

# Insecure Employment Relations in the Post-Civil Rights Period: The Persistence of Racial and Gender Gaps in Hourly Employment

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## ABSTRACT

Fundamental changes in the nature of work since the 1970s have made it difficult to assess how the role of race and gender in structuring access to secure employment relations has changed in the post-Civil Rights period. This paper focuses on different forms of workplace exploitation, represented by hourly versus salaried employment, as a key fault-line of intersectional inequality. Hourly employment relations represent a form of exploitation with greater potential for economic insecurity than salaried employment due to lower pay, greater scheduling instability, and greater likelihood of involuntary part-time work. The paper assesses racial and gender differences in rates of hourly employment over time, including among workers who began their working lives in the pre- and post-Civil Rights periods. Using CPS-MORG data from 1979 to 2019, the paper shows that hourly employment is highly stratified by race, as non-Hispanic Black workers hold such positions at much higher rates than non-Hispanic White workers. Gender intersects with race to shape rates of hourly employment over time. White men's odds of hourly employment are increasing over time, signaling rising insecurity, but at a slower rate than among Black men, White women, and Black women. Long-standing patterns of relative labor market disadvantage across racial and gender groups persist despite narrowing group differences in occupational and educational attainment and the decline of pre-Civil Rights Movement workers as a share of the labor market. In a period of deepening class-based inequalities, centering evaluation of racial and gender labor market advantage on different forms of exploitation that operate across industries, occupations, and new forms of work organization provides a more comprehensive picture of the role of race and gender in shaping access to secure employment relations.

**KEYWORDS:** Race, Gender, Intersectional, Hourly employment, Exploitation

## INTRODUCTION

The postindustrial period has been marked by seismic shifts in the nature of work, reshaping what types of labor market opportunities exist, how workers experience their jobs, and patterns of compensation for that labor. Starting in the 1970s and continuing to this day, structural transformations such as the decline of manufacturing and rise of the service sector, de-unionization, globalization, and new workplace technologies have shifted the balance of power between workers and employers. Employers have implemented new, “flexible” forms of work organization that shift the risks associated with market fluctuations to workers (Smith 1997; Peck & Theodore 2002; Hacker 2006). Insecure or precarious employment relations have therefore emerged as a core feature of the American labor market that cuts across industries and occupations, exposing even highly educated workers to economic insecurity (Kalleberg 2011; Branch & Hanley 2017).

The rise and diffusion of insecure employment relations raises important questions about racial and gender inequality. Access to secure employment in the postwar period was explicitly organized around race and gender. Longstanding patterns of occupational segregation and devaluation, undergirded by systemic racism in New Deal employment protections and legally sanctioned discrimination, preserved the economic security of the standard employment relationship for white men while consigning other groups to work that offered little in terms of pay, job security, and opportunities for advancement (Boyle 1998; Glenn 1992; Bonacich 1976). Yet improvements in educational and occupational access in the post-Civil Rights era did not produce comparable gains in economic security for women and racial minorities (Pettit & Ewert 2009; Branch & Hanley 2014). Increasing inequality within occupational and educational groups has made economic insecurity a widespread feature of the American labor market. These changes have been most disruptive of white men’s employment experiences, as women and racial minorities were often confined to insecure employment conditions until that

period (Reid & Rubin 2003; Branch 2011; Stainback & Tomaskovic-Devey 2012). *Have race and gender become less salient for shaping access to secure employment relations in the postindustrial period, or are race and gender still central to employers' flexible labor strategies?*

This paper advances a historically informed relational perspective on workplace inequality that emphasizes the role of opportunity hoarding and exploitation as key inequality-producing mechanisms (Tomaskovic-Devey & Avent-Holt 2019). We argue that since insecure employment relations are no longer confined to nonstandard employment or other alternative work arrangements, and cross occupational and educational lines, different forms of exploitation represent a key faultline for understanding intersectional inequalities. We therefore evaluate change in the relationship between race, gender, and insecure employment relations by focusing on trends in hourly versus salaried employment. Work that is paid by the hour represents a distinctive form of exploitation with greater potential for economic insecurity than salaried employment due to lower and more variable pay, greater scheduling instability, and greater likelihood of involuntary part-time work. Yet workers who are paid by the hour usually work full-time, are not exclusively low-wage, and are employed across a wide range of occupations and industries. Hourly employment thus represents a key site for evaluating change in the role of race and gender in structuring access to secure employment relations in the post-Civil Rights era. We focus on Black and white men and women because of the historical role of the Black/white racial binary in justifying labor market inequality, and the way it continues to inform racialized and gendered notions of appropriate labor (Branch 2011; Frederickson 2003; Kaufman 2002). Drawing on data from the CPS-MORG from 1979 to 2019 we show that observed rates of hourly employment are highly stratified by race. Multivariate analysis shows that group rates of hourly employment are increasing in ways that are expanding intersectional inequalities, suggesting that while white men are become more economically insecure over time, their labor market advantage

relative to white women, Black men, and Black women is nonetheless increasing. Hourly employment represents a key fault line for the generation of intersectional inequalities in a period of deepening class-based exploitation.

## **RACE, GENDER, AND INSECURE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS: A HISTORICAL AND RELATIONAL PERSPECTIVE**

Over the last forty years postindustrial employment restructuring has fundamentally reshaped the American workplace. Throughout the postwar period the American labor market was characterized by high aggregate levels of prosperity and employment stability. Employment was organized around a primary labor market with stable and high-paying jobs, and a secondary labor market that supported it. Standard employment relations—full-time and/or fixed schedule work performed at an employer's place of business and with the expectation of continued employment (Kalleberg et al. 2000)—marked a clear division between secure and insecure jobs that aligned closely with industrial and occupational groups and was organized around a strict racial and gender division of labor (Boyle 1998; Bonacich 1976). Unequal opportunities along racial and gender lines were therefore well summarized by patterns of industrial and occupational segregation (Reid & Rubin 2003).

Racial and gender employment inequality in the postwar period was actively produced to create security for some at the expense of others. The employment protections of the New Deal, which created the standard employment relationship, were explicitly written to differentially affect workers across racial and gender lines. Agricultural and domestic service industries were exempted from legislation to avoid disrupting the racial division of labor in the South (Katznelson 2005; Palmer 1995). Access to skilled manufacturing jobs in the North was often contested by unions whose members sought to maintain advantages along color lines (Quadagno 1994). A central goal of the labor

movement in its effort to institutionalize the standard employment relationship was to secure for its members a living wage, or the amount necessary for a (white) male breadwinner to support a family (Kessler-Harris 1990). White women often held retail, clerical, and temporary agency positions and left the labor force upon marriage (Hatton 2011; Smith & Neuwirth 2008). Black men relied on semi- and unskilled blue-collar work that offered less security than the skilled labor and craft positions overwhelmingly held by white men. Black women were explicitly employed as a reserve labor force that was drawn in and cast out of jobs based on employers' needs (Branch 2007; Glenn 1992; Beale 1970). The standard employment relationship thus has inherent racial and gender dimensions (Vosko 2000; Fuller & Vosko 2008).

A relational perspective on inequality clarifies how the deeply institutionalized association between race, gender, and secure employment in the postwar period matter for understanding intersectional inequalities in the postindustrial period. The distribution of workplace rewards—including access to secure employment relations—is organized around bounded and unequal social categories such as Black/white and male/female. Inequalities can become durable— and outlive the ideologies that legitimated the creation of those inequalities— when social categories salient outside the organization such as gender and race (exterior categories) are mapped onto categories within an organization such as skilled/unskilled, permanent/temporary, or standard/nonstandard (Tilly 1998). Racial and gender expectations thus become embedded in employers' conceptions of a job's ideal worker (Acker 1990, 2006), and race- and sex-typing informs the process of matching workers and jobs, legitimating unequal opportunities and ultimately sustaining inequalities (Tomaskovic-Devey 1993; Kaufman 1986; 2002; Branch 2011). Two key mechanisms distribute workplace rewards across categorical distinctions: opportunity hoarding and exploitation. Opportunity hoarding occurs when opportunities such as access to good jobs are reserved for dominant groups (and is supported by the

active exclusion of others) while exploitation refers to the use of power to transfer income from one group to another (Tomaskovic-Devey & Avent-Holt 2019). The history of reserving standard work for White men while assigning various forms of nonstandard work to women and non-white men can be viewed as a form of opportunity hoarding that fused interior and exterior categories, legitimating an unequal division of labor.

The advent of new competitive pressures in the 1980s presented organizations with problems they could not solve through traditional means of opportunity hoarding for white workers and the hyper-exploitation of Black workers. Organizations responded with a two-pronged strategy that deepened class-based inequalities. First, employers adapted the opportunity hoarding model of the postwar period—preserving employment security for some workers at the expense of others—to the post-Civil Rights period by expanding the use of nonstandard and alternative forms of work organization across occupations and industries. Alternative forms of work organization such as contingent, temporary, and subcontracted labor are designed to enhance employers' flexibility and profit by evading the legal protections of the employment relationship (Smith 1997; Peck & Theodore 2002). Second, employers enacted measures that deepen exploitation within the standard employment relationship including downsizing and offshoring, union busting, and new technologies designed to enhance managerial control of the labor process (Bluestone & Harrison 1982; Vallas 1993; Rosenfeld 2014; Kristal 2013; Hanley 2014). Unlike earlier periods in which the security and stability of white workers during economic downturns could be preserved by job tenure and seniority policies, employment disruption in the postindustrial period was less racially selective and more broadly felt. Employer practices that deepen exploitation and heighten insecurity were not confined to blue-collar work, but instead spread across industries and occupations (Osterman 1999; Branch & Hanley 2017). As a result, employment conditions that used to apply only to the secondary sector and other low-wage jobs are now seen across industries, occupations, and educational levels.

What do these changes mean for contemporary racial and gender inequality? Racial and gender gaps in educational and occupational attainment narrowed just as postindustrial economic restructuring undermined the quality of the professional and skilled manufacturing jobs from which white women, Black men, and Black women had long been denied access (Pettit & Ewert 2009; Branch & Hanley 2014). Workers who entered the labor market in the post-Civil Rights Movement (CRM) period have less occupationally and industrially segregated working lives than pre-CRM cohorts, but there is still a strong racial and gender division of labor (Stainback & Tomaskovic-Devey 2012; Dozier 2010). High levels of inequality within occupations and educational levels means that focusing on those axes of difference does not tell the full story of contemporary racial and gender inequality.

As nonstandard work increased in the 1980s and 1990s, and alternative forms of work organization grew in the 2000s, it was disproportionately performed by racial and ethnic minorities and women (Smith 1997; Bell 1998; Cohany et al. 1998; Presser 2003; Kalleberg et al. 2000; Hipple & Hammond 2016; Katz & Krueger 2020; Abraham & Houseman 2021). Yet focusing on alternative work arrangements as a site for understanding racial and gender inequality in insecure employment has its own drawbacks because workers with alternative work arrangements comprise a relatively small share of the total labor force. While estimates are sensitive to data source and measurement decisions (Abraham & Houseman 2021), one recent study found that alternative work arrangements including independent contractors, on-call workers, and temporary help agency or contract workers rose from about 10% of the employed population in 1995 and 2005 to 15.8% in 2015 (Katz & Krueger 2016). Further, insecure employment relations are not confined to nonstandard or alternative work arrangements, as workers with standard employment relations experience employment insecurity due to the uncertainties of at-will employment and weak enforcement of existing labor and employment rights (Gleeson 2016). Nonstandard and alternative forms of work organization therefore mark an important but ulti-



mately limited site for evaluating racial and gender differences in secure employment that run across industrial, occupational, and educational boundaries.

Persistence in racial and gender inequality in nonstandard work and new forms of work organization suggest that historical associations continue to inform employers' notions of appropriate labor in insecure employment relations. In the next section we argue that the boundary between hourly and salaried employment marks a key site for understanding the interconnections between race, gender, and insecure employment relations in the post-Civil Rights period.

## **EXPLOITATION AND INSECURITY IN THE HOURLY EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP**

The capitalist employment relationship rests on exploitation, or the use of power to transfer income from one group to another (Tomaskovic-Devey & Avent-Holt 2019). Employers organize the labor process in ways that maximize the potential for exploitation (Braverman 1973), often within the legal boundaries of the employment relationship and sometimes by violating its boundaries (e.g., Bernhardt et al. 2009). Just as alternative forms of work organization represent a strategic evasion of employment protections encoded in employment law (including the formal definition of the employee/employer), wage and hours laws that define exemptions for minimum wage, overtime, union organizing, and other employment rights provide tools for deepening exploitation within the standard employment relationship (Lambert 2008). While many studies have examined insecure and intersectionally unequal employment experiences associated with work that is paid by the hour—such as the part-time and variable work schedules that are normative in the retail sector (e.g., Williams 2006; Carré & Tilly 2017)—such research often does not recognize the commonalities across different types of hourly jobs or emphasize hourly pay as a form of workplace exploitation that crosses occupational, industrial, and educational lines. In this section



we conceptualize hourly employment as a distinctive form of exploitation with greater potential for economic insecurity than salaried employment, and argue that it represents an important site for investigating intersectional inequality in insecure employment relations.

Employers exercise broad control over the labor process, including designing systems of compensation that advance managerial objectives (Burawoy 1979). The Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) of 1938, the legal cornerstone of the employment relationship in the United States, was written to address employer practices in primarily manufacturing settings (Lambert 2008) with minimum wage and overtime exemptions for executive, administrative, and professional (EAP) work. The EAP exemptions—tied to job duties and subject to a minimum salary threshold—were not intended to produce a narrow application of employment rights to blue collar work but, rather, expressed the belief that high wages indicated an absence of exploitation, rendering legislative protection against unpaid long hours unnecessary (Linder 1994:9). Being paid on a salaried (as opposed to an hourly) basis is one legal standard for establishing exempt status under the FLSA (Congressional Research Service 2017). While not all hourly workers are covered by the FLSA's minimum wage and overtime requirements due to select industry exemptions, the vast majority of hourly workers are covered by the statute.

If workers who are paid by the hour are more clearly subject to wage and hours protections than are salaried workers, and employers design compensation systems that advance managerial interests, why might employers choose to pay certain positions on an hourly basis and others on a salaried basis? Haber and Goldfarb (1995) argue that hourly pay reduces absenteeism because hourly employees are not paid for time they do not spend on the job, but the benefits of hourly pay to the employer outweigh its costs only when three criteria apply: the pace of work is not controlled by the employee; employee output can be clearly observed or measured in real time; and the duration of job tasks

is relatively certain and predictable. In short, Haber and Goldfarb (1995) assert that employers use hourly pay to maximize exploitation when the work itself is routinized. An alternative but complementary perspective emphasizes the flexibility that hourly pay allows employers to integrate into the standard employment relationship: variable and last-minute scheduling practices allow employers to adjust labor supply in real time in a fashion that is similar to the way that firms use temporary agency or contract workers (Lambert 2008). In addition to the cyclical use of hourly employment, the hourly compensation approach also comes with lower fixed costs because of the ability to avoid contributions to employee benefits by capping weekly hours below the full-time work threshold (Carré & Tilly 2017).

While employers maximize exploitation in salaried work via the use of normative control to motivate uncompensated overtime (e.g., Kunda 2009), exploitation is advanced in hourly employment relations with tools such as underemployment, scheduling instability, and wage theft (Lambert 2008; Jacobs & Padavic 2014; Carré & Tilly 2017; Bernhardt al. 2009). While not all hourly workers regularly work part-time, most part-time workers would prefer to work more hours (Golden 2016; Bell & Blanchflower 2021). The ease with which work schedules can change from week to week (including below the full-time standard) is central to exploitation in the hourly wage relationship, as hours withholding and scheduling instability can serve as tools for disciplining workers and maintaining managerial control (Carré & Tilly 2017; Jacobs & Padavic 2015). Hourly employment is therefore a tool for maximizing workplace flexibility from the point of view of the employer that is likely to produce economic insecurity from the worker's perspective.

A large sociological literature documents patterns of exploitation and insecurity in low-wage and part-time jobs that are paid by the hour—"bad jobs." Studies of the retail sector, restaurant and food service work, health technicians, and nonprofessional care or office workers all highlight the highly racialized and gen-

dered nature of hourly employment (e.g., Williams 2006; Clawson & Gerstel 2014; Acker 2006). Yet existing research does not often emphasize the centrality of the hourly versus salaried divide in employment relations or conceptualize being paid by the hour as a core feature of flexible or insecure employment relations. Not all hourly jobs are low-wage or part-time, but hourly employment relations are tools for implementing a particular form of exploitation likely to result in economic insecurity. As economic insecurity has grown across occupations, industries, and educational levels, hourly employment represents a key site for investigating change in the role of race and gender in access to secure employment relations.

This paper asks whether the effect of race and gender on the odds of hourly employment has changed from 1979 to 2019, as class-based inequalities in the labor market have deepened, and hourly employment has become more dispersed across occupations and industries. Given the close historical associations between race, gender, and insecure employment relations, and research documenting the importance of racialized and gendered inequality regimes in contemporary workplaces, we expect to find disproportionate rates of hourly work among white women and Black men and women, relative to white men, even holding occupation, industry, education, and other covariates constant. Further, we expect that Black women in particular are doubly disadvantaged by the compounding effects of race and gender, continuing their historical relegation to insecure employment relations. While we do not directly observe organizational processes, our expectations are grounded in a historical and relational perspective that foregrounds the central role of race and gender in the workplace: groups with access to scarce resources mobilize to maintain them, using group boundaries to organize production around social categories of race and gender, and historical associations to justify and legitimize the allocation process (Kaufman 2002; Acker 2006; Tomaskovic-Devey 1993; Tomaskovic-Devey & Avent-Holt 2017).

## DATA AND METHODS

To evaluate change in the relationship between race, gender, and hourly employment, we use repeated surveys from the Current Population Survey's Merged Outgoing Rotation Group (CPS-MORG) dataset from 1979 to 2019 (extracts prepared by the National Bureau of Economic Research). We include only data from odd survey years in the multivariate analysis because households in the MORG files appear in the sample twice over the course of a 2-year period, raising the potential of artificially inflated standard errors. The sample is limited to employed public and private sector respondents ages 18-64 (excluding military and self-employed) who usually work more than one hour per week and are paid at least \$1 per hour. The resulting sample includes about 2.9 million observations (between 103,003 and 163,283 observations in each survey year).

We limit our analysis of racial and gender inequality to non-Hispanic white and Black respondents because we follow an intersectional approach that foregrounds close comparison of outcomes across socially constructed dimensions of difference to draw attention to how historical contexts can maintain systems of oppression (Misra et al. 2020). Including other racial and ethnic groups in the analysis would limit our ability to attend closely to our core interest in the Black-white racial binary, which was instrumental to the institutionalization of employment security for some and insecurity for others in the postwar period (Branch & Hanley 2022).

Studies of labor market inequality often use separate models for men and women with a variable for race or ethnicity, making it difficult to foreground how racial or ethnic employment effects vary by gender. We choose, instead, to combine women and men in one model and use a single categorical variable for racial and gender group (white men, which is the reference group; white women; Black men; and Black women). Use of a single race and gender group variable, rather than an interaction term for race \* gender, supports analytical simplicity and clarity in presen-

tation of results, particularly with regard to the interaction terms discussed below.

To estimate change over time in the effects of race and gender group on hourly employment we use a “changing parameter model” (Firebaugh 1997) that pinpoints changing predictor-outcome relationships at the individual level and does not make a wider argument about aggregate social change. We use logistic regression to predict the likelihood of hourly employment as a function of year (measured as a series of dummy variables for survey year; reference is 1979), the interaction of year \* racial and gender group, and a series of covariates discussed in more detail below.

$$E(Y) = \alpha + \gamma D_{YR} + X\beta + (XD_{YR})\delta$$

We use Wald tests to evaluate the joint significance of the year\* race and gender group interaction, along with two other interaction terms used to assess the robustness of our findings. Interaction terms are multiplicative and not additive in logistic regression, so we calculate the interaction term odds ratios by multiplying the reported coefficients for main effects and interaction terms. For all analyses we use the logistic command in Stata to produce coefficients that are odds ratios, which are interpreted as the change in the odds of the outcome associated with a one-unit change in the predictor variable. An odds ratio of 1 means that there is a 50/50 chance of the occurrence, so the variable is not highly associative; a significant coefficient <1 means the variable makes the outcome less likely, relative to the reference category, while a significant coefficient >1 means the variable makes the outcome more likely, relative to the reference group.

The dependent variable, hourly (versus salaried) employment, is measured in the CPS-MORG with a survey question asking employed respondents whether they are paid by the hour for their jobs (the variable is not available in other data sources often used to analyze workplace inequality in the United States, such as the U.S. Census or the General Social Survey). Our first

model includes only the intersection of year\* race and gender group, while model two adds an array of controls for individual and job characteristics. Generational differences in the institutional features of the labor market at the point of labor market entry may shape employment pathways across the life course, and they are particularly important for understanding the distinctive experiences of Black women in the labor market (Petit & Ewert 2009). We therefore include a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent reached working age before or after the implementation of antidiscrimination and equal opportunity policies passed as a result of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM). The *pre-CRM cohort* respondents, who were born before 1947, began their working lives in a context of legally sanctioned employment discrimination and may, therefore, follow hourly employment trajectories that are different from later cohorts. (See Appendix Figure 1 for the share of the sample belonging to the pre-CRM cohort by year.) We control for *age* and *age-squared* in our analyses to account for greater likelihoods of hourly work earlier in one's career which are likely to dissipate over time. Occupations, job groupings based on shared skills and tasks, are important conceptual tools for sociological analysis of employment inequality, despite the growth of within-occupation earnings inequality. One of the challenges of assessing change over time in labor market inequality is that foundational changes in the occupational coding scheme used by the U.S. Census can make it difficult to create comparable occupational groups across time periods. In response to this problem, we use Rosenfeld and Kleykamp's (2012) broad measure of *occupational group* to take differences in the type of jobs held by hourly versus salaried workers into account in our analysis (professional, technical, and managerial, which is the reference group; production, craft, repair, and non-extractive labor not elsewhere classified; service; and farm, forestry, and fisheries). We measure *education* with years of schooling completed: less than high school (less than 12 years education, which is the reference category); high school (12 years); some college

(1-3 years of postsecondary schooling); college (4 years of postsecondary education); and advanced degree (more than 4 years of postsecondary education). Family structure figures heavily into gendered employment experiences, including hours worked (Tilly 1996). We therefore control for *usual hours worked* per week and *marital status* (never married, which is the reference category; married; and divorced/widowed). We measure *industry* with 13 categories: durable manufacturing, which is the reference category; nondurable manufacturing; agriculture, forestry and fishing; mining; construction; transportation, communication, and public utilities; wholesale trade; retail trade; finance, insurance, and real estate; business and repair services; personal services; entertainment and recreation services; professional and related services; and public administration. Finally, geography shapes exposure to economic opportunity (Branch & Hanley 2011, 2013, 2014). We therefore include a dummy variable for *rural* versus urban residence and a control variable for *region* with the following categories: New England (Northeast), which is the reference category; Middle Atlantic (Northeast); South Atlantic (South); East South Central (South); West South Central (South); East North Central (Midwest); West North Central (Midwest); Mountain (West); and Pacific (West).

Models 3 and 4 introduce additional interaction terms to test the robustness of our results. Model 3 considers whether the effect of belonging to the pre-CRM cohort on odds of hourly employment varies by race and gender, and to what extent taking that interaction into account affects the primary race and gender\*year interaction term of interest. Model 4 includes an interaction term for race and gender\*occupational group as a check on the possibility that occupational segregation within our four occupational groups explains the differential trend estimates for odds of hourly employment by race and gender group.

We assess the evidence that hourly employment is a less secure employment relationship than is non-hourly (salaried) employment by describing earnings and working hours trends for each



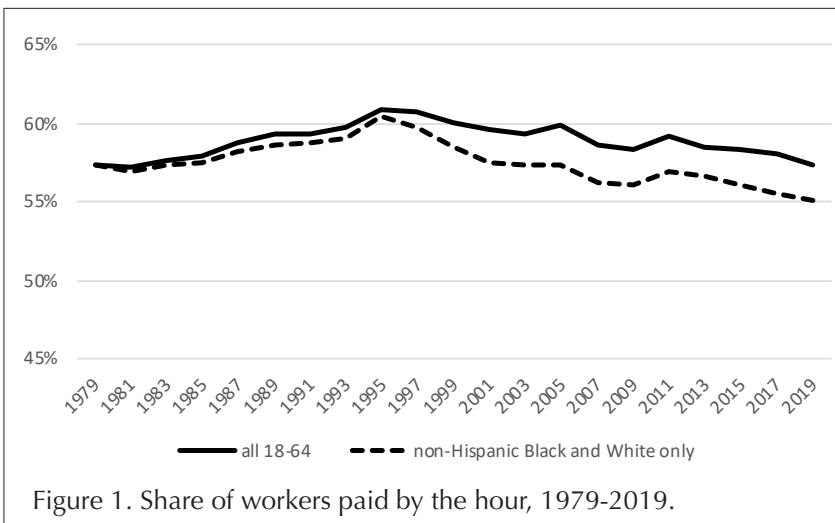
form of employment. The CPS-MORG reports *weekly earnings* for all hourly and salaried employees. We convert the weekly earnings estimate to 2015 dollars using the Consumer Price Index research series (CPI-U-RS \$2015). Outliers (i.e., those earning less than \$0.50 or more than \$100 per hour in 1989 dollars) were trimmed, following the procedures described in Mishel, Bernstein, and Shierholz (2009). We estimate *hourly earnings* by dividing the weekly earnings estimate by usual hours worked per week. As non-hourly (salaried) workers often work more than the official definition of full-time work (40 hours per week), we likely underestimate the degree of hourly earnings inequality between hourly and salaried workers. In addition to comparing usual hours per week across hourly and salaried employment, we also compare rates of involuntary part-time work. Voluntariness of part-time is conceptually and operationally difficult to measure. Conceptually, even workers who work part-time because they are busy with care or other family obligations may be constrained in that the choice arises from not having access to affordable childcare options; part-time workers classified as voluntary and involuntary often want to work more hours (Bell & Blanchflower 2021). Operationally, the CPS changed its measurement of reasons for part-time work in 1994 in ways that likely underestimate the degree of involuntary part-time work thereafter (Tilly 1996). With these caveats in mind, our measure of *involuntary part-time work*—survey respondents who are part-time because they could only find part-time work or due to slack work/business conditions—is a conservative estimate not intended to reify the idea of voluntariness among those with other reported reasons for part-time employment.

## RESULTS

The analysis starts by outlining key observed trends in economic security by hourly employment, then uses logistic regression analysis to investigate the extent to which the relationship between race, gender, and hourly employment has changed from 1979 to 2019.

### Is Hourly Employment More Insecure?

The Current Population Survey began measuring hourly versus salaried employment on its monthly labor force surveys in 1973, and first made hourly pay status available by occupation in 1979 (Haber & Goldfarb 1995). Rates of hourly employment are fairly stable across the 40-year period from 1979 to 2019, rising from about 57% of employed adults (18-64 years old) in 1979 to a high of about 60% in 1995, and dropping back to 57% by 2019 (Figure 1). Limiting analysis to only non-Hispanic Black and white workers yields a slightly sharper drop after 1995, to about 55%. While rates of hourly versus salaried employment have changed little since 1979, the consequences for economic security of being paid on an hourly or salaried basis have grown.



While the share of employed workers paid on an hourly basis over the last 40 years has been stable at about 57% of the adult workforce (Table 1), the relative stability of hourly employment—despite vast changes in the composition of work over the 40-year period—obscures a shift in the occupational and industrial composition of hourly work (Haber & Goldfarb 1995). Table 1 shows

that hourly employment is found across occupations and industries, and increasingly dominates certain types of employment. Hourly employment increased slightly among professional, technical, and managerial occupations from 1979 to 2019, from 38.5% to 44.5%, while it declined among production, craft, and other non-extractive blue-collar jobs from 81.5% in 1979 to 78.3% in 2019. Among service occupations, hourly employment increased by almost 10 percentage points to 80.4% in 2019. The biggest occupational change is in farm, forestry, and fisheries occupations; only about 34.4% of whose workers were paid by the hour in 1979 compared with 71.6% in 2019. Rates of hourly employment across industries are highly disparate and variable over time. The industries with little change over time include retail (about 70% hourly across the period), transportation (58%), and personal services (52.4% in 1979 and 53.8% in 2019). Rates of hourly employment increased by about 40% in the finance, insurance, and real estate industry (to 38.3% in 2019) and by about 20% in business and repair services (68% in 2019), entertainment and recreation services (66% in 2019), and professional services (53.5% in 2019). The biggest declines in hourly employment were in durable manufacturing, mining, and construction. This represents a shift in hourly employment away from blue collar occupations and industries toward white collar work.

Table 2 shows that compared with salaried work, hourly employment offers lower levels of economic security in terms of pay and involuntary part-time work, and pay gaps associated with salaried work increased from 1979 to 2019. In 1970 mean weekly earnings among hourly workers was \$516.56, compared with \$742.34 for salaried workers, despite mean hours worked gap of only about 4 hours per week. On an hourly basis, salaried workers earned about \$6 per hour more than hourly workers in 1979, likely due at least in part to their higher levels of educational attainment: 36.2% of salaried workers had at least a college degree in 1979, compared with 7.8% of hourly workers, despite similarity in mean ages of hourly and salaried workers (35 and 38, respectively). A key difference between hourly and salaried work-

Table 1. Share workers paid by the hour, by occupation group and industry.\*

	1979	2019	Change 1979- 2019	Percent change 1979- 2019
<b>Occupation group</b>				
Professional, technical, managerial	38.5%	44.5%	6	15.6%
Production, craft, repair, non-extractive labor	81.5%	78.3%	-3.2	-3.9%
Service	70.8%	80.4%	9.6	13.6%
Farm, forestry, fisheries	34.4%	71.6%	37.2	108.1%
<b>Industry</b>				
Durable manufacturing	71.9%	62.2%	-9.7	-13.5%
Non-durable manufacturing	68.1%	64.6%	-3.5	-5.1%
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	42.6%	64.4%	21.8	51.2%
Mining	63.8%	58.1%	-5.7	-8.9%
Construction	77.1%	67.5%	-9.6	-12.5%
Transportation, communications, public utilities	58.0%	58.2%	0.2	0.3%
Wholesale trade	44.7%	50.5%	5.8	13.0%
Retail trade	70.9%	71.7%	0.8	1.1%
Finance, insurance, real estate	27.1%	38.3%	11.2	41.3%
Business & repair services	56.0%	68.0%	12	21.4%
Personal services	52.4%	53.8%	1.4	2.7%
Entertainment & recreation services	54.9%	66.2%	11.3	20.6%
Professional & related services	44.2%	53.5%	9.3	21.0%
Public administration	42.1%	48.7%	6.6	15.7%
<b>All</b>	57.3%	57.4%	0.1	0.2%

Source: Author analysis of CPS-MORG data

\*Analysis limited to ages 18-64; excludes self-employed

ers in 1979 was their rates of part-time work (usually less than 35 hours/week), including involuntary part-time work. About 18.8% of hourly employees usually worked part-time in 1979, compared with 7.4% of salaried employees. One measure of involuntary part-time work is normally working full-time but being temporarily part-time due to slack work or business conditions. According

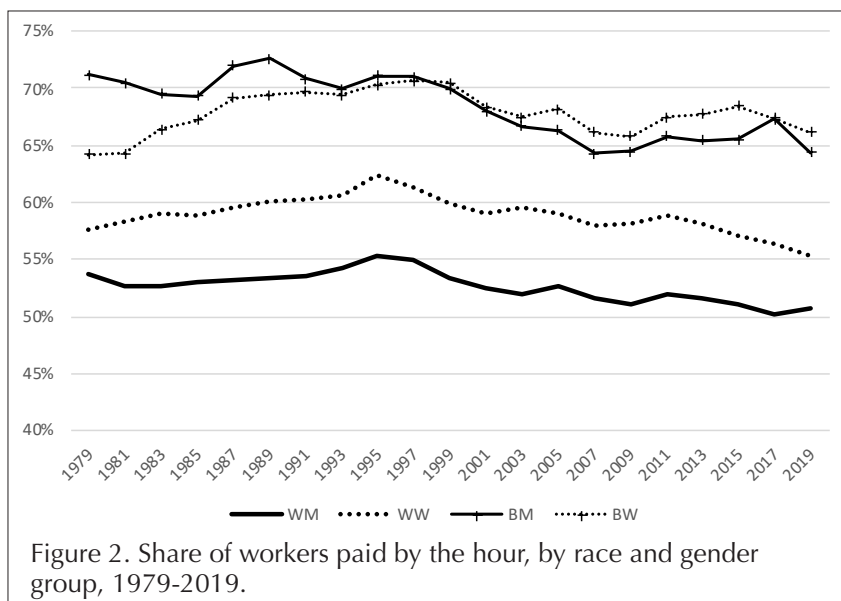
to this measure, about 7.2% of hourly employees were involuntarily part-time in 1979, compared with 5.2% of salaried workers. Another measure of involuntary part-time work, being part-time because the worker could not find a full-time job, shows a similar gap: 7.8% of hourly and 5.9% of salaried workers were part-time for that reason in 1979. Finally, there is also a marriage gap across hourly and salaried workers: about 64% of hourly workers were married in 1979 compared with 72.8% of salaried workers. Since the financial consequences of part-time work are closely tied to the presence of other earners in the household, the lower marriage rate among hourly workers also speaks to their economic insecurity relative to salaried workers.

Table 2. Economic security and demographic characteristics of hourly and salaried workers, by year..						
	1979		2019		Percent change 1979-2019	
	Hourly	Salaried	Hourly	Salaried	Hourly	Salaried
<b><i>Economic security</i></b>						
Mean weekly earnings (\$2015)	\$516.56	\$742.34	\$710.75	\$1298.48	37.6%	74.9%
Mean usual hours worked per week	37.4	41.5	37.2	42.2	-0.4%	1.7%
Mean hourly earnings (\$2015)	\$16.65	\$22.57	\$18.66	\$30.97	12.0%	37.2%
Share part-time (usually < 35/wk)	18.8	7.4	20.4	5.8	8.2%	-22.2%
Share involuntary part-time						
Usually FT, PT due to slack conditions	7.2	5.2	2.7	2.4	-62.2%	-54.7%
Could only find PT work	7.8	5.9	6.0	1.9	-23.1%	-67.7%
<b><i>Demographic characteristics</i></b>						
Share with college or more education	7.8	36.2	21.4	63.0	174.0%	74.0%
Share married	64.0	72.8	47.6	63.5	-25.7%	-12.8%
Mean age	35.0	38.5	39.4	43.1	12.8%	11.9%
Source: Authors' calculation of CPS-MORG data.						

By 2019, the weekly earnings gap between hourly and salaried workers had grown to about \$500, as hourly workers took home about \$710 per week on average compared with \$1,298 for salaried workers. The growing gap comes from a rate of hourly pay growth among salaried employees nearly twice that of hourly workers, despite marginal changes in mean hours worked per week and sharp increases in educational attainment among hourly employees. In 2019 21.4% of hourly and 63% of salaried workers had completed at least four years of college, and the average age of hourly and salaried workers was slightly higher than in 1979 (39 and 43, respectively). Hourly workers' hourly earnings only increased by about 12% from 1979 to 2019, to an average of \$18.66 in 2019, while salaried workers' hourly earnings increased by about 37%, to an average of about \$30/hour in 2019. Rates of part-time work increased among hourly workers and decreased among salaried workers across the period: about 20.4% of hourly and 5.8% of salaried employees usually worked less than 35 hours per week in 2019. While the hourly/gap in involuntary part-time work narrowed by one measure, it increased markedly by another. Around 2% of hourly and salaried workers were usually full-time but reported part-time work due to slack work or business conditions in 2019, but 6% of hourly workers were part-time because they could not find full-time work in 2019, compared with only 1.9% of salaried workers. Finally, marriage rates fell from 1979 to 2019 among both hourly and salaried workers but the rate of change was greater among hourly workers, only 47.6% of whom were married in 2019 compared with 63% of salaried workers.

Overall, the demographic and economic security trends we observe across salaried and hourly employment reflect wider patterns of growing inequality in the U.S. labor market, emphasizing the importance of investigating the hourly/salaried work divide as a site of intersectional inequality that crosses occupational, industrial, and educational lines. Figure 2 shows the share of workers paid by the hour by racial and gender group.

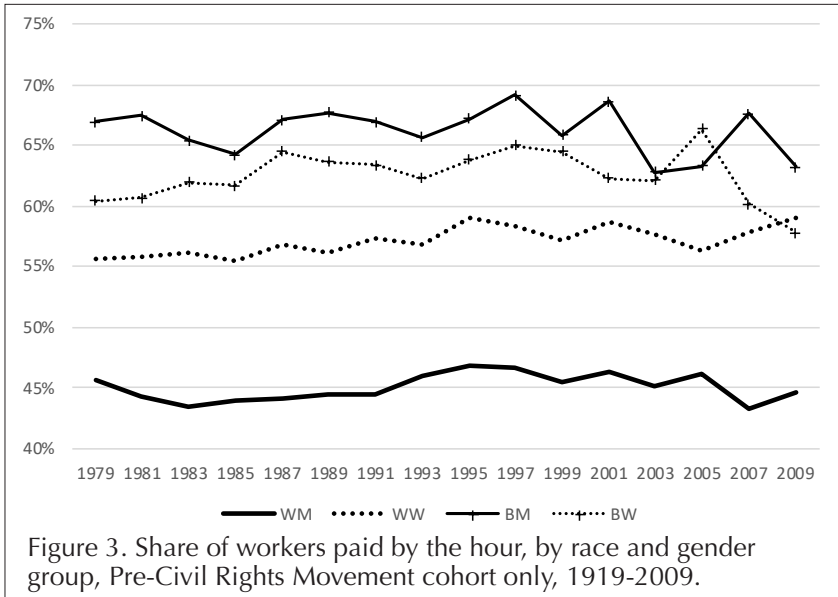
We see relative stability over time in the extent to which hourly employment is stratified by race and gender. Only 50% to



53% of white men hold hourly jobs across the period, marking a slight downward trend, compared with about 57% of white women in 1979 and 55% in 2019 (down from a peak of 62.3% in 1995). Black workers are significantly more reliant on hourly employment than are white workers and are less stratified by gender. About 64% of Black women held hourly positions in 1979, compared with about 70% in 1995 and 66% in 2019. Over 70% of Black men held hourly jobs in 1979, dropping to about 64% by 2019.

In the period under study, 1979 to 2019, the composition of the labor market changed in important ways, due in part to a process of cohort replacement whereby older workers who began their working lives in the postwar, pre-Civil Rights era were gradually replaced by workers who entered the labor market under dramatically different labor market conditions. A key question we ask in this analysis is whether racial differences in hourly employment differ across pre- and post-Civil Rights Movement (CRM) workers, by which we mean workers who began their working lives before or after the implementation of anti-discrimination and equal opportunity measures arising from the Civil Rights





Act. Over 50% of employed adults in 1979 reached working age before the CRM, a figure that drops steadily over time to about 25% in the mid-1990s to only about 1% in 2009 (see Appendix Figure 1). Figure 3 shows rates of hourly employment by racial and gender group for the pre-CRM cohort only. While the relative reliance on hourly employment is the same as that observed for the full sample—Black men and women holding hourly jobs at much higher rates than white women and, especially, white men—there are a few notable differences between Figure 2 and Figure 3. First, rates of hourly employment are lower and their trend flatter among white men for the pre-CRM cohort, only about 45% of whom held hourly jobs across the period. Gender inequality in hourly employment was greater for the pre-CRM cohort, but in racially unequal ways, with gender stratifying employment experiences among white workers to a greater degree than among Black workers. Pre- and post-CRM white women held hourly positions at similar rates, while Black men and women in the pre-CRM cohort held hourly positions at slightly lower rates than in the full sample. Overall, the comparison of pre- and post-CRM

cohorts suggests an increase in hourly employment over time due to cohort replacement that is most significant among white men, who nonetheless appear to maintain a relative advantage compared with other groups.

### Race, Gender, and Odds of Hourly Employment

To what extent can racial and gender differences in hourly employment—including the stability in relative advantage observed over time—be explained by compositional differences across groups, including the different labor market experiences of pre- and post-Civil Rights Movement (CRM) cohorts? To answer this question, we employ logistic regression and report odds ratios that summarize the marginal contribution of racial gender group to odds of hourly employment by year (see Appendix Table 2 for full model results). All model figures show only statistically significant odds ratios reflecting the interaction of race and gender group by year, relative to the reference category, which is white men’s odds of hourly employment in 1979. Odds ratios greater than 1 indicate increased odds and odds ratios less than 1 indicate reduced odds, relative to the reference group.

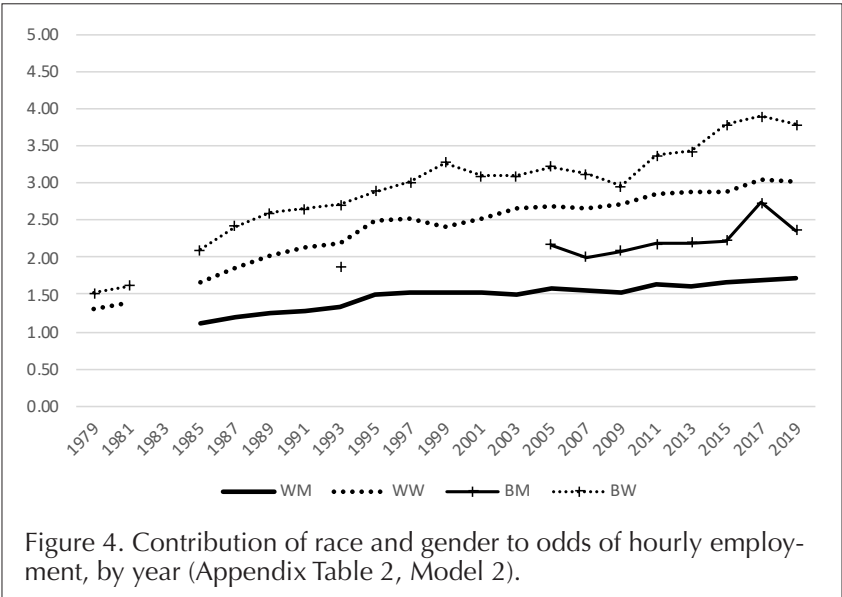
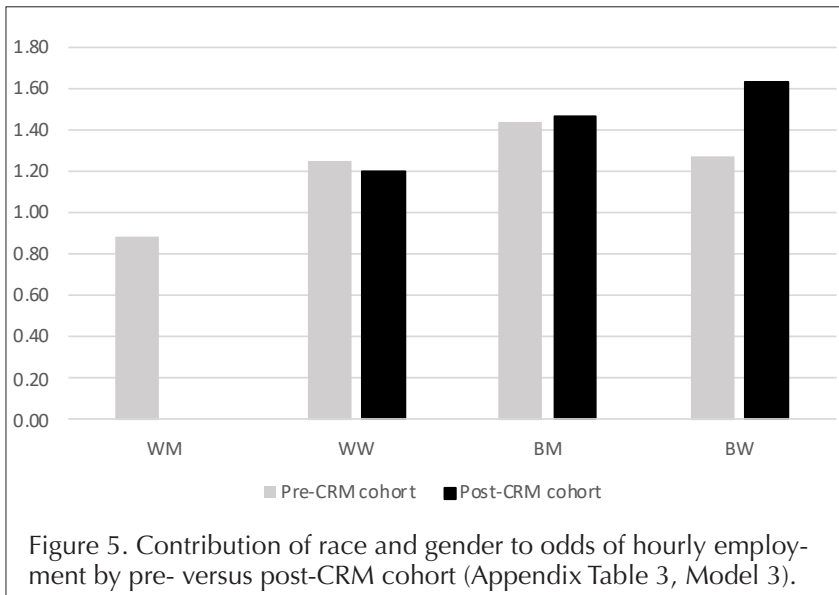
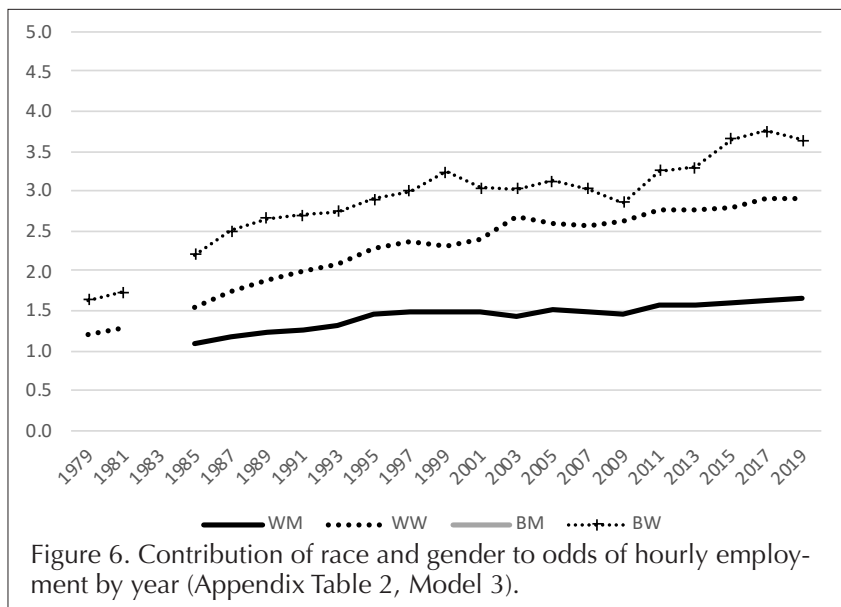


Figure 4. Contribution of race and gender to odds of hourly employment, by year (Appendix Table 2, Model 2).

Whereas observed rates of hourly employment highlight race as a key axis of difference (Figures 2 and 3), accounting for group differences in occupation, industry, education, and marital status, among other factors, points more clearly to the salience of gender as it intersects with race. Taking a wide range of covariates into account, Figure 4 shows a slight increase in white men's odds of hourly employment over time and significant racial gender gaps that are fairly stable over time (see Appendix Table 2, Model 2). All things equal, white men in 2019 are about 1.7 as likely to hold jobs paid by the hour as they were in 1979. Before 2005 Black men's odds of hourly employment did not significantly differ from white men's odds in 1979. In 2005 Black men are 2.17 times as likely to be paid by the hour as white men in 1979, all things equal, and the gap grew to 2.37 by 2019. Compositional differences explain much, but not all, of the observed gap in hourly employment between white and Black men, but the racial differences among women are less easily explained, and the gap between men and women grows over time. Relative to white men in 1979, white women were 1.3 times more likely to hold hourly

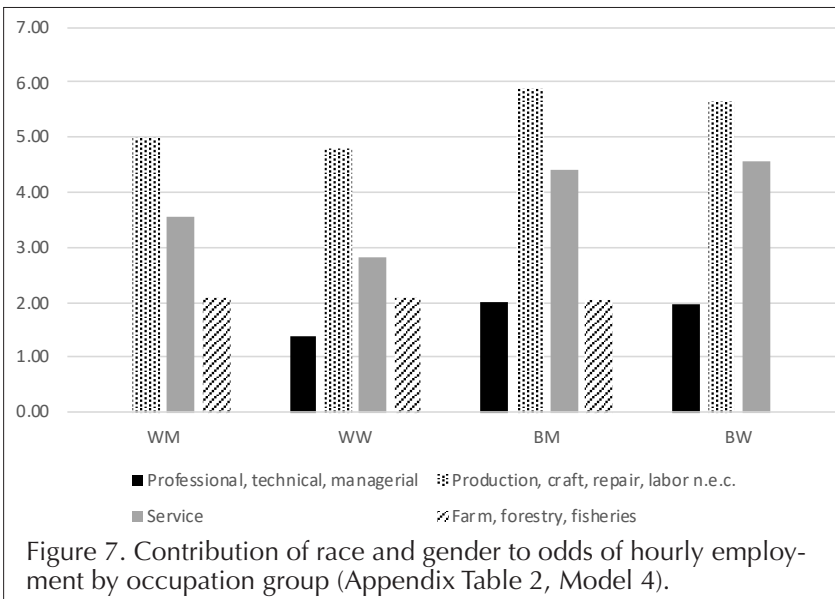


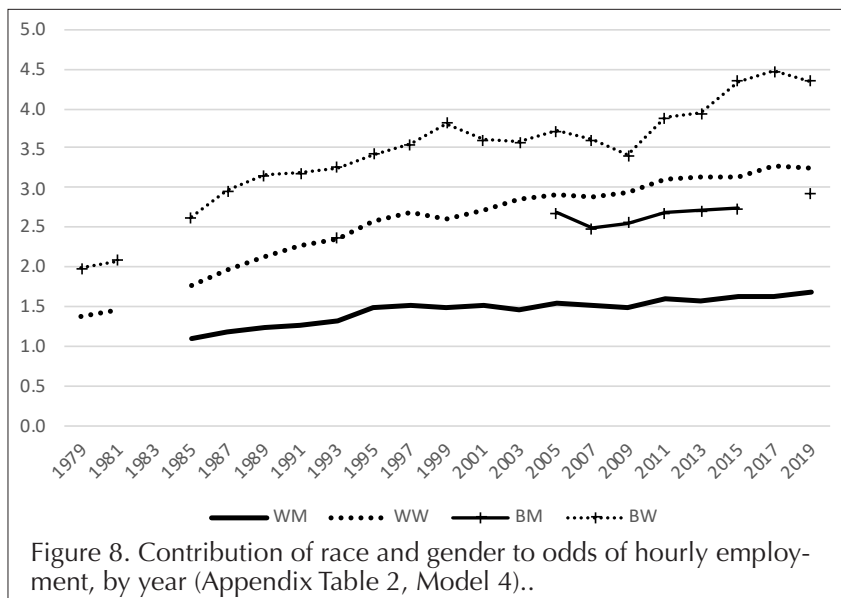


jobs in 1979 and 3 times as likely in 2019. Across the board, Black women are most likely to hold hourly employment, even taking group differences into account. Black women were 1.5 times as likely to hold hourly positions as white men in 1979, and by 2019 they were 3.78 times more likely to be paid by the hour than white men in 1979. These estimates suggest that hourly employment is an important source of intersectional inequality with important consequences for group differences in economic security. The persistence of these group differences in hourly employment is notable in light of the narrowing of occupational and educational differences over the period (see Appendix Table 1).

To what extent are the odds of hourly employment different for workers who entered the labor market before and after the Civil Rights Movement's anti-discrimination and equal opportunity measures were implemented? Figure 5 shows the contribution of race and gender to the odds of hourly employment across pre- and post-CRM cohorts (all interactions are significant, see Appendix Table 2 Model 3). Compared with the reference cate-

gory (post-CRM white men), white men who arrived at working age before the CRM are less likely to hold hourly positions, all things equal (odds ratio 0.89). All other racial-gender and cohort groups are more likely to hold hourly jobs than white men in the post-CRM cohort, but the racial-gender group cohort differences are important. Among both white women and Black men, there is little difference in relative odds of hourly employment across cohorts when we take a range of covariates into account. Pre- and post-CRM white women are about 1.2 times as likely to hold hourly jobs as post-CRM white men, while Black men are about 1.4 times as likely. Among Black women there is an important cohort difference: pre-CRM Black women are 1.3 times as likely as the reference group to hold hourly positions, which is about the same marginal likelihood as pre-CRM white women and a lower marginal likelihood than Black men in either cohort, all things equal. Black women who arrived at working age after the CRM, by contrast, have the highest marginal odds of hourly employment: they are 1.6 times more likely to be paid by the hour than post-CRM white men, all things equal. The annual estimates of





each racial and gender group’s marginal odds, taking the interaction of race-gender and pre-CRM cohort into account, is shown in Figure 6 (see Appendix Table 2 Model 3). When we take the interaction of race-gender and cohort into account, Black men’s marginal odds of hourly employment do not significantly differ from those of white men in 1979. We still see a mild upward trend in white men’s odds over time and a growing gender gap that is racially disparate. White and Black women’s odds of hourly employment are 1.2 and 1.6 times higher than that of white men in 1979, respectively. By 2019 white women were 2.9 times as likely to be paid by the hour as white men in 1979, and Black women were 3.6 times as likely, all things equal.

Given the relatively coarse measure of occupation group used in this analysis, one important consideration is whether unmeasured group differences in occupational attainment across racial and gender lines accounts for estimated group differences in odds of hourly employment. We examine this possibility by including an interaction term for race-gender group by occupation group. Figure 7 shows how the contribution of race and gen-

der to odds of hourly employment differ by occupation group (see Appendix Table 2 model 4). Compared to the reference group, which is white men in professional, technical, and managerial occupations, each group has higher marginal odds of hourly employment, but the effect of occupation group varies by race and gender. Among production workers, who have the highest marginal odds of hourly employment, all things equal, white men are 5 times as likely as white male professional workers to be paid by the hour, white women are 4.8 times as likely, Black men are 5.9 times as likely, and Black women are 5.6 times as likely. Among service workers, white men are 3.5 times more likely to be paid by the hour than white men professionals, white women are 2.8 times as likely, Black men 4.4 times as likely, and Black women 4.6 times as likely, all things equal. Among professional workers, white women are about 1.4 times more likely to be paid by the hour than white men, while Black men and women are each about twice as likely. Finally, white men, white women, and Black men in farm, forestry, and fishery occupations are about twice as likely as white male professionals to hold hourly positions, while marginal odds differences among Black women are not significantly different from the reference group. It is therefore clear that race and gender produce disparate odds of hourly employment within broad occupational groups, but this analysis cannot distinguish between fine-grained differences in occupational attainment within these occupational groups and the possibility that hourly employment varies by race and gender even among those with the same detailed occupations.

For the purposes of this analysis, the key question is whether taking racial and gender differences in the odds of hourly employment within occupational groups into account changes our estimates of change over time in racial and gender differences in hourly employment. Figure 8 suggests that it does not. We see a, by now, familiar pattern of significant group differences that are growing over time despite narrowing group differences in occupational and educational attainment (see Appendix Table 2



model 4). White men in 2019 were 1.7 times more likely to work in hourly employment than white men in 1979, all things equal. This represents an increase in white men's levels of economic security despite their continued advantage relative to white women and Black men and women. Black men's odds of hourly work were not significantly different from those of white men in 1979 before 2015 (with the exception of 2001), but they were over 2.5 times more likely to be paid by the hour than white men in 1979 from 2005 through 2015 and 2.9 times as likely in 2019. White women were only 1.3 times as likely to hold hourly employment as white men in 1979, but their relative odds increased to 3.26 by 2019. Throughout the period Black women had the highest likelihood of hourly employment: they were twice as likely to be paid by the hour compared with white men in 1979 and 4.3 times as likely in 2019. These marginal odds estimates take an array of covariates into account, so they cannot be explained by group differences in occupation, industry, or education, age/cohort, marital status, usual hours of work, region of the country, or rural residence.

In sum, this analysis points toward not just the preservation of racial and gender differences in economic security during the post-Civil Rights Movement period, but a deepening of racial and gender inequalities in hourly employment that suggests this represents an important axis of intersectional inequality. In the discussion and conclusion, we discuss the wider implications of the analysis for understanding intersectional inequalities in a time of growing class-based inequality.

## **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

This paper examines change in the relationship between race, gender, and access to secure employment relations by advancing a historically informed relational perspective on workplace inequality. Race and gender are not just categories of unequal social outcomes deriving from race- and gender-neutral processes, but essential elements of capitalist production that are embedded in the workplace processes of opportunity hoarding and exploita-

tion. Access to secure employment in the pre-Civil Rights period was explicitly organized around race and gender, but fundamental changes in the nature of work have made it difficult to assess change in the centrality of race and gender in access to secure employment relations in the post-Civil Rights period. How do we assess patterns of relative advantage when insecure employment relations are less confined to particular types of work and when traditional axes of employment advantage—occupational and educational attainment, access to standard employment—are therefore less reliable indicators of economic security? We argue that different forms of exploitation, in the form of hourly versus salaried employment, represent a key faultline for understanding intersectional inequalities. Work that is paid by the hour represents a distinctive form of exploitation with greater potential for economic insecurity than salaried employment due to lower and more variable pay, greater scheduling instability, and greater likelihood of involuntary part-time work.

Using labor force data from the CPS-MORG, we show that racial and gender inequalities in observed rates of hourly employment are highly stable from 1979 to 2019, despite the deep social, labor market, and regulatory changes that unfolded over this period, including the replacement of older cohorts, who began their working lives before the anti-discrimination and equal opportunity measures of the Civil Rights Act, with newer cohorts. Such durable inequalities are consistent with the historical relational perspective we have adopted (Tomaskovic-Devey & Avent-Holt 2017; Tilly 1998). Inequalities become durable when social categories such as race and gender become fused with particular roles within work organizations. Groups with access to scarce resources mobilize to maintain them, using boundaries to organize production around social categories of race and gender, and mobilizing historical associations of appropriate labor to justify and legitimize that allocation process. Inequalities become entrenched as work norms and routines are established around those unequal social categories and persist even as explicit racial

and gender ideologies legitimizing the unequal division of labor subsidy. The historical association of secure employment relations with white men continues to shape workplace opportunity.

While the share of all jobs in the United States paid on an hourly basis is highly stable over time, at about 57%, hourly employment has become more common in professional and white-collar occupations. Yet multivariate analysis shows that neither convergence in educational attainment across racial and gender lines, nor the diffusion of hourly work across occupations and industries, has significantly weakened longstanding patterns of unequal access to secure employment relations. Logistic regression analysis of the odds of hourly employment from 1979 to 2019 shows that white women, Black men, and Black women are much more likely to work in hourly jobs than are white men. All things equal, intersectional inequalities in hourly employment have actually increased since 1979. While white men's odds of hourly employment are increasing over time, the relative odds associated with white women, Black men, and Black women are growing at a sharper rate, with Black women bearing the double disadvantage of race and gender that makes them most likely to hold hourly positions.

While some observers have questioned whether the rise and diffusion of employment insecurity marks the decline of racial and gender advantage—and, in particular, declining advantage among white men, since their employment experiences have been most disrupted by economic restructuring—we emphasize the distinction between relative and absolute advantage. White men are becoming less distinctively insulated from labor market insecurity, marking an absolute decline in their labor market positions over time. Yet they remain advantaged relative to white women, Black women, and Black men, even when educational attainment, family structure, occupation, and industry are taken into account. Recognizing the distinction between absolute decline in labor market position and relative advantage, compared with other social groups, may help observers better understand the

competing narratives of economic insecurity and racial-gender advantage/disadvantage that continue to be debated among academics and in public discourse.

Overall, we have argued that it is necessary to conceive of employment relations and social relations as mutually constituting. In the context of the rise and diffusion of insecure work, this means being attentive to how race and gender are woven into the fabric of employment relations to ask how historical race-gender relations are reconfigured or reinforced by new employment arrangements, and interpreting results through the lens of racial and gender processes. Just as the distinction between the primary and secondary labor markets was a key division that organized racial and gender inequality in the postwar period, we find that the distinction between hourly and salaried employment is organized around racial and gender lines in the postindustrial period. The large, significant inequalities historically associated with Black and white men and women have been reformulated but not erased. We hope that future studies of employment insecurity will consider the use of a historical relational perspective that puts intersections among race, gender, and class at the center of the analysis. Inattention to the historically specific context in which new forms of employment inequality are produced limits our understanding of contemporary racial and gender inequalities, as well as the processes by which insecure work has become a normative experience in American society.

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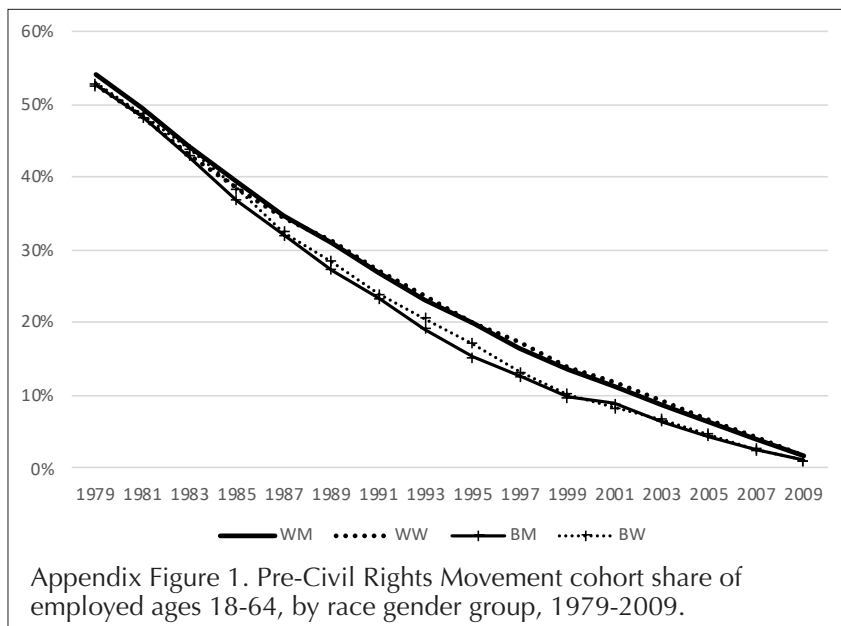
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## APPENDIX

Appendix Table 1. Occupational, industrial, and educational attainment by racial and gender group, 1979 &amp; 2019.

<i>Occupation</i>	White men		White women		Black men		Black women	
	1979	2019	1979	2019	1979	2019	1979	2019
Professional, technical, managerial	42.8%	56.0%	68.9%	79.4%	23.0%	43.4%	48.7%	64.7%
Production, craft, repair, non-extractive labor	48.5%	31.9%	13.8%	4.9%	58.7%	38.3%	18.6%	8.9%
Service	7.2%	11.3%	16.3%	15.5%	15.6%	18.1%	32.1%	26.2%
Farm, forestry, fisheries	1.5%	0.8%	1.0%	0.2%	2.8%	0.3%	0.7%	0.2%
<b>Industry</b>								
Durable manufacturing	20.1%	10.5%	8.5%	3.1%	20.1%	7.6%	8.4%	3.3%
Non-durable manufacturing	10.3%	5.2%	8.4%	2.7%	11.4%	6.1%	9.5%	2.5%
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	2.1%	1.3%	1.6%	0.4%	3.2%	0.3%	0.8%	0.1%
Mining	2.1%	1.5%	0.3%	0.3%	0.6%	0.5%	0.2%	0.1%
Construction	9.8%	10.2%	1.3%	1.6%	8.3%	6.2%	0.4%	0.5%
Transportation, communications, public utilities	10.0%	9.6%	4.2%	4.1%	11.5%	15.1%	4.7%	6.4%
Wholesale trade	5.1%	3.6%	2.5%	1.4%	3.7%	2.6%	1.1%	0.8%
Retail trade	12.0%	10.6%	19.0%	10.1%	9.6%	10.9%	10.0%	9.5%
Finance, insurance, real estate	4.2%	5.7%	8.8%	8.2%	3.2%	4.4%	6.5%	6.4%
Business & repair services	3.4%	5.4%	2.6%	2.9%	4.1%	6.5%	2.4%	4.3%
Personal services	1.2%	13.7%	4.3%	14.6%	2.2%	12.1%	11.9%	11.6%
Entertainment & recreation services	0.8%	1.9%	1.0%	1.8%	0.8%	1.9%	0.6%	1.3%
Professional & related services	11.7%	14.3%	32.7%	43.5%	12.5%	18.2%	36.2%	44.6%
Public administration	7.2%	6.6%	4.7%	5.3%	8.6%	7.6%	7.2%	8.6%
<b>Education</b>								
Less than high school	16.6%	3.1%	12.9%	2.0%	33.5%	4.2%	25.2%	3.5%
High school	38.1%	28.5%	46.2%	21.2%	38.5%	36.0%	40.7%	28.9%
Some college	21.7%	27.6%	22.7%	29.3%	17.2%	31.7%	20.7%	33.9%
College (4-yr)	13.0%	27.0%	10.8%	29.9%	6.3%	19.7%	8.3%	20.9%
More than college	10.6%	13.8%	7.4%	11.2%	4.6%	8.4%	5.1%	12.8%

Source: Author analysis of CPS-MORG data.  
 \* Analysis limited to non-Hispanic Black and White workers ages 18-64 and excludes self-employed; occupation/industry/education figures sum to 100% of each racial gender group by year



Appendix Table 2. Logistic regression of hourly (versus salaried) employment (odds ratio).

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<b>Year (ref = 1979)</b>				
1981	0.96***	0.97*	0.97*	0.97*
1983	0.96***	1.02	1.01	1.01
1985	0.98	1.10***	1.09***	1.09***
1987	0.99	1.19***	1.17***	1.17***
1989	1.01	1.24***	1.22***	1.22***
1991	1.00	1.28***	1.25***	1.26***
1993	1.03**	1.33***	1.30***	1.31***
1995	1.07***	1.50***	1.47***	1.49***
1997	1.05***	1.54***	1.50***	1.52***
1999	1.01	1.52***	1.47***	1.49***
2001	0.99	1.54***	1.49***	1.51***
2003	0.97**	1.49***	1.44***	1.45***

2005	1.00	1.58***	1.52***	1.54***
2007	0.96***	1.54***	1.49***	1.50***
2009	0.94***	1.52***	1.47***	1.48***
2011	0.98*	1.63***	1.57***	1.59***
2013	0.95***	1.62***	1.56***	1.57***
2015	0.94***	1.66***	1.60***	1.61***
2017	0.92***	1.69***	1.62***	1.64***
2019	0.93***	1.73***	1.67***	1.68***
<b>racial gender group (ref = White men)</b>				
White women (WW)	1.19***	1.31***	1.19***	1.37***
Black men (BM)	2.13***	1.55***	1.46***	2.00***
Black women (BW)	1.54***	1.51***	1.63***	1.98***
<b>Year x racial gender group (ref = White men 1979)</b>				
1981 x WW	1.08***	1.10***	1.11***	1.10***
1981 x BM	0.98	1.00	1.00	0.99
1981 x BW	1.03	1.10*	1.09*	1.09*
1983 x WW	1.12***	1.17***	1.19***	1.18***
1983 x BM	0.92*	0.96	0.97	0.95
1983 x BW	1.11**	1.21***	1.20***	1.18***
1985 x WW	1.10***	1.16***	1.19***	1.17***
1985 x BM	0.91**	0.94	0.96	0.94
1985 x BW	1.14***	1.26***	1.24***	1.21***
1987 x WW	1.12***	1.20***	1.24***	1.22***
1987 x BM	1.00	1.05	1.08	1.04
1987 x BW	1.22***	1.35***	1.31***	1.27***
1989 x WW	1.12***	1.24***	1.29***	1.27***
1989 x BM	1.04	1.09	1.12*	1.09
1989 x BW	1.24***	1.39***	1.34***	1.30***
1991 x WW	1.14***	1.27***	1.33***	1.31***
1991 x BM	0.96	1.00	1.04	0.99
1991 x BW	1.25***	1.37***	1.32***	1.28***
1993 x WW	1.12***	1.26***	1.33***	1.30***
1993 x BM	0.88***	0.91*	0.94	0.90*
1993 x BW	1.21***	1.34***	1.29***	1.25***
1995 x WW	1.14***	1.23***	1.30***	1.26***
1995 x BM	0.89**	0.95	0.99	0.92
1995 x BW	1.17***	1.27***	1.21***	1.16***

1997 x WW	1.13***	1.25***	1.33***	1.29***
1997 x BM	0.93	0.99	1.04	0.97
1997 x BW	1.22***	1.30***	1.23***	1.18***
1999 x WW	1.12***	1.22***	1.30***	1.27***
1999 x BM	0.91*	0.98	1.03	0.96
1999 x BW	1.29***	1.43***	1.35***	1.29***
2001 x WW	1.12***	1.26***	1.35***	1.31***
2001 x BM	0.87***	0.96	1.01	0.94
2001 x BW	1.19***	1.33***	1.25***	1.20***
2003 x WW	1.18***	1.36***	1.47***	1.44***
2003 x BM	0.84***	0.93	0.98	0.92
2003 x BW	1.17***	1.37***	1.29***	1.25***
2005 x WW	1.11***	1.31***	1.42***	1.38***
2005 x BM	0.79***	0.89**	0.94	0.87**
2005 x BW	1.15***	1.35***	1.26***	1.22***
2007 x WW	1.11***	1.32***	1.44***	1.40***
2007 x BM	0.75***	0.84***	0.89**	0.83***
2007 x BW	1.12***	1.33***	1.24***	1.21***
2009 x WW	1.14***	1.37***	1.49***	1.46***
2009 x BM	0.77***	0.88**	0.93	0.86**
2009 x BW	1.11**	1.28***	1.19***	1.17***
2011 x WW	1.11***	1.34***	1.47***	1.43***
2011 x BM	0.78***	0.86***	0.91	0.84***
2011 x BW	1.16***	1.36***	1.27***	1.23***
2013 x WW	1.09***	1.36***	1.49***	1.45***
2013 x BM	0.77***	0.88**	0.93	0.86***
2013 x BW	1.17***	1.40***	1.30***	1.26***
2015 x WW	1.06***	1.33***	1.46***	1.42***
2015 x BM	0.81***	0.86***	0.91	0.85***
2015 x BW	1.27***	1.50***	1.40***	1.36***
2017 x WW	1.05**	1.38***	1.50***	1.46***
2017 x BM	0.92*	1.05	1.11*	1.02
2017 x BW	1.26***	1.53***	1.42***	1.38***
2019 x WW	1.01	1.33***	1.45***	1.41***
2019 x BM	0.79***	0.88**	0.94	0.86**
2019 x BW	1.16***	1.44***	1.34***	1.30***

Occupation group (ref = Professional, technical, managerial)

Production, craft, repair, non-extractive labor	4.38***	4.38***	4.99***
Service	1.77***	2.53***	3.54***
Farm, forestry, fisheries	1.77***	1.76***	2.08***

**Occupation group x racial gender group (ref = Professional WM)**

Production x WW			0.70***
Production x BM			0.59***
Production x BW			0.57***
Service x WW			0.58***
Service x BM			0.62***
Service x BW			0.65***
Farm x WW			0.73***
Farm x BM			0.49***
Farm x BW			0.84
Pre- Civil Rights Movement (CRM) cohort	0.95***	0.89***	0.88***

**Pre-CRM cohort x racial gender group (ref = Post-CRM WM)**

Pre-CRM x WW		1.17***	1.19***
Pre-CRM x BM		1.11***	1.15***
Pre-CRM x BW		0.88***	0.94***
Age	0.91***	0.91***	0.91***
Age-squared	1.00***	1.00***	1.00***

**Education (ref = Less than h.s.)**

High school	0.81***	0.80***	0.79***
Some college	0.64***	0.64***	0.63***
College (4-yr)	0.24***	0.24***	0.23***
More than college	0.11***	0.11***	0.11***

**Marital status (ref = single never married)**

Married	0.81***	0.81***	0.81***
Divorced or widowed	0.98***	0.98***	0.98***
Usual hours of work per week	0.94***	0.94***	0.94***

**Industry group (ref = Durable manufacturing)**

Non-durable manufacturing	0.85***	0.85***	0.85***
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	0.58***	0.57***	0.56***
Mining	1.02	1.01	0.98
Construction	0.92***	0.92***	0.89***

Transportation, communications, public utilities		0.77***	0.77***	0.76***
Wholesale trade		0.58***	0.58***	0.58***
Retail trade		1.24***	1.23***	1.22***
Finance, insurance, real estate		0.44***	0.44***	0.42***
Business & repair services		0.71***	0.71***	0.69***
Personal services		0.50***	0.50***	0.50***
Entertainment & recreation services		0.72***	0.72***	0.70***
Professional & related services		0.83***	0.83***	0.81***
Public administration		0.72***	0.72***	0.67***
<b>Region (ref = New England, Northeast)</b>				
Middle Atlantic, Northeast		0.71***	0.71***	0.71***
South Atlantic, South		0.73***	0.73***	0.74***
East South Central, South		0.82***	0.82***	0.82***
West South Central, South		0.71***	0.71***	0.72***
East North Central, Midwest		1.06***	1.06***	1.06***
West North Central, Midwest		1.08***	1.08***	1.08***
Mountain, West		0.97***	0.97***	0.98***
Pacific, West		0.96***	0.96***	0.96***
Rural		1.18***	1.18***	1.19***
Constant	1.16	150.67	157.96	147.91
Pseudo r-sq	0.007	0.251	0.251	0.253

\*  $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\*  $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p \leq 0.001$

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