# Earnings by gender: evidence from Census 2000 

Do women of comparable experience, as measured by age and education, earn the same as men in the same occupations? A look at the occupations identified in Census 2000 indicates that a sizable unexplained gap remains

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People are curious as to what others earn in their jobs. Career counselors need to tell their clients what wage or salary to expect from a particular occupation, those concerned about gender discrimination in hiring and promotions need to know what others earn so they can investigate claims, and workers claiming loss of wages due to injuries need to know the profile of earnings by age and occupation. The list of those wanting to know more about wages and earnings seems endless.

Of particular interest is the ratio of women's earnings to men's earnings. The U.S. Census Bureau reported that, "The female-to-male earnings ratio [for year-round fulltime workers] was 0.77 in 2005," well above the ratio of 0.64 recorded for 1955 , the first year for which the Census Bureau calculated the ratio. ${ }^{1}$

This article looks at the distribution of earnings by occupation for all year-round full-time workers and separately for men and women as reported on Census 2000. Earnings include income from wages, salaries, and self-employment. The article also provides a summary of the main results of a more extensive Census 2000 Special Report. ${ }^{2}$

It is not easy to thoroughly describe the earnings distribution. This article uses two factors to ease explication: median earnings (earnings at the 50th percentile) and earnings dispersion (as measured by
the ratio of earnings at the 90th percentile to earnings at the 10th percentile) for all year-round full-time civilian workers 16 years or older (hereinafter called "workers") by selected characteristics and across occupations. ${ }^{3}$

## Median earnings

The median earnings of the 83.0 million year-round full-time workers in 1999 was $\$ 33,000$; average (mean) earnings was \$43,000. ${ }^{4}$ Earnings are "rightward skewed"this means that of that half of workers earnings above the median, many have earnings many times the median. Of all year-round full-time workers, 10 percent earned $\$ 15,000$ or less, and 1 percent earned $\$ 5,600$ or less (this last group includes workers with losses from self-employment). At the top end of the distribution, 10 percent earned $\$ 75,000$ or more, 5 percent earned $\$ 100,000$ or more, 2 percent earned $\$ 150,000$ or more, and 1 percent earned $\$ 220,000$ or more.

By occupation. Only two occupations among the 505 civilian occupations coded by the Census Bureau have median earnings of $\$ 100,000$ or higher: physicians and surgeons (median earnings of $\$ 120,000$ ) and dentists ( $\$ 100,000)^{5}$ Seven additional occupations have median earnings in the $\$ 75,000-\$ 90,000$ range: chief executives (\$88,000); podiatrists (\$84,000); lawyers (\$82,000); engineering managers and optom-
etrists ( $\$ 80,000$ ); and petroleum engineers and natural sciences managers $(\$ 75,000) .{ }^{6}$

Occupations with low median earnings are dishwashers (median earnings of $\$ 13,000$ ); counter attendants, cafeteria, food concession, and coffee shop and child care workers (both at $\$ 14,000$ ); maids and housekeeping cleaners; dining room and cafeteria attendants and bartender helpers; food preparation workers; teacher assistants; hosts and hostesses, restaurant, lounge, and coffee shop; and combined food preparation and serving workers, including fast food (all at $\$ 15,000) .{ }^{7}$ Interestingly, seven of these nine (and three of the next five-waiters and waitresses; personal and home care aides; food preparation and serving related workers, all other, cooks; and cashiers-all at $\$ 16,000$ ) are in the retail food services business (restaurants). ${ }^{8}$

Only the largest occupations can support more detailed analysis. In order to present reasonably reliable results, most of the remaining analysis covers occupations with at least 10,000 workers for demographic groups with at least 1,000 workers.

Occupation and demographic characteristic. The familiar relationship between female and male earnings is illustrated in Table 1. It is clear from the data that women at every percentile level of their earnings distribution earn less than men at the same percentile level. This ranges from women earning 90 percent of men at the 3rd percentile, to 74 percent at the median ( 50 th percentile), to 46 percent at the 99th percentile. But these comparisons do not control for other factors, such as differences in age, education, and occupation. In other words, do women of comparable experience (as measured by age and education) earn the same as men in the same occupation? Note that if earnings differences do exist, they are not necessarily due to discrimination in hiring or promotion, although these factors may contribute to the differences. Other underlying factors, such as free choice, geographic location, educational opportunities, industrial growth, cultural marriage and employment practices, gender-based preferences, the presence of unions, work history and experience, and many other factors may contribute to differences in remuneration. ${ }^{9}$

Median earnings by gender. The occupations with the highest median earnings for men and for women are shown in Table 2. The highest paid occupation for men and for women is physicians and surgeons, but the female median in this occupation $(\$ 88,000)$ is but 63 percent that of the male median $(\$ 140,000)$. Different degrees of specialization within an occupation and different choices of
industry or business organization may affect the ratio. For example, women might choose more frequently than men to practice in lower paid medical specialties (such as pediatrics) or in lower paid institutional settings (such as health maintenance organizations). ${ }^{10}$ Fifteen of the listed occupations for men also appear on the list for women, and in all cases, the female median is less than that for men. In fact, the occupation that is third on the list for women (dentists) makes about the same $(\$ 68,000)$ as the occupation that is last on the list for men (management analysts, $\$ 67,000$ ).

A similar pattern is shown for the lowest paid occupations. (See table 3.) Sixteen occupations appear on both lists, and in all cases but one (dining room and cafeteria attendants and bartender helpers), women make less than men in the same occupation. In only five occupations with 10,000 or more workers-hazardous materials removal workers; telecommunications line installers and repairers; meeting and convention planners; dining room and cafeteria attendants and bartender helpers; and belpers, construction trades-are female median earnings at least 100 percent of male median earnings, but the ratios for an additional six occupations-bighway maintenance workers; dieticians and nutritionists; engineering managers; other transportation workers; electronic home entertainment equipment installers and repairers; and tire builders-are not statistically different from 1.000. Perhaps surprisingly, women are a majority of the workforce in only two of those eleven oc-cupations-meeting and convention planners; and dieticians and nutritionists. Only three additional occupations have estimated ratios that fall in the range $95-100$ percent range-radio and telecommunications equipment installers and repairers; postal service clerks; and postal service mail sorters, processors, and processing machine operators. ${ }^{11}$ In only four occupations do women earn statistically less than 60 percent of men-paper goods machine setters, operators, and tenders; securities, commodities, and financial services sales agents; personal financial advisors; and judges, magistrates, and other judicial workers.

The effect of education and age. Choice of occupation, age (an imperfect proxy for work experience), and education also affect earnings. Compared with all women versus all men, women aged 35 to 54 have a lower earnings ratio than men aged 35 to 54 at all points in the distributionat the median, women aged 35 to 54 earn 71.4 percent of similar men at the median, compared with 73.7 percent for all women compared with all men. Education has mixed effects on this difference. The only women aged 35 to 54 to earn more than 71.4 percent of men at the median are those with some college education, but only

Table 1. Female earnings as a fraction of male earnings at 1-percent intervals, 1999

| Percentile.. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Earnings ratio.. | 0.865 | 0.833 | 0.900 | 0.868 | 0.842 | 0.846 | 0.855 | 0.800 | 0.807 | 0.813 | 0.809 | 0.778 | 0.817 | 0.789 | 0.750 |
| Percentlle ..... | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 |
| Earnings ratio.. | 0.784 | 0.800 | 0.786 | 0.785 | 0.780 | 0.782 | 0.766 | 0.752 | 0.771 | 0.760 | 0.787 | 0.784 | 0.769 | 0.741 | 0.754 |
| Percentile .... | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 |
| Earnings ratio. | 0.750 | 0.744 | 0.755 | 0.733 | 0.740 | 0.767 | 0.767 | 0.764 | 0.761 | 0.750 | 0.769 | 0.758 | 0.735 | 0.715 | 0.743 |
| Percentlle ..... | 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | 64 | 55 | 56 | 57 | 58 | 59 | 60 |
| Earnings ratio. | 0.743 | 0.736 | 0.750 | 0.735 | 0.737 | 0.732 | 0.732 | 0.725 | 0.747 | 0.750 | 0.746 | 0.723 | 0.721 | 0.721 | 0.726 |
| Percentle....... | 61 | 62 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 66 | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 |
| Earnings ratio. | 0.711 | 0.715 | 0.717 | 0.716 | 0.709 | 0.714 | 0.700 | 0.708 | 0.720 | 0.724 | 0.721 | 0.717 | 0.709 | 0.727 | 0.678 |
| Percentlle ..... | 76 | 77 | 78 | 79 | 80 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | 90 |
| Earnings ratio. | 0.678 | 0.683 | 0.700 | 0.696 | 0.695 | 0.692 | 0.675 | 0.676 | 0.686 | 0.694 | 0.667 | 0.656 | 0.659 | 0.663 | 0.649 |
| Percentlle ........... | 91 | 92 | 93 | 94 | 95 | 96 | 97 | 98 | 99 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Earnings ratio..... | 0.663 | 0.619 | 0.64 | 0.625 | 0.592 | 0.588 | 0.567 | 0.504 | 0.457 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Note: Data are based on a sample. For information on confidentiality gov/prod/cen2000/docs/sf3.pdf.
protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census. SoURCE: U. S. Census Bureau, Census 2000.
Table 2. Occupations with the highest median earnings, by gender, 1999

| Men | Median (dollars) | Women | Median (dollars) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| All year-round full-time workers | \$38,000 | All year-round full-time workers ..... | \$28,000 |
| Physicians and surgeons | 140,000 | Physicians and surgeons. | 88,000 |
| Dentists. | 110,000 | Engineering managers. | 75,000 |
| Chief executives....................................... | 95,000 | Dentists. | 68,000 |
| Lawyers. | 90,000 | Lawyers | 66,000 |
| Judges, magistrates, and other judicial workers. | 88,000 | Optometrists | 65,000 |
|  |  | Pharmacists ...................................... | 63,000 |
| Natural sciences managers........................ | 84,000 | Chief executives ...... | 60,000 |
| Optometrists. | 84,000 | Economists | 60,000 |
| Actuaries .. | 80,000 | Computer and information systems |  |
| Engineering managers ... | 80,000 | managers | 58,000 |
| Economists................... | 73,000 | Sales engineers ..................................... | 57,000 |
| Astronomers and physicists ... | 71,000 | Actuaries. | 56,000 |
| Chemical engineers.. | 70,000 | Air traffic controllers and airfield |  |
| Computer and information systems ............ |  | operations specialists ...... | 56,000 |
| managers. | 70,000 | Chemical engineers. | 56,000 |
| Financial analysts. | 70,000 | Computer software engineers......... | 55,000 |
| Marketing and sales managers ............. | 70,000 | Natural sciences managers ....................... | 55,000 |
| Pharmacists | 70,000 | Aerospace engineers. | 54,000 |
| Veterinarians . | 70,000 | Electrical and electronics engineers ............ | 54,000 |
| Personal financial advisors | 69,000 | Astronomers and physicists............. | 51,000 |
| Air traffic controllers and airfield |  | Engineers, all others.. | 51,000 |
| operations specialists ............. | 67,000 | Computer programmers.. | 50,000 |
| Management analysts ................................. | 67,000 | Environmental engineers ......... | 50,000 |
|  |  | Judges, magistrates, and other judicial workers | 50,000 |
|  |  | Materials engineers ............... | 50,000 |
|  |  | Mechanical engineers............................... | 50,000 |

Note: Occupations listed are those with 10,000 or more yearround full-time workers, at least 1,000 male workers, and at least 1,000 female workers. Because of sampling error, the estimates in this table may not be significantly different from one another or from estimates for other occupations not listed in the table. Data are based
on a sample. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/ cen2000/docs/sf3.pdf.

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Census 2000.

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Men \& Median (dollars) \& Women \& Median (dollars) \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
All year-round full-time workers. \\
Dishwashers. \\
Dining room and cafeteria attendants and bartender helpers. \\
Counter attendants, cafeteria, food concession, and coffee shop \(\qquad\) \\
Food preparation workers \(\qquad\) \\
Combined food preparation and serving workers, including fast food. \\
Cooks \(\qquad\) \\
Miscellaneous agriculture workers . \(\qquad\) \\
Maids and housekeeping cleaners.................... \\
Miscellaneous personal appearance workers \(\qquad\) \\
Parking lot attendants \(\qquad\) \\
Personal and home care aides \(\qquad\) \\
Service station attendants \(\qquad\) \\
Waiters and waitresses \(\qquad\) \\
Cleaners of vehicles and equipment. \\
Farmers and ranchers \(\qquad\) \\
Grounds maintenance workers \(\qquad\) \\
Helpers, construction trades \(\qquad\) \\
Hosts and hostesses, restaurant, lounge, and coffee shop \(\qquad\) \\
Hotel, motel, and resort desk clerks. \(\qquad\) \\
Teacher assistants \\
Tellers.
\(\qquad\)
\end{tabular} \& \(\$ 38,000\)
14,000
15,000
16,000
16,000
17,000
17,000
18,000
19,000
19,000
19,000
19,000
19,000
19,000
20,000
20,000
20,000
20,000
20,000
20,000
20,000
20,000 \& \begin{tabular}{l}
All year-round full-time workers \\
Dishwashers \\
Farmers and ranchers \\
Counter attendants, cafeteria, food \\
concession, and coffee shop \\
Child care workers \(\qquad\) \\
Cashiers. \\
Combined food preparation and serving workers, including fast food. \\
Cooks. \\
Dining room and cafeteria attendants and bartender helpers \\
Food preparation workers \\
Graders and sorters, agricultural products \(\qquad\) \\
Hosts and hostesses, restaurant, lounge, and coffee shop. \\
Laundry and dry-cleaning workers............... \\
Maids and housekeeping cleaners \(\qquad\) \\
Pressers, textile, garment and related materials \(\qquad\) \\
Service station attendants \(\qquad\) \\
Teacher assistants \(\qquad\) \\
Waiters and waitresses. \(\qquad\) \\
Bartenders \\
Counter and rental clerks \(\qquad\) \\
Hotel, motel, and resort desk clerks \\
Parking lot attendants \(\qquad\) \\
Personal and home care aides \(\qquad\) \\
Sewing machine operators .
\end{tabular} \& \(\$ 28,000\)
12,000
12,000
13,000
14,000
15,000
15,000
15,000
15,000
15,000
15,000

15,000
15,000
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16,000 <br>

\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{Nоте: Occupations listed are those with 10,000 or more yearround full-time workers, at least 1,000 male workers, and at least 1,000 female workers. Ties in estimated median earnings are listed alphabetically. Because of sampling error, the estimates in this table may not be significantly different from one another or from estimates for other occupations not listed in the table. Data are based on a sam-} \& \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{| ple. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/ docs/sf3.pdf. |
| :--- |
| Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Census 2000. |} <br>

\hline
\end{tabular}

slightly more, 72.1 percent. So education alone contributes little toward equality between men's and women's median earnings.

## Earnings dispersion

The median indicates only one property of the earnings distribution. Also of interest are measures of earnings dispersion. This article uses a common measure of disper-sion-the ratio of the value at the 90th percentile of earnings to that at the 10th percentile (denoted as P90/10), and computed only for those with positive earnings. The higher the value, the more the earnings dispersion present in that occupation. As a basis for comparison, P90/10
for all (positive) earners is 5.00 , which means that the earnings at the 90th percentile are five times the earnings at the 10th percentile. High dispersion (that is, a high ratio) can be interpreted as indicating the presence of substantial spread in earnings among workers within the group being studied; low dispersion indicates substantial evenness.

As the population of year-round full-time workers is disaggregated into more homogeneous groups with respect to their earnings, the dispersion ratio will fall for each of those groups. If disaggregated by gender, the weighted average ratio falls from 5.00 to 4.90 , only a 2 -percent reduction; this implies that, among all workers, there is about as much earnings dispersion among women as there is among men. (Disaggregating women into those with

Table 4. Occupations with the most similar and dissimilar earnings, 1999

| Occupations with most similar earnings | P90/10 ${ }^{1}$ | Occupations with most dissimilar earnings | P90/10 ${ }^{1}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| All year-round full-time workers <br> Postal service clerks $\qquad$ <br> Postal service mail carriers $\qquad$ <br> Occupational therapist assistants <br> and aides $\qquad$ <br> Postal service mail sorters, processors, and processing machine operators <br> Radiation therapists $\qquad$ <br> Occupational therapists. $\qquad$ <br> Respiratory therapists $\qquad$ <br> Roof bolters, mining $\qquad$ <br> Postmasters and mail superintendents <br> Speech-language pathologists. $\qquad$ <br> Nuclear engineers $\qquad$ <br> Aerospace engineers $\qquad$ <br> Tellers <br> Signal and track switch repairers <br> Textile winding, twisting, and drawing out machine setters, operators and tenders . <br> Pharmacists $\qquad$ <br> Payroll and timekeeping clerks $\qquad$ <br> Dental assistants $\qquad$ <br> Registered nurses. $\qquad$ <br> Marine engineers and naval architects $\qquad$ | 5.00 1.89 1.92 2.00 2.01 2.07 2.13 2.16 2.22 2.25 2.25 2.27 2.32 2.33 2.34 2.36 2.37 2.39 2.40 2.41 2.42 | All year-round full-time workers <br> Farmers and ranchers <br> Securities, commodities, and financial services sales agents <br> Animal breeders. <br> Health diagnosing and treating practitioners, all others <br> Financial analysts <br> Chiropractors $\qquad$ <br> Real estate brokers and sales agents Physicians and surgeons $\qquad$ <br> Chief executives $\qquad$ <br> Personal financial advisors $\qquad$ <br> Podiatrists $\qquad$ <br> Artists and related workers $\qquad$ <br> Animal trainers. $\qquad$ <br> Musicians, singers, and related workers. <br> Door-to-door sales workers, news and street vendors, and related workers $\qquad$ <br> Tax preparers. $\qquad$ <br> Models, demonstrators, and product promoters. <br> Entertainers and performers, sports and related workers, all others. $\qquad$ <br> Writers and authors. $\qquad$ <br> Actors. | $\begin{array}{r} 5.00 \\ 14.29 \\ 10.68 \\ 10.55 \\ 9.85 \\ 9.05 \\ 9.00 \\ 8.67 \\ 8.57 \\ 8.33 \\ 8.33 \\ 7.84 \\ 7.56 \\ 7.50 \\ 7.24 \\ 7.23 \\ 7.20 \\ \\ 6.96 \\ 6.90 \\ 6.88 \\ 6.87 \end{array}$ |
| ${ }^{1}$ P90/10 is the ratio of earnings at the 90th percentile to earnings at the 10th percentile; calculations include earners with positive earnings only. <br> only. Because of sampling error, the estimates in this table may not be significantly different from one another or from other occupations not listed in this table. Data are based on a sample. |  |  |  |

Nоте: Dispersion measures include earners with positive earnings
Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Census 2000.
children at home and those with no children at home, an additional proxy for work experience, further reduces the ratio, but only to 4.87 , suggesting little or no gain for accounting for that difference. ${ }^{12}$ ) Individual disaggregations by age (three categories), education (four categories), and occupation ( 505 categories) reduce the ratio from 5.00 to $4.87,3.83$, and 3.88 , respectively, suggesting that much is to be gained by examining education and occupation (but not age) as sources of dispersion.

Table 4 presents the 20 occupations with the least and the most dispersed earnings. ${ }^{13}$ Some of the occupations with the most similar earnings as measured by the P90/10 ratio are postal service clerks; postal service mail carriers; occupational therapist assistants and aides; and postal service mail sorters, processors, and processing machine operators. ${ }^{14}$ Several other therapist occupations also appear on this list.

In part because of self-employment expenses that offset income, the occupation farmers and ranchers is one of the occupations with the most dissimilar earnings, even when those with net losses are excluded (as is done here), with a P90/10 ratio of 14.29. Farmers and ranchers is one of only six occupations where the number of workers with losses exceeded 2 percent of all earners, and the only one where more than 10 percent lost money in 1999 ( 12.6 percent had negative earnings). Another occupation with high earnings dispersion is securities, commodities, and financial services sales agents. ${ }^{15}$

Specialization within occupations can explain some of this measured dispersion. For example, the broad occupation physicians and surgeons includes eight detailed occupations: anesthesiologists; family and general practitioners; internists, general; obstetricians and gynecologists;

| Characteristics | Number of year-round full-time workers | P90/10 ${ }^{1}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | All workers | Weighted average across occupations |
| Men. | 48,684,640 | 5.27 | 4.10 |
| Men aged 35 to 54 | 27,080,120 | 4.90 | 3.90 |
| Less than a high school education............................ | 2,635,440 | 4.00 | 3.66 |
| High school graduate, no college................................ | 7,171,920 | 3.50 | 3.36 |
| Some college ......................... | 8,259,690 | 3.72 | 3.41 |
| Bachelor's degree or higher..................................... | 9,013,080 | 5.24 | 4.32 |
| Women............................................... | 34,088,450 | 4.35 | 3.29 |
| Women aged 35 to 54.............................................. | 19,128,510 | 4.20 | 3.28 |
| Less than a high school education............................ | 1,389,490 | 3.50 | 3.24 |
| High school graduate, no college............................... | 5,125,400 | 3.39 | 3.01 |
| Some college .......................................................... | 6,717,800 | 3.46 | 3.01 |
| Bachelor's degree or higher....................................... | 5,895,830 | 3.70 | 3.27 |
| Women with no children at home............................ | 21,385,740 | 4.31 | 3.30 |
| Women aged 35 to 54 with no children at home........... | 10,801,660 | 4.07 | 3.25 |
| Less than a high school education......................... | 793,710 | 3.60 | 3.24 |
| High school graduate, no college............................. | 3,016,970 | 3.31 | 2.99 |
| Some college ...................................................... | 3,760,330 | 3.43 | 2.99 |
| Bachelor's degree or higher................................... | 3,230,640 | 3.57 | 3.25 |
| Women with children at home............................ | 12,702,710 | 4.23 | 3.25 |
| Women aged 35 to 54 years with children at home...... | 8,326,850 | 4.29 | 3.32 |
| Less than a high school education......................... | 595,780 | 3.44 | 3.22 |
| High school graduate, no college............................. | 2,108,420 | 3.40 | 3.04 |
| Some college | $2,957,460$ $2,665,190$ | 3.40 3.78 | 3.01 3.29 |

${ }^{1} \mathrm{P} 90 / 10$ is the ratio of earnings at the 90th percentile to earnings at the 10th percentile; calculations include earners with positive earnings only.

Note: Dispersion measures include earners with positive earnings
only. Data are based on a sample. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/docs/sf3.pdf.

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Census 2000.
pediatricians, general; psychiatrists; surgeons; and physicians and surgeons, all other (which includes such specialties as cardiologist; dermatologist,, and ophthalmologist). It is likely that cardiologists earn more than internists, but a mail-out/ mail-back survey such as the decennial census is unable to make the distinctions among these occupations because so many doctors enter only "M.D." as their response.

Twelve of the 20 occupations with the most dispersed earnings are occupations where self-employment income is important. It appears that in most if not all of these occupations, personal initiative or a special skill can result in substantial earnings rewards for the most successful workers. High variability of earnings within an occupation might also indicate occupational categories that are too broad (as suggested in the above discussion of physicians and surgeons) or perhaps the inability of respondents to provide unambiguous descriptions of their occupation did not allow consistent coding.

Gender, work experience, education, and occupation. The next investigation is of dispersion measures by gender to see if controlling for work experience, education, and occupation results in a more equal (less disperse) distribution of earnings between men and women. Table 5 presents overall dispersion measures for men and women, for men and women aged 35 to 54 , and for women aged 35 to 54 with and without children at home (an additional proxy for experience) ${ }^{16}$ First, by examining the P90/10 ratios for all workers in a category (the next-to-last column of table 5), it is clear that earnings dispersion is less for women than for men-an overall P90/10 ratio for all workers of 4.35 for women versus 5.27 for men. ${ }^{17}$

Dispersion as measured by P90/10 is lower for men and women when the comparison is restricted to all workers aged 35 to 54 . However, versus women aged 35 to 54 , dispersion is lower for women aged 35 to 54 with no children at home, but higher for women aged 35 to 54
with children at home. Controlling for education for the most part shows substantial further reductions in dispersion for each level of education except Bachelor's degree or more. ${ }^{18}$

Weighted averages of $\mathrm{P} 90 / 10$ across occupations within age-gender-education categories are shown in table 4, thus allowing the ratios to differ further by occupation. By comparing these estimates with those in the third column of the table, one notes that it is uniformly true that accounting for occupation further reduces measured dispersion. ${ }^{19}$

As noted, women's earnings are more similar than men's: 4.35 versus 5.27 ( 17 percent less dissimilar). (See table 6.) This is also true for prime-age workers, those aged 35 to 54: the overall P90/10 ratio for these workers is $4.95-4.90$ for men and 4.20 for women ( 14 percent less dissimilar). Computing ratios for all eight education-gender combinations ( 4 by 2 ) for those aged 35 to 54 yields a weighted average ratio of 3.91 , a 21 -percent reduction in dispersion. Finally, when age is controlled by restricting the universe to those aged 35 to 54 , and gender, education, and occupation are taken into account (4040 categories, or 2 by 4 by 505), the ratio for year-round full-time workers aged 35 to 54 is reduced from 4.95 to 3.47 , a 30 -percent reduction. Women's earnings at this greatest level of disaggregation still remain more similar than men's-a ratio of $3.11,84$ percent of the ratio for men, 3.72.

Table 7 presents the effects of age and education on earnings dispersion across occupations. When educational differences are examined, the range between the 10th percentile and the 90th percentile (and therefore the ratio between the two) for men with less than a complete college education is smaller than the range for men with a

Bachelor's degree or more; the same apparent result for women is not statistically significant. Apparently, there is more variation in the earnings among both men and possibly women aged 35 to 54 within the same occupation who have completed college than for those who have not. Controlling for gender and education for those aged 35 to 54 yields a weighted average 10.5 percent reduction in dispersion in the 43 largest occupations (those with 500,000 year-round full-time workers or more).

THE GENDER GAP IN EARNINGS was studied by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics. Their report concluded: ${ }^{20}$

Of the many factors that account for difference in earnings between men and women, our model indicated that work patterns are key. Specifically, women have fewer years of work experience, work fewer hours per year, are less likely to work a full-time schedule, and leave the labor force for longer periods of time than men. Other factors that account for earnings differences include industry, occupation, race, marital status, and job tenure. When we account for difference between male and female work patterns as well as other key factors, women earned, on average, 80 percent of what men earned in 2000....Even after accounting for key factors that affect earnings, our model could not explain all of the differences in earnings between men and women.

This study of Census 2000 data confirms and extends these GAO findings. There is a substantial gap in median earnings between men and women that is unexplained,

## Table 6. Summary of earnings dispersion by gender, education, and occupation, 1999

| Characteristics | Ratio of earnings at the 90th percentile to earnings at the 10th percentile |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

Note: Table includes earners with positive earnings only. Data are based on a sample. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.
gov/prod/cen2000/docs/sf3.pdf. Dash indicates not applicable.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000.

Table 7. Distribution of P90/10 earnings dispersion measure across occupations for selected percentiles,1999

| Characteristics | P10 | P25 | P50 | P75 | P90 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Men |  |  |  |  |  |
| All year-round full-time workers | 2.730 | 3.042 | 3.496 | 4.222 | 5.309 |
| Age 35-54 years. | 2.546 | 2.830 | 3.333 | 4.117 | 5.342 |
| Less than a high school education.. | 2.887 | 3.072 | 3.470 | 4.000 | 5.201 |
| High school graduate .. | 2.540 | 2.778 | 3.063 | 3.676 | 4.748 |
| Some college ............ | 2.471 | 2.714 | 3.107 | 3.750 | 4.700 |
| Bachelor's degree or more....................................... | 2.453 | 2.899 | 3.599 | 4.502 | 6.153 |
| Women |  |  |  |  |  |
| All year-round full-time workers .. | 2.547 | 2.769 | 3.172 | 3.820 | 4.619 |
| Age 35-54 years.................... | 2.506 | 2.736 | 3.128 | 3.784 | 4.835 |
| Less than a high school education. | 2.643 | 2.818 | 3.074 | 3.638 | 4.432 |
| High school graduate. | 2.466 | 2.632 | 2.959 | 3.344 | 4.091 |
| Some college ... | 2.381 | 2.576 | 2.986 | 3.541 | 4.333 |
| Bachelor's degree or more.................................. | 2.381 | 2.664 | 3.157 | 4.160 | 5.600 |

Note: Occupations listed are those with 10,000 or more yearround full-time workers, at least 1,000 male workers, and at least 1,000 female workers. Data are based on a sample. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and
definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/docs/sf3.pdf.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000.
even after controlling for work experience (to the extent it can be represented by age and presence of children), education, and occupation. Further, women have more similar earnings than men within the same occupation, controlling for age and education. Many reasons not studied here may help to explain the difference.

The starkest illustration of this general conclusion comes from a comparison of the median earnings of men and women (1) in the highest paid occupation for men and for women-physicians and surgeons-for those aged 35 to 54 with the highest level of education (a Bachelor's degree or more), and (2) for men and women in one of
the lowest paid occupations for each-dishwashers-for those aged 35 to 54 with the lowest level of education (less than a high school education). Overall, all female year-round full-time workers have median earnings of $\$ 28,000,74$ percent of comparable male median earnings. For physicians and surgeons aged 35 to 54 with a Bachelor's degree or more, this ratio is 69 percent; for dishwashers aged 35 to 54 with less than a high school education, this ratio is 87 percent. Thus, after taking account of age, education, and occupation, some differentials remain, although they are reduced somewhat in some occupations.

## NOTES

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${ }^{1}$ Carmen DeNavas-Walt, Bernadette D. Proctor, and Cheryl Hill Lee, Income in the United States: 2005 (U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Reports P60-231, August 2006). See http://www.census. gov/hhes/income/histinc/p36.html for the time series of estimates.
${ }^{2}$ Daniel H. Weinberg, Evidence from Census 2000 About Earnings by

Detailed Occupation for Men and Women (U.S. Census Bureau Census 2000 Special Report CENSR-15, May 2004).
${ }^{3}$ Year-round means an individual worked 50 or more weeks in 1999 (or is an elementary or secondary school teacher who worked 37 or more weeks), including paid vacations. Full-time means the individual worked 35 or more hours a week. If this limitation had not been imposed, occupations where part-time or part-year work is prevalent would have lower earnings and higher earnings dispersion simply because of the fewer hours worked by some each year, not because of variation within the occupation for comparably employed individuals. Workers in the Armed Forces are excluded.
${ }^{4}$ The estimates in this article are based on responses from a sample of 15.4 percent of the U.S. population ( $12,739,145$ observations of year-round full-time workers, with an average weight of 6.5). As with all surveys, estimates may vary from the actual values because of sam-
pling variation or other factors. All statements made in this article have undergone statistical testing including adjustments for multiple comparisons and are significant at the 90 -percent confidence level, unless otherwise noted. Differences that are not statistically different may still reflect "real" differences, especially as the width of confidence intervals depends on the size of the sample and the number of workers in an occupation; uncertainty remains in the magnitude and direction of the difference. To protect confidentiality, all earnings figures are reported to two significant digits only and the number of workers is rounded to the nearest 10 . All calculations of derived ratios and percentages are done using unrounded estimates. Standard errors and confidence intervals are not presented because they are often within rounding error. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf3.pdf.
${ }^{5}$ To make distinctions among occupations clearer, series of titles are separated by semicolons. For detailed information about each occupation, see Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, Standard Occupational Classification Manual: 2000 (Bernan Associates/National Technical Information Service, Washington, DC, October 2000).
${ }^{6}$ The earnings of the following occupations are not different from those of the others listed: podiatrists from all others listed except physicians and surgeons; engineering managers from optometrists and natural sciences managers; natural sciences managers from optometrists and petroleum engineers. Also, the median earnings of petroleum engineers and natural sciences managers are not different from those of actuaries. Podiatrists are the only medical specialty identified separately by Census 2000.
${ }^{7}$ The earnings of the following occupations are not statistically different from those of the others listed: hosts and hostesses, restaurant, lounge, and coffee shop from the other eight occupations; and teacher assistants, maids and housekeeping cleaners, dining room and cafeteria attendants and bartender helpers, and food preparation workers from one another.
${ }^{8}$ Some 15 percent of cashiers work in the accommodation and food services major industry group as well. The earnings of the following occupations are not statistically different from those of the others listed: food preparation and serving related workers, all other and hosts and hostesses, restaurant, lounge, and coffee shop from all occupations listed in this paragraph; waiters and waitresses and cooks from personal and home care aides.
${ }^{9}$ For further information on the possible sources of occupational differences in earnings between men and women, see Francine D. Blau, Marianne A. Ferber, and Anne E. Winkler, The Economics of Women, Men, and Work, 4th ed. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 2001).
${ }^{10}$ For a discussion of the relationship between earnings and choice of specialty, see S. G. Yoder, "The Influence of Economic Factors on Medical Students' Career Choices," Institute of Medicine, Medical Education and Societal Needs: A Planning Report for the Health Professions (Washington, DC, National Academy Press, July 1983).
${ }^{11}$ A number of other occupations have ratios not statistically different from 0.950 , including all those with ratios 0.920 to 0.949 , except one.
${ }^{12}$ The difference between 4.90 and 4.87 is, however, statistically significant.
${ }^{13}$ There is no mathematical relationship between the median and the measure of earnings dispersion used here.
${ }^{14}$ Because of sampling error, many of these P90/10 ratio estimates are not significantly different from one another or from other occupations not listed.
${ }^{15}$ The P90/10 ratio for securities, commodities, and financial services sales agents is not statistically different from that of animal breeders or health diagnosing and treating practitioners, all other. (No ratio for those listed as most dissimilar is different from that for animal breeders.)
${ }^{16}$ Research has shown that work experience affects earnings (see, for example, Orley C. Ashenfelter and David Card, Handbook of Labor Economics (Amsterdam, North-Holland/Elsevier, 1999); there is no measure of that on Census 2000. Age is a proxy for experience, but women who have given birth often spend some time out of the labor market. Fertility is not measured on Census 2000 either, so the presence of children aged 0-17 years at home is used as a proxy for fewer years of work experience. Of course, some women with children at home spent little time out of the labor market, and some without children at home might well have spent significant time out of the labor market, so the measure is imperfect, but suggestive.
${ }^{17}$ The overall P90/10 ratio for all year-round full-time workers aged 35 to 54 is 4.95 . The weighted average when this group is disaggregated by gender is 4.61 ( 4.60 if women are further subdivided into those with and without children at home), the ratio when disaggregated by gender and education is 3.91 , and the ratio when disaggregated by gender, education, and occupation is 3.47 .
${ }^{18}$ Men aged 35 to 54 with a Bachelor's degree or more have a higher level of earnings dispersion than other men aged 35 to 54, but a lower level of earnings dispersion than all men. The following combinations have P90/10 ratios that are not different from one another: women with less than a high school education, compared with women who are high school graduates or those with some college; women with no children at home with less than a high school education, compared with their counterparts with some college or a Bachelor's degree or more; women with children at home with less than a high school education, compared with their counterparts who are high school graduates or those with some college; and women with children at home who are high school graduates, compared with their counterparts with some college.
${ }^{19}$ Only the reduction for women with children at home with less than a high school education is not statistically significant.
${ }^{20}$ U.S. Government Accountability Office, "Women's Earnings: Work Patterns Partially Explain Difference Between Men's and Women's Earnings," GAO-04-35, October 2003, p. 2.

