several important findings. Multivariate analysis showed that men receive greater returns for age than women net of other factors. This could be because of time spent away from the workforce, which lowers women's work experience. Women spend more periods of time away from the workforce to care for family members (Polachek, 1987). However, the return women receive for age does not decrease for married

women with children over that of women in the full sample. There is also an unexplained

disparity between the returns for increased education between men and women. While women

were shown to be more likely to get a degree than men for both the full sample and for full-time

workers, women get less returns in income for their educational attainment than men do, as

shown by multivariate analysis. While occupational prestige increases income net of other

factors, men once again receive greater returns for occupational prestige than women do, net of

other factors. This means that men and women with a job with the same amount of occupational

prestige do not receive the same income, even when age and education are controlled for. These

unexplained differences for men and women are worthy of further analysis and might indicate

discrimination.

   Women are concentrated in lower paying occupations, as indicated by measures of

occupational sex segregation, goods-producing versus service, and low versus high skill

occupations. It is not possible to discern the cause of women's concentration or why it results in

their lower income. However, all theories of sex segregation of occupations suggest that

discrimination is the mechanism involved (Bergmann, 2005; Jacobs, 1989; Reskin and Roos,

1990). This goes along with the finding that women earn less than men net of other factors.

Controlling for age, education, work hours, occupation, and a myriad of other variables, women

still make less than men just for being female net of other factors. This difference ranged from

$63.47 less per week for the full model of disaggregated factors (Table 4B) to $89.73 less per

week for the aggregate model of married individuals with children (Table 5A). Unexplained

differences deserve further study but may be the result of discrimination.

   Household labor had very limited effect on weekly earnings. It was shown in Table 3

that women in general are more likely to participate in household labor and spend far more time

on total domestic labor than men are. However, when controlling for other factors, it appears that participation in household labor is not a major factor in income determination. This finding goes against the bulk of the previous literature on the effect of household labor on income (Coverman, 1983; Noonan, 2001; Powers, 2003; Shelton and Firestone, 1988; Shelton and Firestone, 1989; Shirley and Wallace, 2004).

Where this gap in household labor time becomes important is in the unequal distribution of leisure time between men and women. Hochschild (1989) concluded that working women have a second work shift of unpaid household labor after their paid workday. The disparity between the total working time of men and women equaled about a month of twenty-four hours days every year. This resulted in a leisure gap between men and women (Hochschild, 1989). This leisure gap can be seen in Table 3, where a T-test shows that the difference between men and women's leisure time is statistically significant. Women had 3.8 hours per week less of leisure time. When measured in weeks per year, this was a difference of 1.2 weeks of twenty-four hours days per year. Considering that women spend a full 2 weeks a year more on household labor, household labor can explain over half of that difference in men and women's leisure time.

There are currently laws in place that are supposed to protect women against discrimination. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 established that women are to be paid equally for equal work. Also, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act protects against other types of employment discrimination based on gender. If discrimination against women persists, it may be that punishments are not harsh enough for employers that discriminate. To combat this, tougher laws against sexual harassment and sexual discrimination could be enacted. It is also possible that it is too difficult to prove that one person's occupation is equal to another. The only way to

fix this problem may be policies of occupational wage standardization. Comparable worth policies are one form of wage standardization, where occupational income is based on how the occupation is rated on things like demands, responsibilities, and risks. However, there is no precedent for this type of policy or if it can solve issues of discrimination.

It has been suggested that employers discriminate against women in part because employers assume that household labor time, especially taking care of children, will place women at a disadvantage in the workplace (Coverman, 1983). Employers would not take into account actual time in household labor but instead stereotype women as being less devoted employees because of cultural norms of household labor. As long as the domestic sphere and the workforce are seen as being at odds with one another, there may always be discrimination in the labor force against those responsible for household labor and child rearing.

Further research on income determination for men and women is suggested, as well as research on household labor differences and how they relate to leisure, which is a topic beyond the scope of this study. The alternative model explained 56.2% of the total variance in income, leaving 43.8% unexplained. Until the reason for the pay gap between men and women is fully uncovered, changes in social policy will only ameliorate differences but not fully eliminate them.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1
Values for Full Sample and by Sex

Variables:	Full Sample	Men [1] [2]	Women	
Dependent Variable:				(pay-gap)
Weekly Earnings (mean)	$680	$782 *** ^	$571	(73.0%)
Weekly Earnings (median)	$577	$675	$480	(71.1%)
(stddev)	(454)	(479)	(397)	
Independent Variables:				
Individual-level Factors:				
Age (years)	38.9	38.6 *	39.3	
	(12.00)	(11.75)	(12.26)	
% College Degree (0,1)	30.1%	28.8% *	31.4%	
	(0.46)	(0.45)	(0.46)	
% Less than HS Diploma (0,1)	10.7%	12.3% ***	9.0%	
% High School Diploma (0,1)	30.4%	32.2% **	28.4%	
% Some College (0,1)	28.9%	26.7% ***	31.2%	
% BA/BS Degree (0,1)	20.4%	19.5%	21.3%	
% Graduate Degree (0,1)	9.7%	9.3%	10.1%	
	100%	100%	100%	
% Rural (0,1)	18.4%	18.5%	18.3%	
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)	
% South, Midwest (0,1)	60.2%	59.0% *	61.4%	
	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.49)	
Structural-level Factors:				
Work Hours per Week (mean)	40.3	43.5 *** ^	36.9	
(median)	40.0	40.0	40.0	
	(12.21)	(11.30)	(12.24)	
% Holds Multiple Jobs (0,1)	9.6%	9.8%	9.4%	
	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.29)	
% Union Member (0,1)	12.3%	13.2% *	11.4%	
	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.32)	
% Government (0,1)	17.2%	14.3% ***	20.2%	
	(0.38)	(0.35)	(0.40)	
% Goods-producing Industry (0,1)	21.0%	32.0% *** ^	10.0%	
	(0.41)	(0.47)	(0.30)	
% White-collar High-skill (0,1)	38.0%	32.0% *** ^	45.0%	
% White-collar Low-skill (0,1)	24.0%	16.0% *** ^	33.0%	
% Blue-collar High-skill (0,1)	17.0%	29.0% *** ^	4.0%	
% Blue-collar Low-skill (0,1)	21.0%	24.0% ***	18.0%	
	100%	101%	100%	
Gender-level Factors:				
Occupational Sex-Segregation	1.02	0.64 *** ^	1.44	
	(0.66)	(0.52)	(0.52)	
% Minority (0,1)	26.1%	26.4%	25.8%	
	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.44)	
% Immigrant (0,1)	14.5%	16.2% ***	12.7%	
	(0.35)	(0.37)	(0.33)	
% Married (0,1)	58.4%	61.1% ***	55.6%	
% Ever-married (0,1)	12.9%	8.8% *** ^	17.3%	
% Never-married (0,1)	28.7%	30.1% **	27.2%	
	100%	100%	100%	
% With Children Under 6 yrs (0,1)	20.2%	22.0% ***	18.2%	
	(0.40)	(0.41)	(0.39)	
% Employed Spouse (0,1)	50.1%	46.7% ***	53.6%	
	(0.50)	(0.50)	(0.50)	
% Spouse Works Full-time (0,1)	41.2%	33.9% *** ^	49.0%	
	(0.49)	(0.47)	(0.50)	
Sample n (weighted):	6,702	3,466	3,236	
	100%	51.7%	48.3%	

[1] = *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05
[2] effect size greater = > .20

TABLE 2
Values for Full-time Workers for Full Sample and by Sex

Variables:	Full Sample	Men [1] [2]		Women	
Dependent Variable:					(pay-gap)
Weekly Earnings (mean)	$773	$837	*** ^	$688	(82.2%)
Weekly Earnings (median)	$660	$720		$596	(82.8%)
(stddev)	(439)	(464)		(387)	
Independent Variables:					
Individual-level Factors:					
Age (years)	40.0	39.5	***	40.6	
	(11.31)	(11.22)		(11.41)	
% College Degree (0,1)	32.2%	30.4%	**	34.5%	
	(0.47)	(0.46)		(0.48)	
% Less than HS Diploma (0,1)	9.9%	11.5%	***	7.6%	
% High School Diploma (0,1)	31.0%	32.2%	*	29.4%	
% Some College (0,1)	26.9%	25.8%	*	28.4%	
% BA/BS Degree (0,1)	21.6%	20.7%		22.8%	
% Graduate Degree (0,1)	10.6%	9.8%	*	11.8%	
	100%	100%		100%	
% Rural (0,1)	18.5%	19.0%		17.9%	
	(0.39)	(0.39)		(0.38)	
% South or Midwest (0,1)	60.3%	59.2%		61.8%	
	(0.49)	(0.49)		(0.49)	
Structural-level Factors:					
Work Hours per Week (mean)	44.6	45.7	*** ^	43.0	
(median)	40.0	40.0		40.0	
	(8.49)	(9.06)		(7.38)	
% Holds Multiple Jobs (0,1)	10.2%	9.9%		10.7%	
	(0.30)	(0.30)		(0.31)	
% Union Member (0,1)	13.9%	14.1%		13.6%	
	(0.35)	(0.35)		(0.34)	
% Government (0,1)	17.7%	14.3%	*** ^	22.2%	
	(0.38)	(0.35)		(0.42)	
% Goods-producing Industry (0,1)	25.0%	35.0%	*** ^	13.0%	
	(0.44)	(0.48)		(0.34)	
% White-collar High-skill (0,1)	39.0%	33.0%	*** ^	48.0%	
% White-collar Low-skill (0,1)	22.0%	15.0%	*** ^	32.0%	
% Blue-collar High-skill (0,1)	19.0%	30.0%	*** ^	5.0%	
% Blue-collar Low-skill (0,1)	19.0%	22.0%	***	15.0%	
	100%	100%		100%	
Gender-level Factors:					
Occupational Sex-Segregation	0.95	0.62	*** ^	1.40	
	(0.65)	(0.51)		(0.53)	
% Minority (0,1)	26.4%	25.9%		27.1%	
	(0.44)	(0.44)		(0.44)	
% Immigrant (0,1)	14.5%	16.1%	***	12.3%	
	(0.35)	(0.37)		(0.33)	
% Married (0,1)	61.5%	64.7%	***	57.1%	
% Ever-married (0,1)	13.4%	9.2%	*** ^	19.3%	
% Never-married (0,1)	25.1%	26.1%	*	23.6%	
	(0.43)	(0.44)		(0.42)	
% With Children Under 6 yrs (0,1)	19.9%	23.0%	***	15.8%	
	(0.40)	(0.42)		(0.36)	
% Employed Spouse (0,1)	51.5%	49.4%	***	54.3%	
	(0.50)	(0.50)		(0.50)	
% Spouse Works Full-time (0,1)	42.0%	36.1%	*** ^	50.0%	
	(0.49)	(0.48)		(0.50)	
Sample n (weighted):	5,454	3,139		2,315	
	100%	57.6%		42.4%	

[1] = *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05
[2] effect size greater = > .20

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TABLE 3
Household Division of Labor

Variables:		Men	1	2	Women	Men	1	2	Women	Weekly in Hours	Yearly in Days	Yearly in Weeks
		Percent Who Participate				Weekly Hours				Difference for Females:		
	All Domestic Labor	64.9%	***	^	83.5%	12.5	***		14.7	2.2	4.8	0.7
	Household Direct Labor[1]	52.0%	***	^	79.3%	9.9	***	^	16.3	6.4	13.8	2.0
	Shopping	38.3%	***	^	48.7%	5.4	***	^	7.0	1.6	3.5	0.5
	Work Related	72.0%	*		69.1%	57.4	***	^	51.4	-6.0	-13.0	-1.9
	Personal Care	99.9%			100.0%	61.7	***		63.6	1.9	4.2	0.6
	Leisure	95.5%	**		93.6%	28.9	***	^	25.1	-3.8	-8.2	-1.2
	Exercise and Sports	17.1%			15.6%	14.2	***	^	9.0	-5.2	-11.3	-1.6
Household Direct Labor[1]												
Marital Status:	Married	58.1%	***	^	87.3%	10.9	***	^	17.6	6.7	14.5	2.1
	Ever married	55.6%	***	^	79.2%	9.0	***	^	15.5	6.5	14.1	2.0
	Never married	38.5%	***		62.9%	7.0	***	^	13.0	6.0	13.0	1.9
Earnings Quintiles (Married Only):	Lowest 20th %	62.7%	***	^	88.7%	12.4	***	^	20.2	7.8	16.9	2.4
	Second 20th %	50.8%	***	^	86.8%	10.0	***	^	17.0	6.9	15.0	2.1
	Third 20th %	53.2%	***	^	88.5%	11.7	***	^	16.6	4.9	10.6	1.5
	Fourth 20th %	60.6%	***	^	86.7%	10.3	***	^	16.8	6.5	14.0	2.0
	Highest 20th %	62.1%	***	^	84.3%	11.1	***	^	16.9	5.8	12.6	1.8
Age-cohorts (Married Only):	18 to 24	50.6%	**	^	79.9%	11.8			15.8	4.0	8.7	1.2
	25 to 29	55.7%	***	^	87.1%	13.4	**	^	18.7	5.2	11.3	1.6
	30 to 39	68.1%	***		88.8%	12.9	***	^	22.2	9.3	20.3	2.9
	40 to 49	59.2%	***	^	89.2%	11.2	***	^	17.3	6.1	13.1	1.9
	50 to 59	45.9%	***	^	84.4%	6.8	***	^	13.5	6.8	14.7	2.1
	60 and older	53.8%	***	^	85.4%	4.0	***	^	11.4	7.4	16.0	2.3
Education (Married Only):	Less than HS Diploma	37.5%	***	^	89.1%	9.3	***	^	19.9	10.6	23.1	3.3
	High School Diploma	52.7%	***	^	89.6%	10.8	***	^	15.7	4.9	10.6	1.5
	Some College	58.9%	***	^	86.6%	10.6	***	^	17.9	7.4	16.0	2.3
	BA/BS Degree	67.9%	***	^	87.0%	12.5	***	^	18.4	5.9	12.7	1.8
	Graduate Degree	70.6%	**	^	83.0%	9.9	***	^	19.0	9.1	19.6	2.8
Work Hours (Married Only):	Part-time	60.9%	***	^	88.2%	11.1	***	^	22.6	11.5	24.8	3.5
	Full-time	58.0%	***	^	87.0%	10.9	***	^	15.8	4.9	10.6	1.5
Occupation Group (Married Only):	Blue-collar Low-skill	51.8%	***	^	89.0%	9.4	***	^	20.1	10.8	23.3	3.3
	Blue-collar High-skill	53.0%	***	^	78.9%	11.1	**	^	16.3	5.2	11.2	1.6
	White-collar Low-skill	60.8%	***	^	88.0%	11.4	**	^	15.4	3.9	8.5	1.2
	White-collar High-skill	64.4%	***	^	87.0%	11.4	***	^	18.4	7.0	15.3	2.2
Spouse Work Status (Married Only):	Less than Full-time	56.4%	***	^	80.9%	11.0	***	^	15.3	4.4	9.5	1.4
	Full-time	59.9%	***	^	88.9%	10.9	***	^	18.2	7.2	15.7	2.2

Household Direct Labor[1] = cooking, cleaning, laundry , childcare, and travel associated with childcare

[1] = *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

[2] effect size greater = > .20

TABLE 4A

OLS Regression of the Saturated Model for Full Sample and by Sex

Variables:	Full Sample		Men			Women	
Individual-level factors:	unstd. [1]	std.	unstd. [1]	std.	[2]	unstd. [1]	std.
Age (years)	$5.64 ***	0.149	$6.29 ***	0.154	<>	$4.74 ***	0.146
Age Squared	-$0.16 ***	-0.050	-$0.17 ***	-0.048		-$0.18 ***	-0.064
College Degree (0,1)	$197.64 ***	0.200	$218.23 ***	0.206	<>	$173.32 ***	0.203
Rural (0,1)	-$107.89 ***	-0.092	-$96.88 ***	-0.078		-$113.13 ***	-0.110
South or Midwest (0,1)	-$51.38 ***	-0.055	-$56.55 ***	-0.058		-$44.22 ***	-0.054
Structural-level factors:							
Work Hours per Week	$14.01 ***	0.377	$14.62 ***	0.344		$13.36 ***	0.412
Multiple Jobs (0,1)	-$121.80 ***	-0.079	-$142.55 ***	-0.088		-$102.86 ***	-0.076
Union Member (0,1)	$95.48 ***	0.069	$104.01 ***	0.074		$99.69 ***	0.080
Goods-producing Industry (0,1)	$45.63 ***	0.041	$54.95 ***	0.054		$22.70	0.017
Occupational Prestige	$9.48 ***	0.284	$10.89 ***	0.311	<>	$7.81 ***	0.262
Gender-level factors:							
Female (0,1)	-$74.74 ***	-0.082					
Occupational Sex Segregation	-$64.86 ***	-0.094	-$65.68 ***	-0.071		-$71.11 ***	-0.093
Minority (0,1)	-$66.11 ***	-0.064	-$90.05 ***	-0.083	<>	-$41.97 ***	-0.046
Immigrant (0,1)	-$86.57 ***	-0.067	-$80.39 ***	-0.062		-$85.08 ***	-0.071
Married (0,1)	$80.12 ***	0.087	$104.86 ***	0.107	<>	$43.76 **	0.055
With Children Under 6 yrs (0,1)	$32.57 **	0.029	$23.66	0.020		$22.94	0.022
Spouse Works Full-time (0,1)	-$71.08 ***	-0.077	-$63.82 ***	-0.063		-$56.60 ***	-0.071
Household Labor Participation (0,1)	-$5.10	-0.005	$0.12	0.000		-$21.94	-0.022
(Constant)	-$405.62		-$535.90			-$307.76	
Adjusted R squared	0.562		0.547			0.544	
Sample n=	6,701		3,465			3,235	

[1] = *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05
[2] = significant difference between men and women at the .05 level or higher

TABLE 4B
OLS Regression of the Saturated Model of Disaggregated Factors
For Full Sample and by Sex

Variables:	Full Sample			Men				Women		
Individual-level factors:	unstd.	[1]	std.	unstd.	[1]	std.	[2]	unstd.	[1]	std.
Age (years)	$5.97	***	0.158	$6.60	***	0.162	<>	$4.96	***	0.153
Age squared	-$0.17	***	-0.052	-$0.16	***	-0.045		-$0.20	***	-0.073
High School Diploma (0,1)	$19.27		0.020	$6.83		0.007		$38.22	*	0.043
Some College (0,1)	$101.06	***	0.101	$96.35	***	0.089		$106.57	***	0.124
BA/BS Degree (0,1)	$246.68	***	0.219	$268.99	***	0.222		$229.61	***	0.237
Graduate Degree (0,1)	$387.28	***	0.252	$390.84	***	0.237		$386.65	***	0.293
Rural (0,1)	-$98.79	***	-0.084	-$81.41	***	-0.066		-$109.25	***	-0.106
South or Midwest (0,1)	-$48.34	***	-0.052	-$53.02	***	-0.054		-$41.19	***	-0.050
Structural-level factors:										
Work Hours per Week	$14.08	***	0.379	$14.42	***	0.340		$13.72	***	0.423
Multiple Jobs (0,1)	-$129.47	***	-0.084	-$146.02	***	-0.090		-$115.32	***	-0.085
Union Member (0,1)	$99.37	***	0.072	$115.55	***	0.082		$95.38	***	0.076
Goods-producing Industry (0,1)	$67.80	***	0.061	$68.76	***	0.067		$46.39	**	0.035
Blue-collar High-skill (0,1)	$41.06	**	0.034	$65.39	***	0.062	<>	-$3.68	***	-0.002
White-collar Low-skill (0,1)	$130.54	***	0.123	$167.88	***	0.128	<>	$79.88	***	0.095
White-collar High-skill (0,1)	$262.41	***	0.281	$335.77	***	0.326		$186.20		0.233
Gender-level factors:										
Female (0,1)	-$63.47	***	-0.070							
Occupational Sex Segregation	-$94.07	***	-0.136	-$132.34	***	-0.144	<>	-$72.84	***	-0.095
Minority (0,1)	-$55.02	***	-0.053	-$70.08	***	-0.064		-$35.13	**	-0.039
Immigrant (0,1)	-$84.52	***	-0.066	-$82.44	***	-0.063		-$81.84	***	-0.069
Ever-Married (0,1)	-$70.14	***	-0.052	-$93.33	***	-0.055	<>	-$40.31	*	-0.038
Never-Married (0,1)	-$82.77	***	-0.082	-$88.71	***	-0.085		-$53.27	**	-0.060
With Children Under 6 yrs (0,1)	$26.18	*	0.023	$18.11		0.016		$30.67	*	0.030
Spouse Works Full-time (0,1)	-$64.02	***	-0.069	-$58.61	***	-0.058		-$51.27	***	-0.065
Food Preparation (0,1)	-$26.96	**	-0.030	-$21.37		-0.021		-$26.30	*	-0.032
Interior Cleaning (0,1)	-$10.60		-0.009	-$22.43		-0.014		-$9.36		-0.011
Laundry (0,1)	-$18.78		-0.015	-$29.35		-0.015		-$3.26		-0.004
Childcare (0,1)	$36.92	**	0.035	$56.34	**	0.048		-$6.98		-0.008
Child Related Travel (0,1)	-$16.34		-0.012	-$15.06		-0.009		$0.02		0.000
(Constant)	-$106.27			-$156.72				-$114.47		
Adjusted R squared	0.568			0.553				0.548		
Sample n=	6,701			3,465				3,235		

[1] = *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$
[2] = significant difference between men and women at the .05 level or higher

TABLE 5A

OLS Regression of the Saturated Model for
Married Individuals with Children

Variables:	Full Sample			Men				Women		
Individual-level factors:	unstd.	[1]	std.	unstd.	[1]	std.	[2]	unstd.	[1]	std.
Age (years)	$6.90	***	0.115	$8.45	***	0.140	<>	$4.19	**	0.081
Age Squared	-$0.41	***	-0.071	-$0.53	***	-0.092		-$0.30	*	-0.059
College Degree (0,1)	$227.65	***	0.223	$265.78	***	0.251	<>	$161.53	***	0.193
Rural (0,1)	-$113.35	***	-0.091	-$99.56	***	-0.078		-$132.18	***	-0.128
South or Midwest (0,1)	-$47.50	**	-0.048	-$57.42	**	-0.057		-$36.92		-0.044
Structural-level factors:										
Work Hours per Week	$15.04	***	0.373	$15.21	***	0.309		$14.31	***	0.433
Multiple Jobs (0,1)	-$155.42	***	-0.094	-$148.31	***	-0.092		-$163.08	***	-0.110
Union Member (0,1)	$75.97	***	0.054	$75.24	**	0.054		$99.78	**	0.081
Goods-producing Industry (0,1)	$60.18	**	0.054	$61.88	**	0.060		$86.50	**	0.065
Occupational Prestige	$9.95	***	0.287	$10.91	***	0.308		$8.77	***	0.299
Gender-level factors:										
Female (0,1)	-$89.73	***	-0.091							
Occupational Sex Segregation	-$81.13	***	-0.109	-$75.71	**	-0.072		-$96.96	***	-0.126
Minority (0,1)	-$75.86	***	-0.069	-$118.30	***	-0.108		-$2.87		-0.003
Immigrant (0,1)	-$121.53	***	-0.097	-$113.51	***	-0.094		-$124.09	***	-0.106
With Children Under 6 yrs (0,1)	$22.89		0.024	$9.82		0.010		$40.41		0.049
Spouse Works Full-time (0,1)	-$112.21	***	-0.113	-$109.97	***	-0.110		-$112.54	***	-0.098
Household Labor Participation (0,1)	$13.33		0.011	$9.43		0.009		-$58.18		-0.034
(Constant)	-$380.00			-$478.36				-$205.89		
Adjusted R squared	0.535			0.487				0.513		
Sample n=	2,207			1,278				927		

[1] = *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$
[2] = significant difference between men and women at the .05 level or higher

TABLE 5B
OLS Regression of the Saturated Model of Disaggregated Factors for Married Individuals with Children

Variables:	Full Sample			Men				Women		
	unstd.	[1]	std.	unstd.	[1]	std.	[2]	unstd.	[1]	std.
Individual-level factors:										
Age (years)	$7.64	***	0.127	8.482	***	0.141		$4.93	**	0.096
Age squared	-$0.41	***	-0.071	-$0.50	***	-0.086		-$0.32	*	-0.062
High School Diploma (0,1)	$39.68		0.037	$19.14		0.018		$103.76	*	0.112
Some College (0,1)	$160.04	***	0.146	$160.97	***	0.142		$180.58	***	0.202
BA/BS Degree (0,1)	$333.88	***	0.290	$381.44	***	0.313		$311.02	***	0.336
Graduate Degree (0,1)	$400.53	***	0.264	$441.39	***	0.282		$378.48	***	0.303
Rural (0,1)	-$115.57	***	-0.093	-$96.06	***	-0.075		-$137.29	***	-0.133
South or Midwest (0,1)	-$33.61	*	-0.034	-$39.70		-0.040		-$28.87		-0.034
Structural-level factors:										
Work Hours per Week	$14.94	***	0.371	$15.00	***	0.305		$14.82	***	0.449
Multiple Jobs (0,1)	-$154.99	***	-0.094	-$137.31	***	-0.085		-$177.11	***	-0.120
Union Member (0,1)	$85.61	***	0.061	$84.00	**	0.060		$105.77	***	0.086
Goods-producing Industry (0,1)	$80.85	***	0.072	$77.19	**	0.075		$101.13	**	0.076
Blue-collar High-skill (0,1)	$49.63		0.039	$84.20	**	0.077		$14.95		0.007
White-collar Low-skill (0,1)	$153.61	***	0.129	$185.86	***	0.132	<>	$76.83	**	0.086
White-collar High-skill (0,1)	$278.59	***	0.284	$327.46	***	0.318	<>	$195.07	***	0.240
Gender-level factors:										
Female (0,1)	-$70.56	**	-0.072							
Occupational Sex Segregation	-$111.27	***	-0.150	-$134.71	***	-0.129		-$90.05	***	-0.117
Minority (0,1)	-$69.88	***	-0.063	-$96.29	***	-0.088		-$9.24		-0.010
Immigrant (0,1)	-$96.41	***	-0.077	-$86.43	**	-0.071		-$100.66	**	-0.086
With Children Under 6 yrs (0,1)	$32.00		0.033	$16.63		0.017		$54.65	*	0.066
Spouse Works Full-time (0,1)	-$108.15	***	-0.108	-$104.37	***	-0.105		-$108.43	***	-0.094
Food Preparation (0,1)	$0.43		0.000	$7.18		0.007		-$25.24		-0.026
Interior Cleaning (0,1)	-$2.78		-0.002	-$31.04		-0.020		$9.04		0.011
Laundry (0,1)	-$48.81	*	-0.040	-$101.49	*	-0.051		-$11.85		-0.014
Childcare (0,1)	$13.52		0.014	$6.35		0.006		$2.75		0.003
Child Related Travel (0,1)	-$29.60		-0.028	-$28.57		-0.023		-$19.26		-0.023
(Constant)	-$193.14			-$230.90				-$156.71		
Adjusted R squared	0.535			0.495				0.494		
Sample n=	2,207			1,278				927		

[1] = *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05
[2] = significant difference between men and women at the .05 level or higher

TABLE 6
Comparison of Structural, Individual, and Gender Models
(Dependent Variable weekly earnings)

(standardized betas shown)

Variables:	Full Sample	W/O Individual Model	W/O Structural Model	W/O Gender Model
Independent Variables:				
Individual-level factors:				
Age (years)	0.149	X	0.239	0.158
Age Squared	-0.050	X	-0.145	-0.049
College Degree (0,1)	0.200	X	0.369	0.212
Rural (0,1)	-0.092	X	-0.085	-0.078
South or Midwest (0,1)	-0.055	X	-0.063	-0.051
Structural-level factors:				
Work Hours per Week	0.377	0.411	X	0.427
Multiple Jobs (0,1)	-0.079	-0.090	X	-0.089
Union Member (0,1)	0.069	0.092	X	0.075
Goods-producing industry (0,1)	0.041	ns	X	0.097
Occupational Prestige	0.284	0.408	X	0.273
Gender-level factors:				
Female (0,1)	-0.067	-0.039	-0.109	X
Occupational Sex Segregation	-0.094	-0.091	-0.131	X
Minority (0,1)	-0.082	-0.094	-0.141	X
Immigrant (0,1)	-0.064	-0.072	-0.064	X
Married (0,1)	0.087	0.152	0.115	X
With Children Under 6 yrs (0,1)	0.029	ns	ns	X
Spouse Works Full-time (0,1)	-0.077	-0.086	-0.081	X
Household Labor Hours per Week	ns	ns	ns	X
Adjusted R-sq*	0.562	0.501	0.374	0.523
R-sq change from Full model		**-0.062**	**-0.189**	**-0.040**
% change in R-sq		**-11.0%**	**-33.6%**	**-7.1%**
Males Only:**	0.547	0.488	0.371	0.522
R-sq change from Full model		**-0.060**	**-0.176**	**-0.026**
%change in R-Sq		**-11.0%**	**-32.2%**	**-4.8%**
Females only:**	0.544	0.475	0.317	0.526
R-sq change from Full model		**-0.069**	**-0.227**	**-0.019**
% change in R-sq		**-12.7%**	**-41.7%**	**-3.5%**

*(all R-sq changes sig. at .000)
**standardized betas not shown for male or female equations.
ns=not significant at .001.