



A Second Look at the Process of Occupational Feminization and Pay Reduction in Occupations

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Individual and structural aspects of gender inequality



Individual

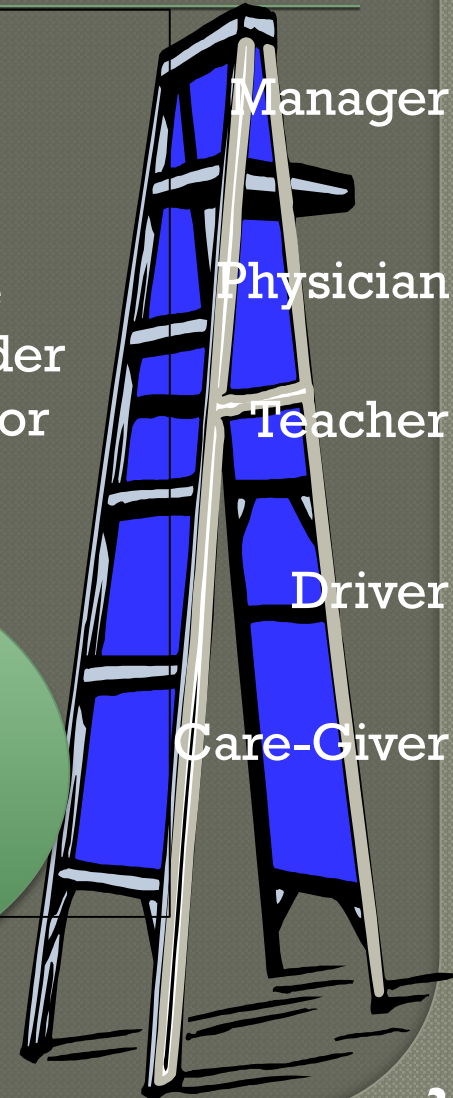
Are the location of men and women on the occupational ladder becoming more similar over time?

Yes!

Structural

Are the criteria underpinning the occupational ladder becoming more (or less) affected by gender?

We don't know yet!



Individual and structural forms of gender inequality

Individual

What we already know?

The gender distribution has become more similar, as women entered previously male dominated occupations (in management, medicine, law, and others)

Structural

What we don't know?

Has this change affected the occupational structure itself?

If yes –

Has this gender effect increased or decreased over time?

Manager

Physician

Teacher

Driver

Care-Giver

Why this is important?

Individual

Upward occupational mobility of women on the occupational ladder

Gendered!!

Structural

Changes in the relative status and pay of occupations on the ladder

Gendered??

Manager

Physician

Teacher

Driver

Care-Giver



Why is this important?

Individual

More women today are industrial engineers

Gendered!!

Structural

Does the fact that industrial engineers have enjoyed lower pay increase relative to electrical engineers relate to the fact that many more women have become industrial engineers over the last decades?

Sociologists suspect that it does

Manager

Physician

Teacher

Driver

Care-Giver



Occupational Devaluation

- Wage reduction in occupations following feminization, due to employer's underestimation of traits and skills identified with femininity (England 1992)

Empirical evidence

Individual

Trends in occupational mobility of women

Prevalent

Structural

Trends in occupational devaluation

Scanty/not prevalent

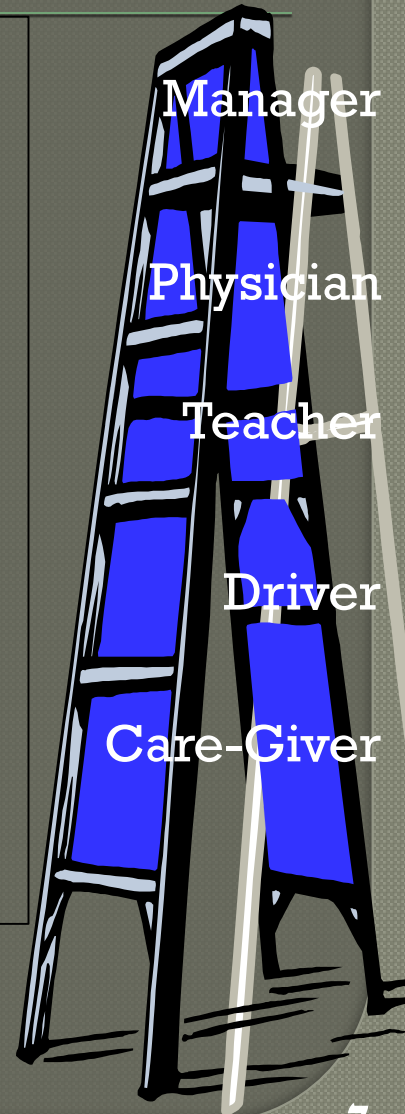
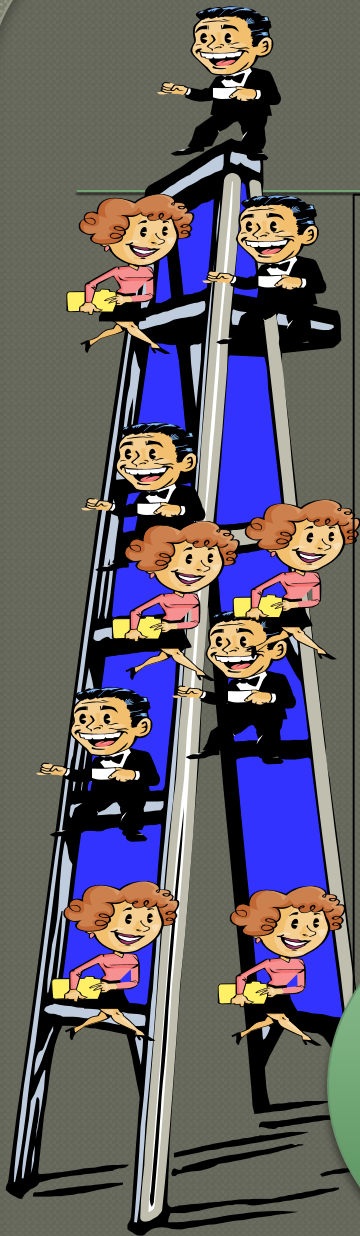
Manager

Physician

Teacher

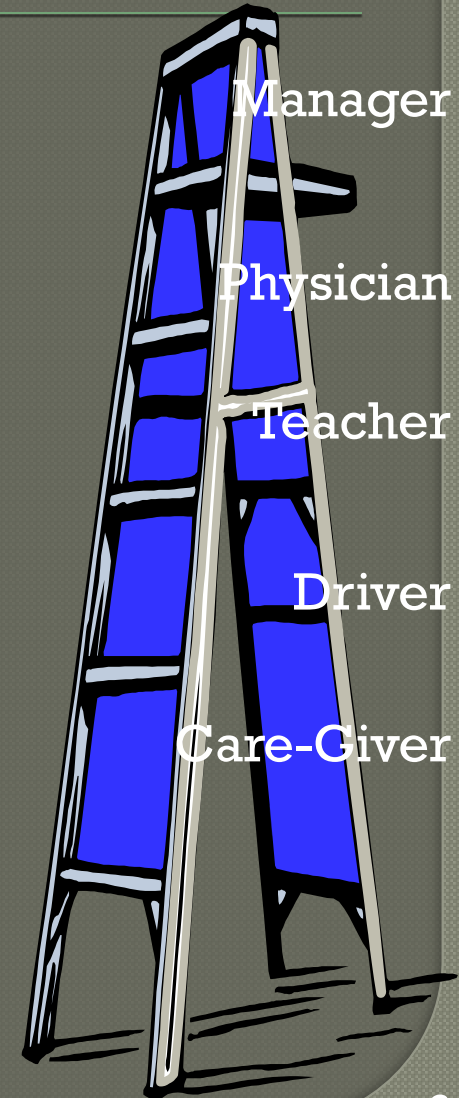
Driver

Care-Giver



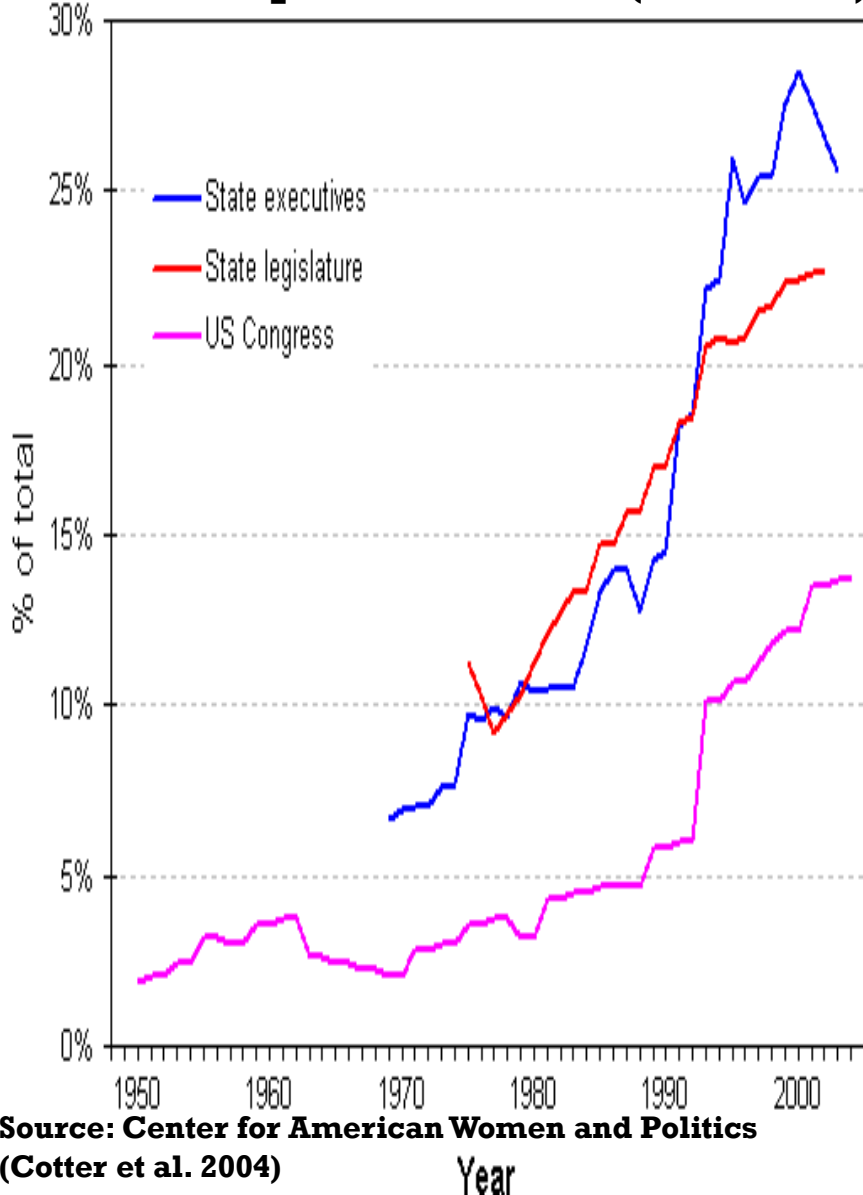
This is an ideal period

A time of upward occupational mobility for women, a precondition for the occurrence of occupational devaluation.

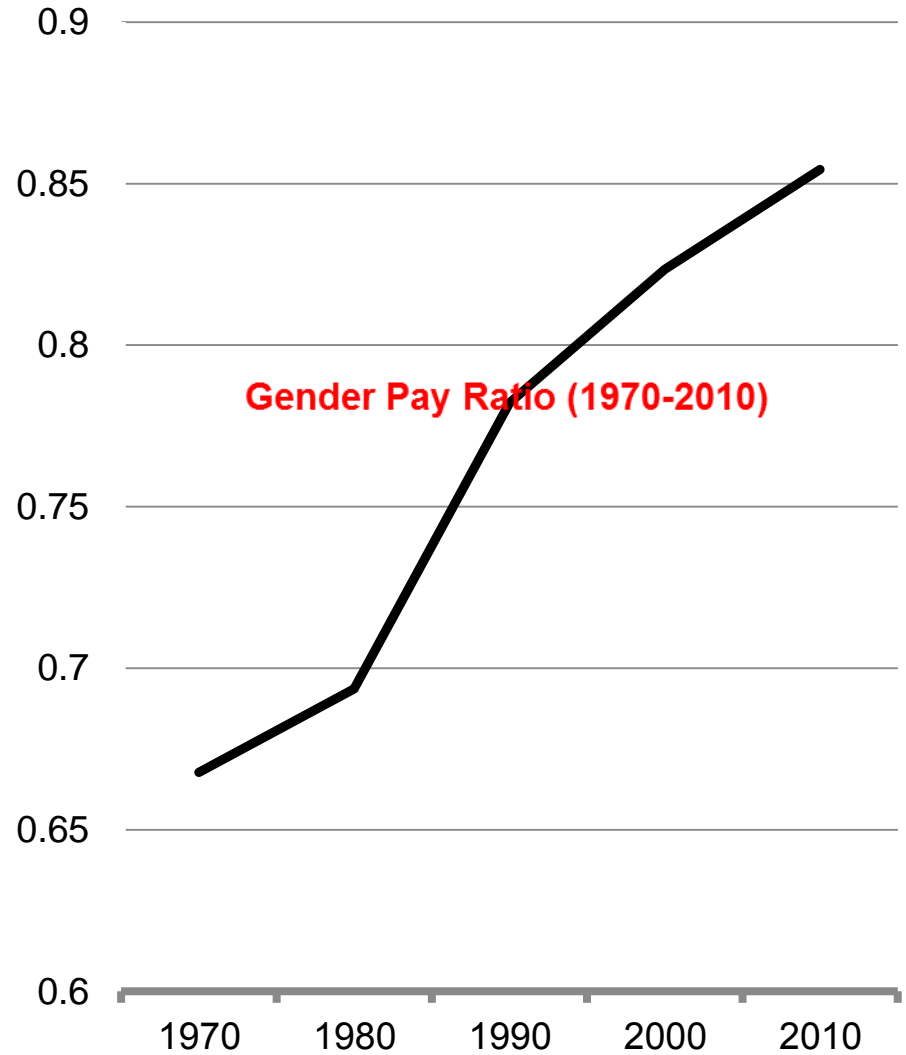


Women's occupational and earnings attainments, US, 1950-2010

Women representation in: (1970-2010)

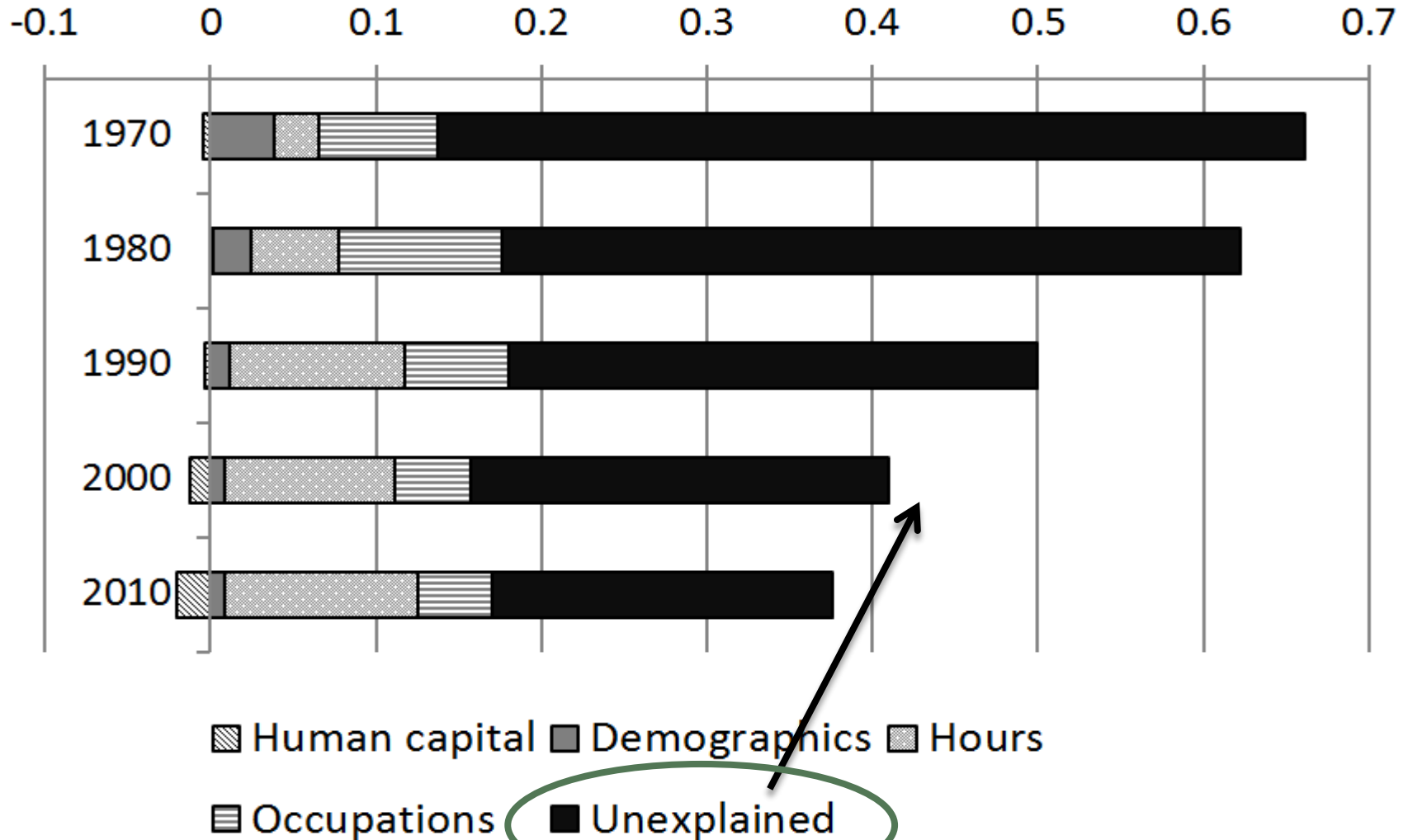


Gender Pay Ratio (1970-2010)



Source: IPUMS-USA (Mandel)

Gender pay gaps in the US by components



Source: Mandel and Semyonov, Demography 2015

Individual and structural forms of gender inequality

Individual

What we already know?

The gender distributions have become more similar:

- in pay
- In occupations

Structural

What we don't know?

Has this change affected the occupational structure itself?

If yes –

Has this gender effect increased or decreased over time?

Manager

Physician

Teacher

Driver

Care-Giver

Data & Methods

Data: IPUMS-USA (1960-2015)

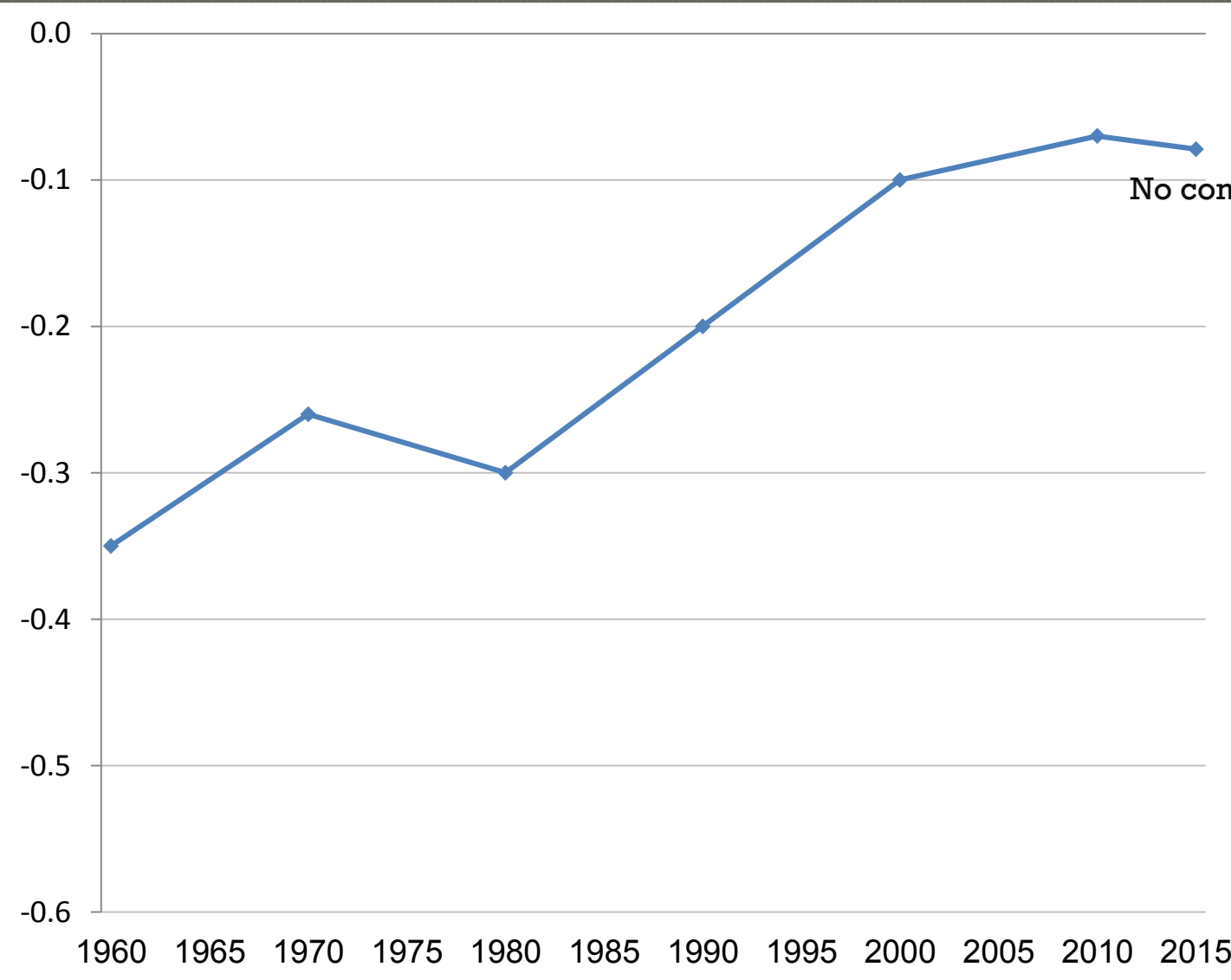
- 5% sample censuses of 1980-2000
- 1% sample census of 1960-1970
- ACS sample for 2010 and 2015

Around 300 to 400 occupational categories (variable OCC)

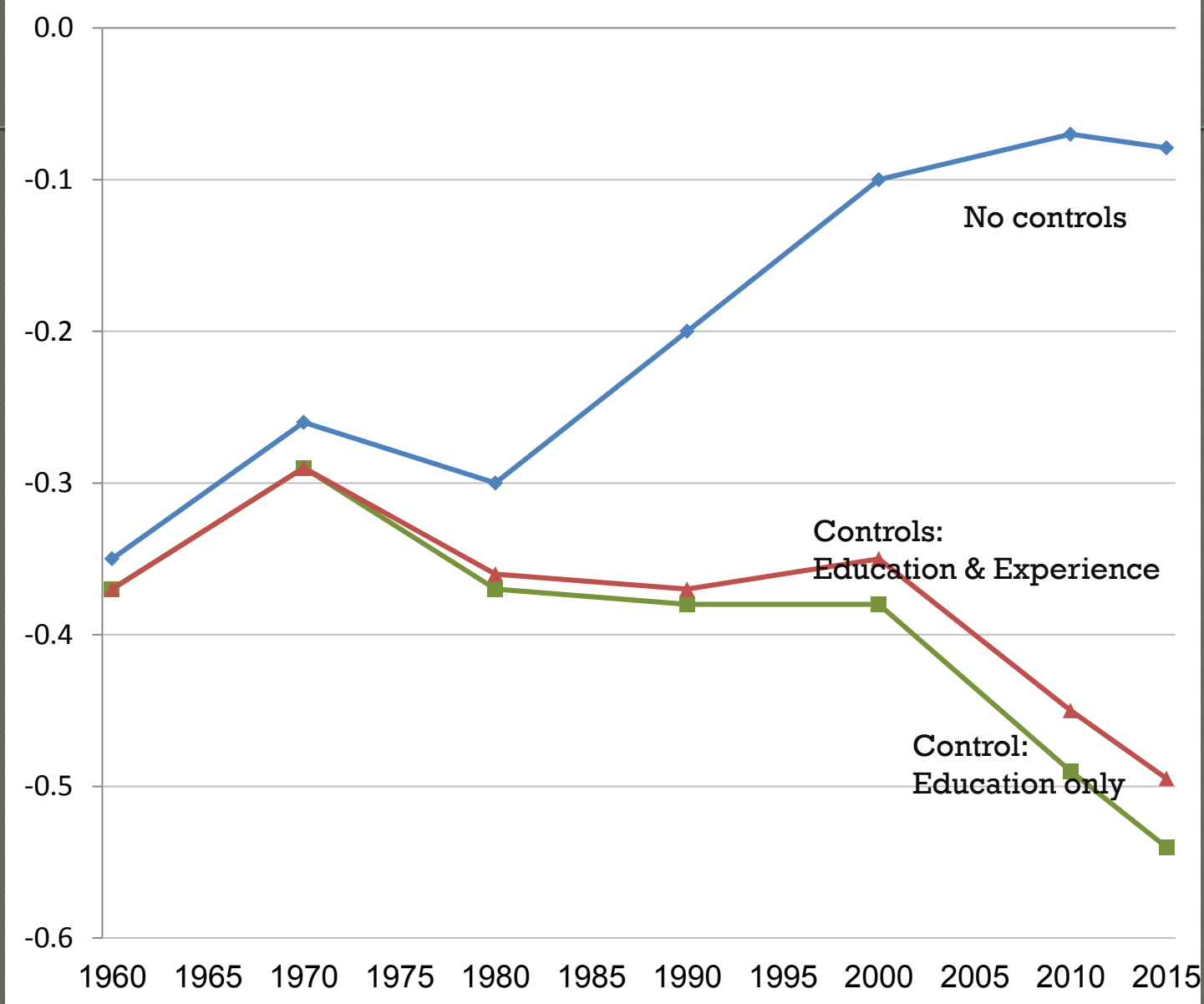
Method: multi-level regressions, by decade.

- Dependent variable at the occupational level: the average wage **of males** in an occupation (the intercept: male=0, female=1).
- Independent variable at the occupational level: percent female in occupations
- Controls: human capital factors at the individual level and occupational level.

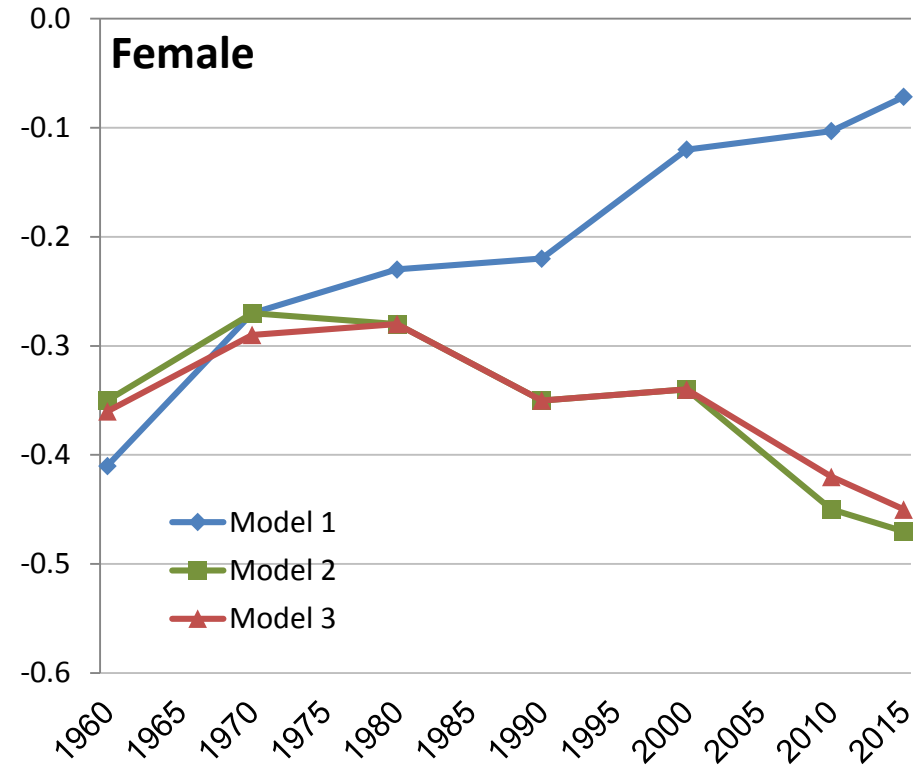
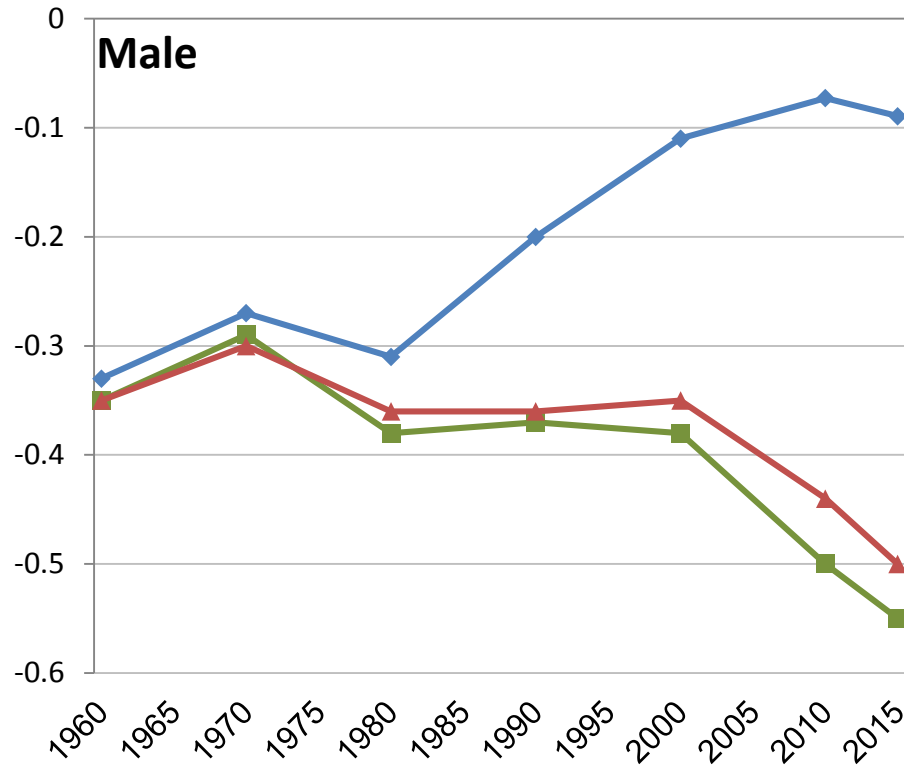
Coefficients of percent female on the average wage of males in occupations, 1960-2015: results of multi-level regression, without controls



Coefficients of percent female on the average wage of males in occupations, 1960-2015: results of multi-level regression, with and without controls



Coefficients of percent female on the average wage of males in occupations, 1960-2015: results of multi-level regression, with and without controls, by gender



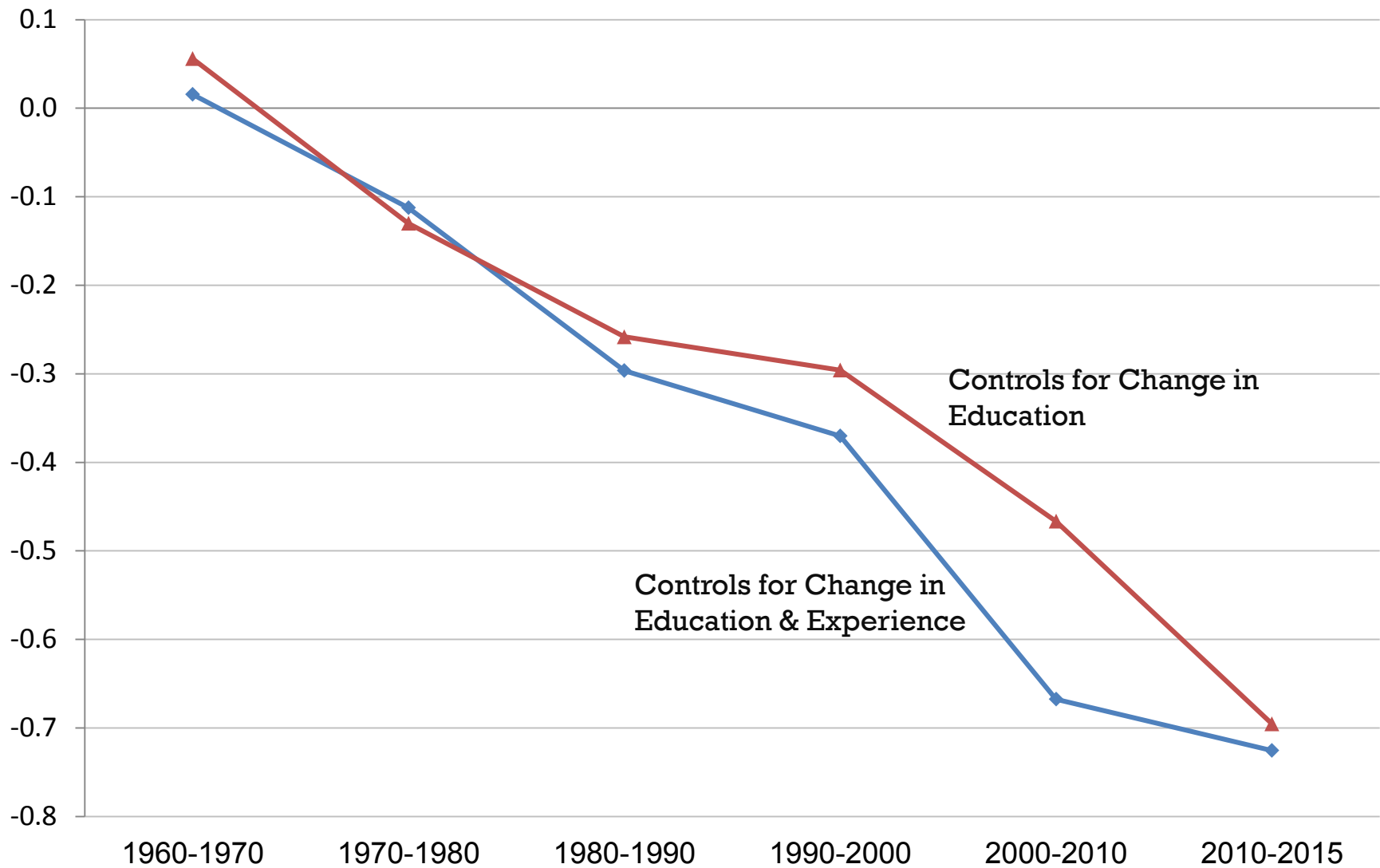
Dynamic Model

Change in percent female in occupations

→ **Change** in male wages

* **Change** between two consecutive census years (1960 and 1970, 1970 and - 1980, etc.)

Coefficients of change in percent female on change in occupational pay, result of multi-level regression*

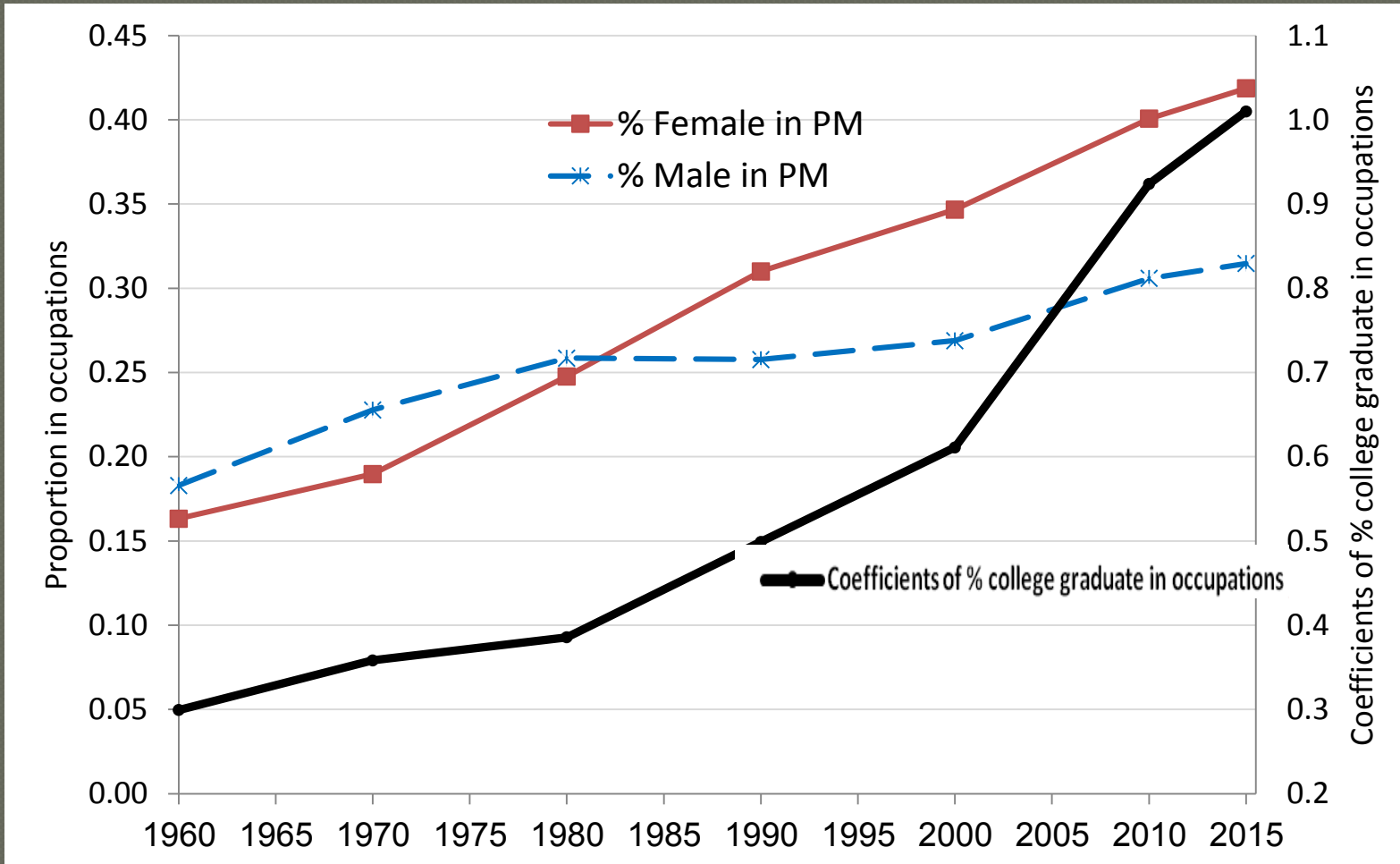


- All models also control for 'lagged male wage', lagged female proportion', 'unemployment rates' at the occupational level, and education and experience at the individual level

What account for the divergent trends??

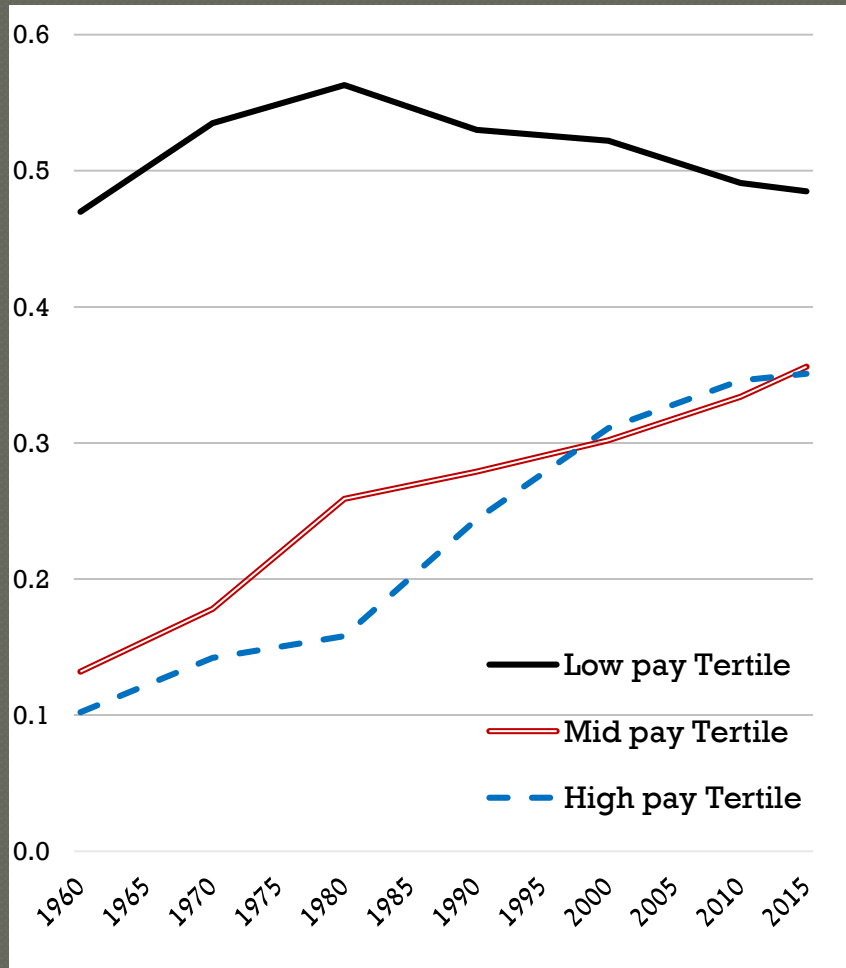
- The growing entry of women into professional and managerial occupations (occupations that require high education)
- The growing rewards to occupations that demand high education (relative to unskilled occupations)

Proportion of Men and Women in PM occupations and Rewards for Education 1960-2015

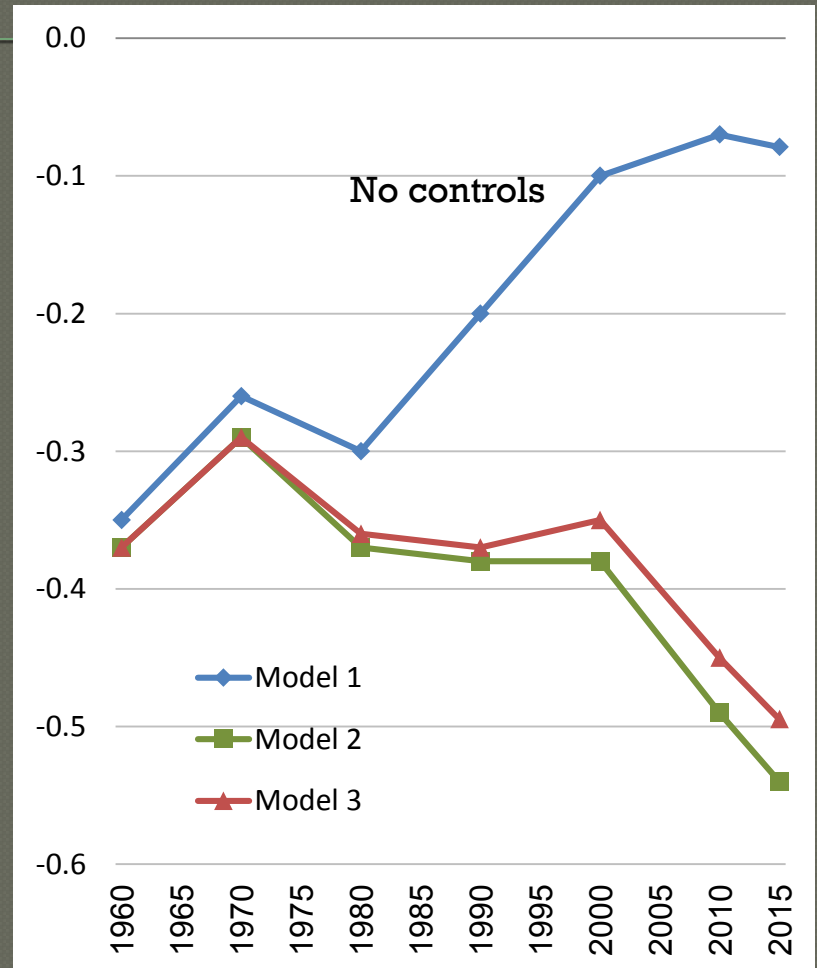


Women increase their participation in the very same occupations that enjoy the highest wage premium

Effect of percent female on the average wage of males in occupations, 1960-2010: results of multi-level regression, without controls, by gender



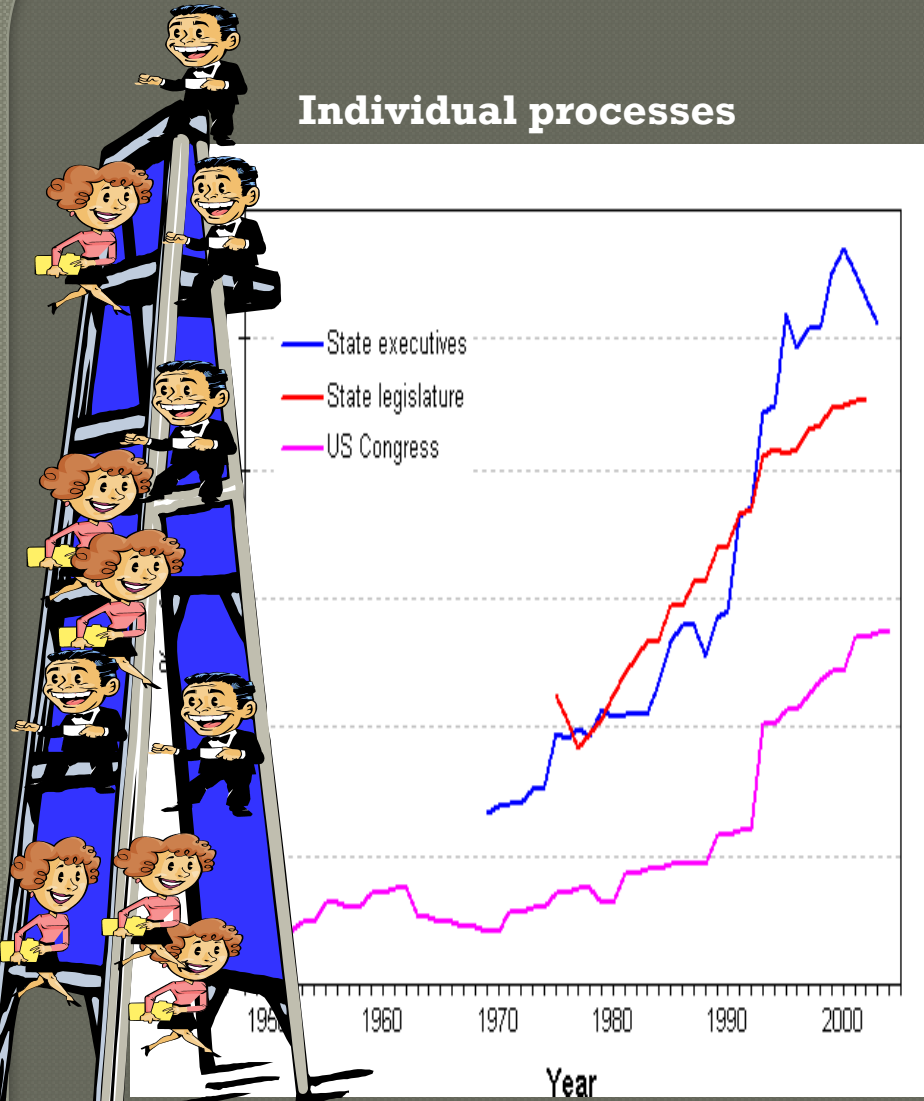
Mean proportion female in Occupation by tertiles of average weekly wage



Coefficients of percent female on the average wage of males in occupations, 1960-2015

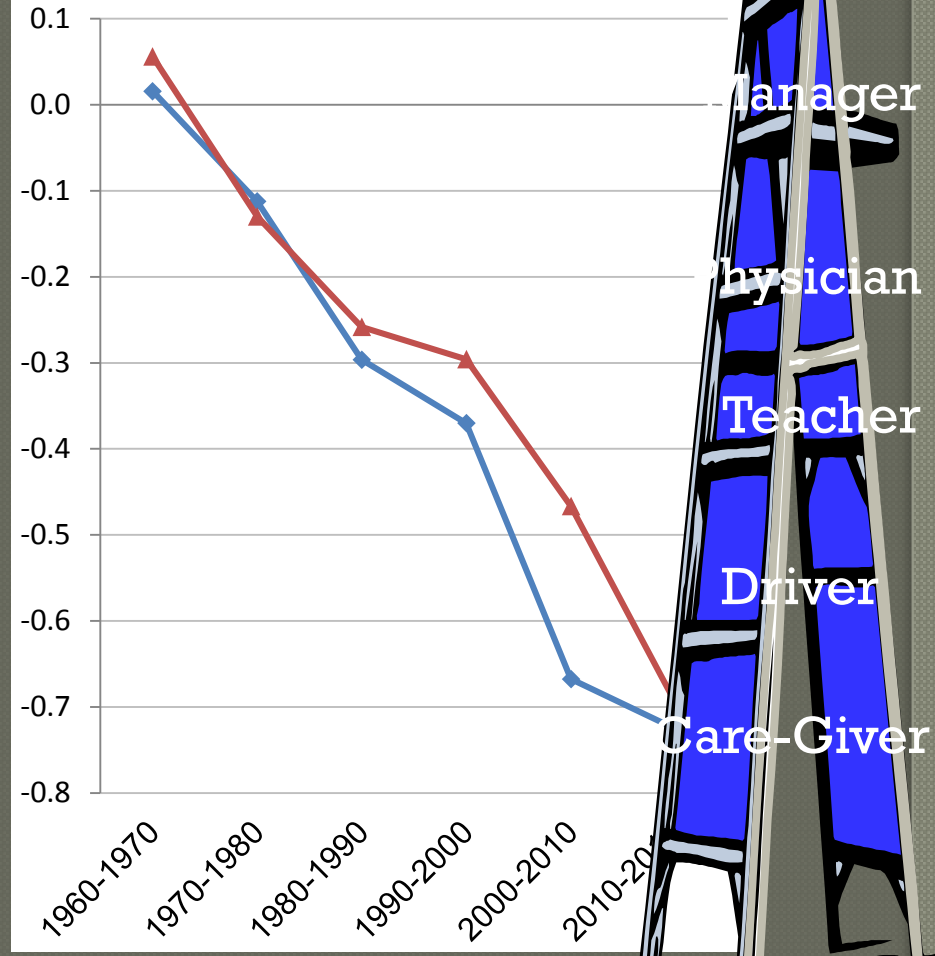
Individual and structural processes:

Individual processes



Women representation in executive, legislation and congress (1970-2010)

Structural processes



Coefficients of change in percent female occupational pay, by decades

Over-time Trends in individual and structural mechanisms of gender in/equality

Individual mechanism of gender in/equality			Structural mechanism of gender in/equality		
Differences between men and women in	Over-time change	Expected effect on the gender pay gap	Returns/Rewards to:	Over-time change	Expected effect on the gender pay gap
Time allocated to paid work	Converged	Decline	Time allocated to paid work	Increased	Increase
Work experience	Converged	Decline	Work experience	Increased	Increase
Occupational distributions	Converged	Decline	Male (vs. Female) Occupations	Increased	Increase

Is the significance of gender in decline?

The answer to this question depends on the way we conceptualize and examine gender inequality

Is the significance of gender in decline?

At the individual level – Yes.

When the occupational and earnings attainments of individual men and women are compared over time, gender inequality is indeed shrinking.

BUT:

At the structural level – I am not sure.

In the US my data show that the occupational structure of rewards still preserve gender inequality

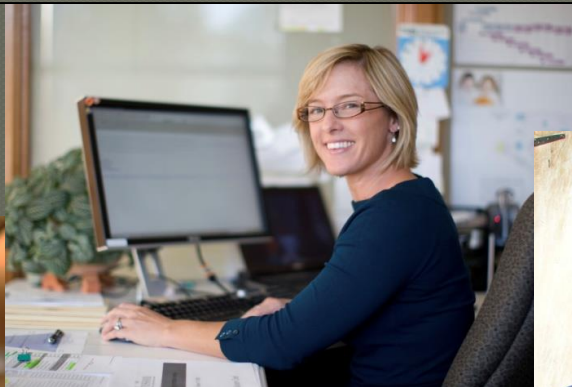
The intersection between gender and class

Individual

- Educated/ Non Educated workers
- Skilled/Unskilled workers

Structural

- White/ Blue collar occupations
- Professional / Manual occupations



Expected gender equality processes

	Skilled (White collar)	Unskilled (Blue collar)
Individual (economic attainments)	More equality	Less equality
Structural (devaluation)	Less equality	More equality

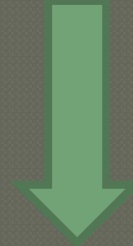


In Summary



Examination of different sources of gender inequality should give more attention to structural processes.

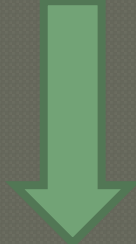
Structural processes are:



- Less visible
- Often are not recognized as gendered
- Difficult to track empirically

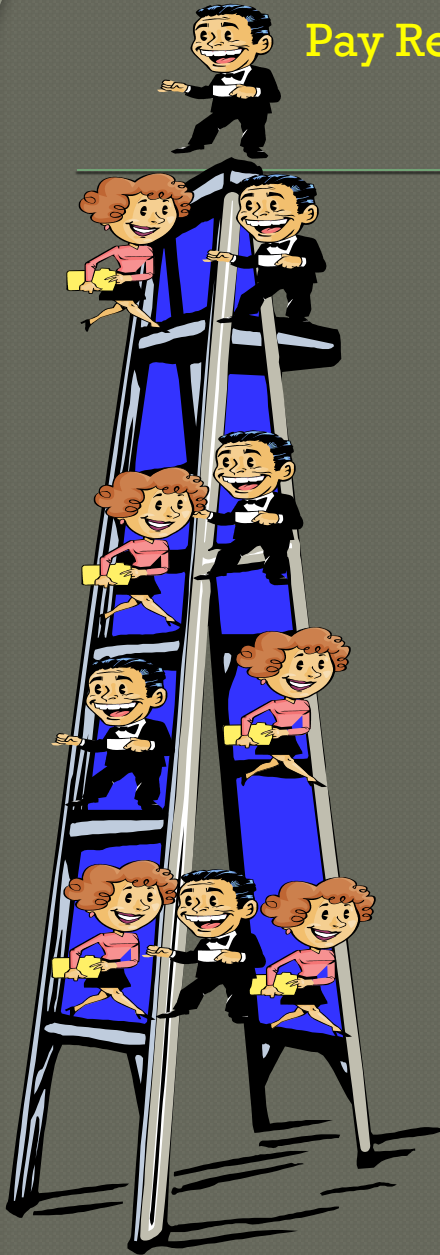
e.g. industrial engineers relative to electrical engineers

In Summary

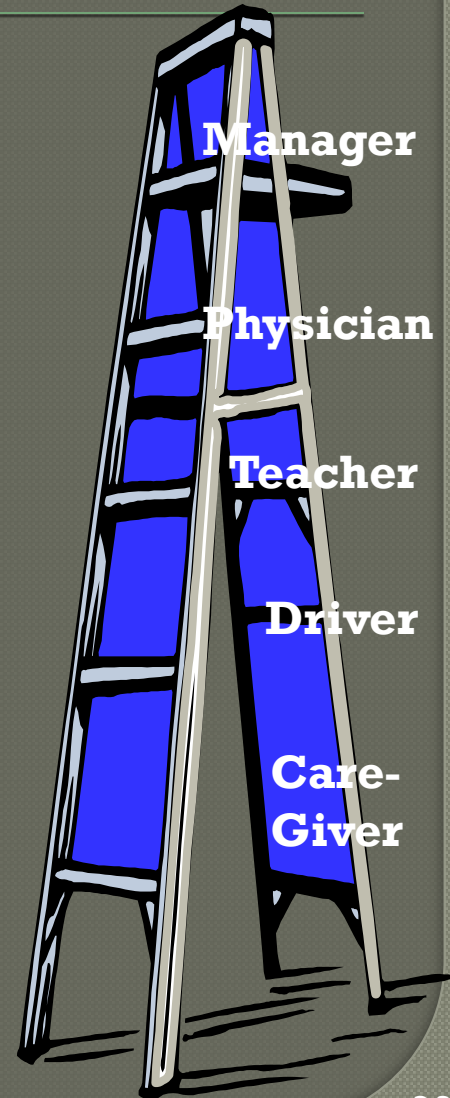


Today - the focus on structural aspects is crucial for understanding the new dynamics of gender inequality, and the different challenges that gender equality poses in our societies

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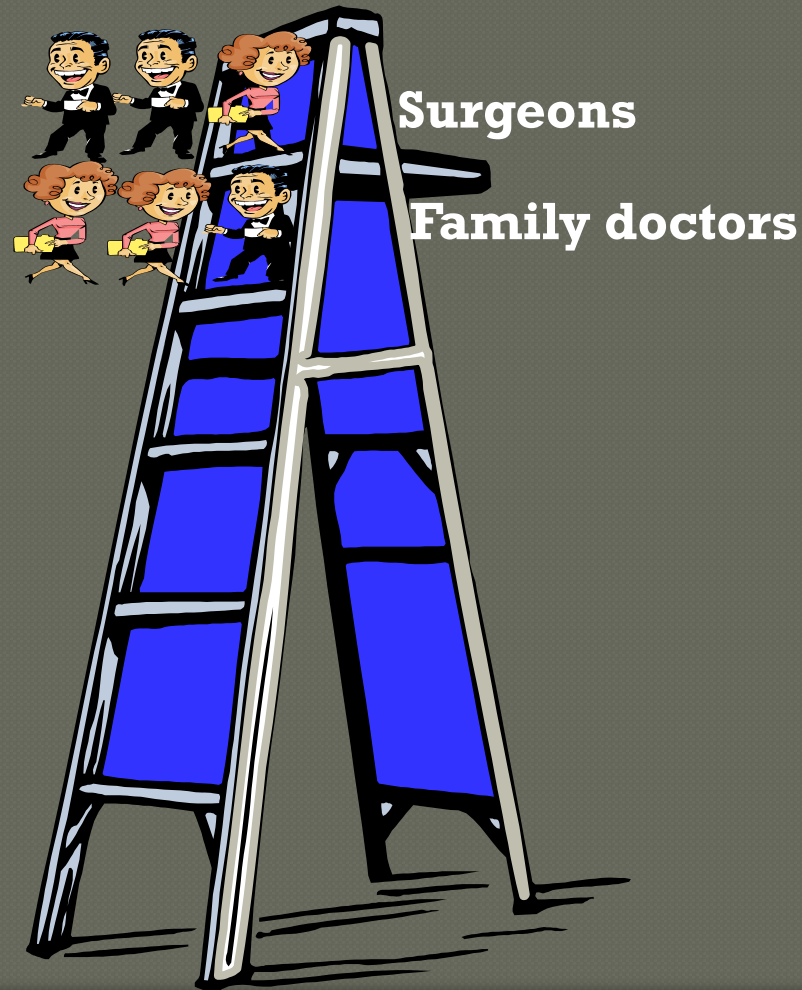


Thank You!



Occupational devaluation

Wage reduction in occupations due to feminization



In Summary



- Structural aspects of gender inequality will become more dominant over time because discrimination against women as individuals has not only been outlawed but is also losing social legitimacy.
- The focus on structural aspects of gender inequality is especially critical today for understanding of the new dynamics of gender inequality, and the different challenges that gender equality poses in different societies.