

Work in the Postindustrial Economy of California

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IN RECENT YEARS AMERICANS HAVE WITNESSED IMPORTANT CHANGES in the nature of work.¹ The most striking of these is the ongoing shift from an economy based on manufacturing to one based on services. The state of California is in many ways on the leading edge of these changes. According to the 2001–2002 California Workforce Survey (CWS), which is the empirical basis of this chapter, only 13 percent of Californians work for companies in manufacturing.²

We have also seen striking changes in how work is organized. Scholars generally agree that from about 1950 until 1980, the American workplace operated under an implicit labor contract that granted core workers a certain degree of job and income security in exchange for allowing managers to control the firm (Osterman 1999; Harrison 1994). Firms rewarded workers' loyalty with steady benefits and cost-of-living wage increases. During the 1970s slow economic growth, relatively high unemployment, and high inflation combined to produce a severe economic crisis in the United States. Scholars and policymakers began to argue that a weakening of market forces in product and labor markets was at least partly at the root of the downturn. The basic public policy implication was that market deregulation would increase efficiency and stimulate economic growth. This view held sway and led to the deregulation of the trucking and airline industries. Later, the government deregulated the financial services, banking, telecommunications, and health care industries as well. The Reagan administration also challenged labor unions directly by decertifying the air traffic controllers' union in 1981.

This view of the cause of the economic crisis won out more generally in corporate America during the 1980s. The scholarly literature shows that the largest corporations began to embrace the idea that the central purpose of the firm was to maximize shareholder value, even at the expense of other stakeholders in the firm, namely, workers, communities, and oddly, customers (Fligstein 2001; Friedman 1985; Appelbaum and

1. We would like to thank Ruth Milkman, Tom Piazza, and Margaret Weir for their comments on an earlier draft.
2. The 2001 Current Population Survey also reports that 13 percent of the California workforce is employed in manufacturing. For a more complete comparison of the survey with the CPS and the 2000 U.S. Census, see Piazza, Fligstein, and Weir (this volume).

Berg 1996). For employees the resulting corporate reorganizations often entailed downsizing, layoffs, and cuts in benefits. Many firms also abandoned their American manufacturing plants by either getting out of manufacturing altogether or moving their production facilities offshore (Harrison and Bluestone 1988).

An important side effect of these changes was an increase in income inequality. Numerous scholars have documented the fact that less skilled workers have fared particularly poorly in this new economy (Freeman 1997; Blackburn, Bloom, and Freeman 1990; Farber 1997). The number of workers who are members of unions has also declined. Only 18 percent of the workers responding to the CWS were unionized, and many of them were in the public sector. Only 12 percent of the respondents working in the private sector were unionized.

One of the most interesting issues raised in recent commentary is how these changes have affected different types of workers. Some scholars (Bernhardt et al. 2001; Pfeffer and Baron 1988) have argued that all workers, regardless of skill level, have fared worse in the shareholder-value era. Schor (1992, 1998) found that all types of workers have taken on more work hours, partly to meet the demands of their employers, but also to make more money to consume more goods and services. Other scholars have claimed that the new postindustrial economy has generously rewarded workers who possess scarce skills, and that the growing income inequality stems more from rising incomes among the most highly skilled workers than from falling wages among the less skilled (Katz and Murphy 1992; Levy and Murnane 1992). Osterman (1999) has argued that both have happened. But as Blair and Kochan (2000) have asserted, the economy may be providing inordinately good opportunities for those at the top of the occupational hierarchy and fewer opportunities for those at the bottom.

It is this last hypothesis that we explore in this chapter. Using the new estimates available in the CWS, we find that there are good opportunities for income and satisfying work at the top of the occupational and skill distributions but few such opportunities at the bottom. Managers and professionals in California are doing extraordinarily well when it comes to opportunities to earn income. But they are also facing new challenges in their jobs. Many of them report working long hours and being tied to their cell phones and pagers after hours. Most managers and professionals like their work and workplaces, but many are also having difficulties finding time for both work and family. Some also report being under pressure to work long hours because of tight deadlines and not having enough time to do all their work.

In contrast, clerical, sales, service, and blue-collar workers make much less money but actually work fewer hours than their more skilled counterparts. In fact, many of them wish they could have more hours of work to make more money. They are also less likely to have benefits on the job and are more fearful of layoffs. The main exception to this is unionized workers, who, as we shall show, have higher pay, more benefits, and greater job security.

Occupations and rewards in the California economy vary with gender, race, ethnicity, and nativity. Native-born Anglos top the income, education, and occupa-

tional hierarchies. African Americans have education levels similar to Anglos', but they are less apt to work in managerial or professional occupations, and they make less income. U.S.-born Latinos have lesser educations than African Americans and Anglos, lower level jobs, and less income. Foreign-born Latinos are at the bottom of the educational, occupational, and income hierarchies. Asian immigrants, on the other hand, have high levels of schooling, occupations, and income. Native-born Asian respondents have high education levels but lower incomes and somewhat lower occupations than Anglos. Women continue to be segregated in a few occupations and tend to work fewer hours and earn less money.

Indeed, the survey data offer a fascinating perspective on the postindustrial economy. For those with managerial and professional jobs, the economy is providing unprecedented opportunities to make a living. But it is also pressuring those same people to work harder for more hours and to be on call 24 hours a day, seven days a week. For those with fewer skills, the economy offers jobs with less income, fewer benefits, and fewer opportunities. Many of these lower level jobs are going to recent immigrants who have limited education. Although the jobs may be better than the alternatives the immigrants had in their home countries, the combination of declining wages and a rising cost of living is making it harder for them to make ends meet. The one thing that does improve the working conditions of clerical, sales, service, and blue-collar workers, is unionization. Our findings indicate that workers in unions, even outside of the government, have higher incomes, more benefits, and greater job security than their nonunion counterparts do.

A PORTRAIT OF CALIFORNIA WORKERS

The CWS was designed to assess current work conditions in California. It yielded data from 1,255 respondents, who participated in telephone interviews for the survey between July 10, 2001 and January 27, 2002. Of the full sample, 911 were working at the time of their interview. This subsample of employed respondents forms the basis for our analysis in this chapter.³

Earnings, Education, and Workweeks

California workers in the survey had a mean income of \$37,689 a year. Income varied considerably across sociodemographic groups, however. Men averaged \$43,299, while women earned substantially less, averaging \$31,605. This difference is statistically significant.⁴ Part of the gender gap is due to differences in hours worked. Women worked 6.5 fewer hours per week than men did, on average, a statistically significant

3. For more details on the survey and its methodology, see Piazza, Fligstein, and Weir (this volume).

4. We use two types of significance tests, depending on the type of comparison that we are making. We use a t-test if we want to compare the mean level of a variable across two groups. For

difference. If one breaks down yearly earnings by hours of work, the largest discrepancy between men and women appears among part-time workers. Whereas the earnings of men and women who worked full-time exhibit a smaller gap, men who worked part-time earned 25 percent more than women part-timers did.

There are also striking racial and ethnic differences in earnings, as Figure 3.1 shows. Anglos and foreign-born Asian workers earned the most, followed by U.S.-born Asians, African Americans, and U.S.-born Latinos, with foreign-born Latinos at the bottom. The U.S.-born Latino workers surveyed had average annual earnings of \$31,441, while foreign-born Latino workers averaged only \$19,037, less than half the average for Anglos, \$45,726 a year. Although the lower earnings of Latino workers was partly due to their lower average number of years of schooling (Figure 3.2), the estimates also suggest that immigration status had important effects on earnings. Asian workers (both foreign- and U.S.-born) tended to have high levels of schooling, and they earned nearly as much as U.S.-born Anglos.⁵ African Americans had relatively high levels of schooling and relatively low levels of income (\$39,940). The income differences among Anglos, African Americans, and Latinos are statistically significant.

Not surprisingly, because of their lower earnings, foreign-born Latino respondents reported having much more trouble paying their monthly bills than any other group (not shown here). When asked whether they had a problem paying their rent or mortgage in the past year, 57 percent of these workers reported having a “very serious” or “moderately serious” problem, whereas the comparable figure for Anglos is only 12 percent, a statistically significant difference.

As shown in Figure 3.2, California’s working adults had 13.4 years of schooling, on average, which means that most of them had obtained at least some postsecondary education. Men and women had almost the same amount of schooling. These are statistically significant findings. Dramatic differences in schooling, however, existed among the various racial and ethnic groups and between native and foreign-born workers. Anglos and African Americans averaged 14 years of schooling (implying at least two years of college). Latinos born in this country averaged 13 years of schooling, whereas Latinos born outside our borders averaged only 10 years of school. Asians, both U.S.- and foreign-born, averaged 15 years of school, the highest level of all the groups.

Respondents averaged 42 hours of work a week (not shown). The biggest demographic difference in work hours was between men and women (differences among

example, if we want to know if the average number of years of school differs between men and women, we use the t-test. If we want to compare whether or not the distribution of a variable across two groups is different, we use a chi-square test. For example, we would use the chi-square test to see if occupational distribution of men and women is different. A statistically significant result suggests that the two means or the two distributions are different. We use the .05 level of probability to ascertain the statistical significance of the various differences. The .05 level is the conventional level to determine statistical significance.

5. The sample size for the Asian group is small, so that income estimates for them (although generally consistent with other available data) may not be reliable.

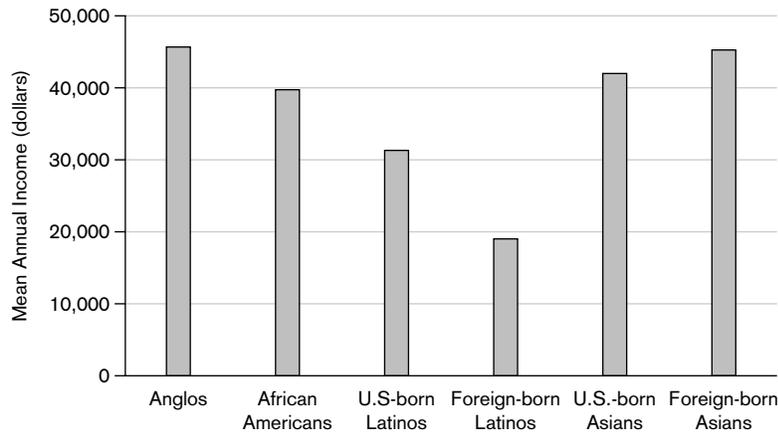


FIGURE 3.1 Respondents' Mean Annual Income, by Race, Ethnicity, and Nativity

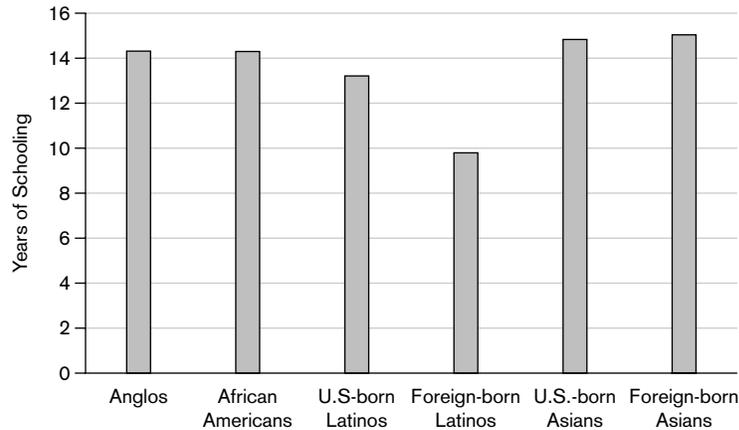


FIGURE 3.2 Respondents' Mean Number of Years of Schooling, by Race, Ethnicity, and Nativity

types of occupations are discussed later). Women's weekly hours worked averaged about seven hours less than men's. There were only slight differences, however, in weekly hours worked among racial, ethnic, and nativity groups.

Occupations and Workplaces

Californians worked predominantly in government and nonmanufacturing private sector jobs. The vast majority worked outside manufacturing: Only 9 percent were service and blue-collar workers in manufacturing (not shown). Within the full subsample, 8 percent were managers, 26 percent were professionals, 25 percent

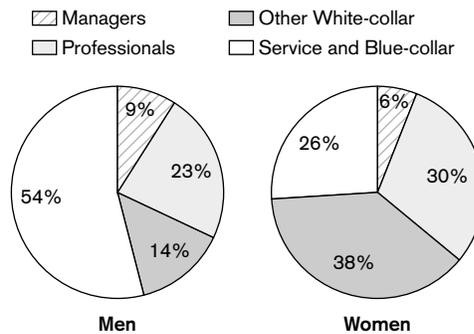


FIGURE 3.3 Occupational Distribution of Respondents, by Gender

were other white-collar workers, and 41 percent were service and blue-collar workers.⁶

There were important differences in the types of jobs that various kinds of workers held. Men were more likely than women to be managers and service and blue-collar workers, while women were more likely to be professionals and other white-collar workers (see Figure 3.3). This reflects the persistence of sex segregation in occupations (see Reskin and Roos 1990). A large percentage of the women professionals were school teachers. Women also held a large share of clerical and sales jobs. These differences are statistically significant.

Figure 3.4 breaks down our four types of occupations by race, ethnicity, and nativity. African Americans were less likely to be managers and professionals than Anglos and were more highly represented in the other white-collar and service and blue-collar categories. Their lower earnings reported above reflect their occupational placement. U.S.-born Latino respondents were most highly represented in the other white-collar and service and blue-collar occupations, whereas 79 percent of foreign-born Latino respondents had jobs in service and blue-collar occupations. Latinos' overwhelming concentration in these poorly paid occupations is reflected in their low annual earnings. Foreign-born Asian workers were similar to Anglos in their occupational distribution, except for being a little more prevalent in the service and blue-collar category and a little less prevalent in the other white-collar category. U.S.-born Asian workers are more likely to be other white-collar and less likely to be service and blue-collar than their Anglo counterparts are. All of these groups had occupational distributions that are statistically significantly different from that of Anglos.

We have already noted that the California workers in the survey tended to work in nonmanufacturing settings. Almost three-fourths of our respondents (73 percent)

6. See the Appendix for details on how we recoded major occupational groups to create four categories for types of occupations: managers, professionals, other white-collar workers (mainly clerical and sales workers) and service and blue-collar workers.

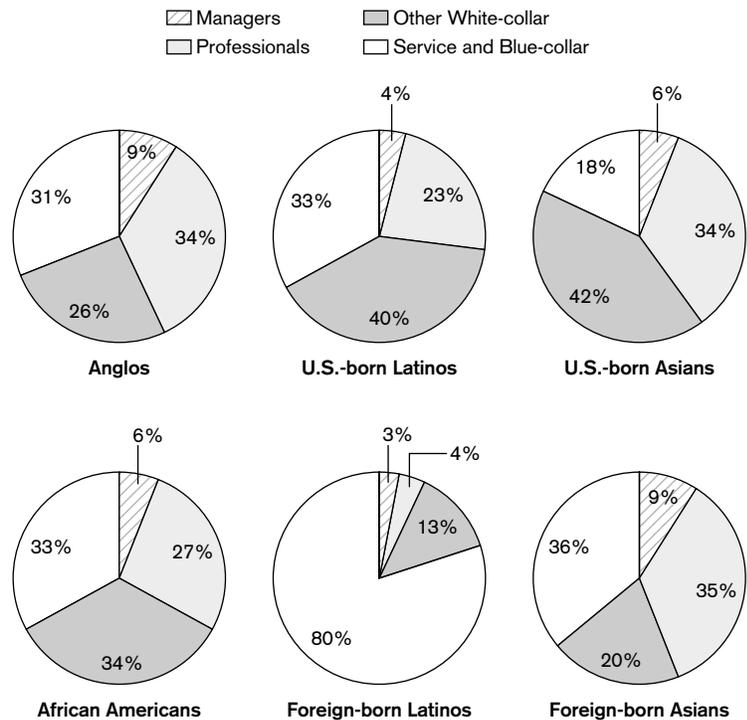


FIGURE 3.4 Occupational Distribution of Respondents, by Race, Ethnicity, and Nativity

worked for private sector firms. Another fifth worked for the government, and the remaining 8 percent worked for nonprofits. Of the 73 percent who worked for private firms, 45 percent (or 32 percent of all respondents in the subsample) worked for publicly listed corporations (that is, corporations listed on stock exchanges).

Figures 3.5a and 3.5b present data on the size of our respondents' workplaces and larger organizations. A large percentage worked in relatively small offices, shops, or factories: 15 percent were employed in workplaces with fewer than 10 workers, and almost half were in workplaces with 50 or fewer workers. Only 10 percent worked at sites with more than 1,000 employees. On the other hand, nearly two-thirds (65 percent) of our subsample reported that their workplace is a branch of a larger firm or organization: 59 percent of those employed by private firms, and 90 percent of those who worked for government were part of a larger organization. A huge percentage of these workers worked for very large organizations: 71 percent of those who report that their organization is part of a larger entity also reported that their organization employed more than 1,000 people. Overall, nearly half (46 percent) of the employed respondents worked in organizations with more than 1,000 employees.

In sum, most of the subsample of working respondents worked in the private sec-

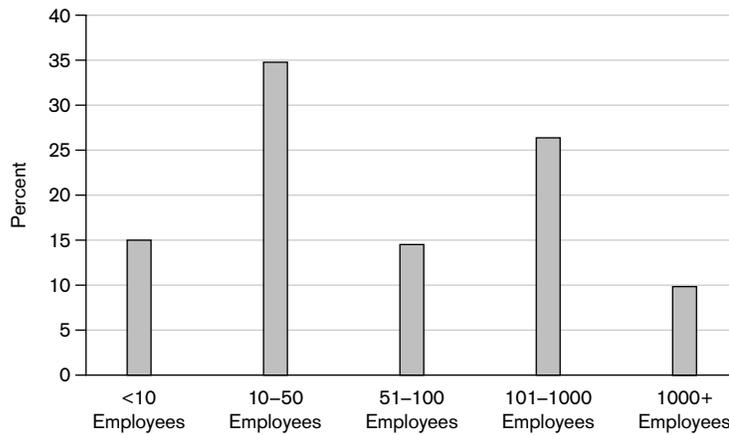


FIGURE 3.5A Respondents' Workplaces, by Number of Employees

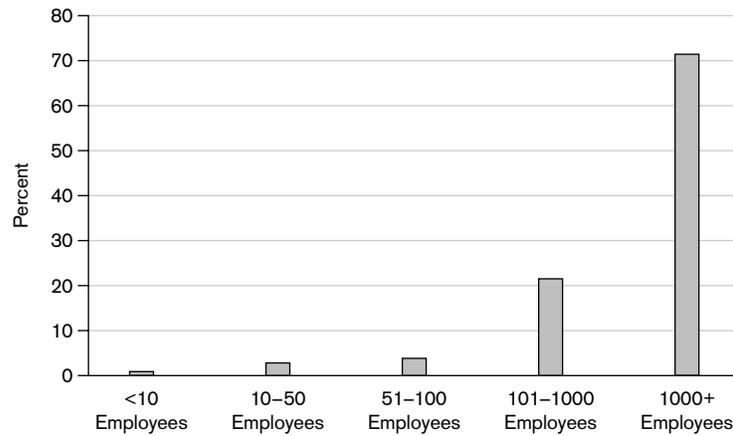


FIGURE 3.5B Respondents' Organizations, by Number of Employees, for Those Whose Workplace Was Part of a Larger Organization

tor. Over 30 percent worked for a publicly listed corporation. And although a majority worked in job sites with 50 or fewer people, almost two-thirds worked for organizations that are part of a larger corporate, organizational, or governmental entity. About 40 percent of the private sector workers worked in firms with more than 1,000 people. Thus, although California workplaces tend to be small, they are also often part of larger organizations.

Benefits

Fringe benefits, working conditions, and job opportunities and security were also among the topics the CWS examined. Here, we begin by looking at the benefits re-

TABLE 3.1 Selected Benefits Received by Respondents, by Occupational Group

<i>Benefit Reported Received</i>	<i>Total Sample</i>	<i>Managers</i>	<i>Professionals</i>	<i>Other White-Collar Workers</i>	<i>Service & Blue-Collar Workers</i>
Medical Insurance	79.9%	94.0%	91.3%	77.1%	71.1%
Retirement Plan	70.2%	90.2%	87.1%	66.2%	57.8%
Paid Sick Leave	70.7%	85.9%	88.8%	72.8%	54.5%
Paid Vacation	75.9%	93.9%	85.9%	76.1%	65.9%
Profit Sharing	34.6%	50.3%	46.7%	37.2%	24.4%

SURVEY QUESTION: Now I'd like to ask you about benefits. Which of the following fringe benefits does your [main] employer make available to you, even though you may have to pay some portion?

spondents reported receiving, as summarized in Table 3.1. Over 70 percent of respondents received medical insurance, a retirement plan, paid sick leave, and paid vacation at work. Only 35 percent participated in some form of profit sharing.

Benefits were not evenly distributed across occupational groups. Managers tended to receive the most benefits, followed by professionals, other white-collar workers, and service and blue-collar workers. Managers and professionals did not have any statistically significant differences in benefits. On the other hand, all of the differences between managers and other white-collar and service and blue-collar workers are statistically significant. Whereas 94 percent of managers had medical insurance, only 71 percent of service and blue-collar workers did. Fully 90 percent of managers had a retirement plan at work, while only 58 percent of service and blue-collar workers did. Fifty percent of managers participated in some form of profit sharing, while only 24 percent of service and blue-collar workers had obtained this benefit. Even starker than these occupational differences is the effect of working part-time: Only 52 percent of part-time workers received medical insurance, and a mere 44 percent had a retirement plan (not shown). These estimates are statistically significant as well.

These results are consistent with national data showing that firms tend to provide more generous benefits to managers and professionals than they do to other workers (Hamermesh 1999). The differences in benefits are particularly troubling in light of the uneven distributions of jobs across gender, racial and ethnic, and citizen versus noncitizen groups. The upshot is that women, African Americans, Latinos, and noncitizens and foreign-born citizens not only make less money than other American workers do, but they also receive fewer benefits at work. They are less likely to have health insurance and pensions. Indeed, differences in income are only one form of inequality that exists among workers in California. As our estimates show, there are substantial differences in access to health care, retirement security, and other benefits as well.

Hours of Work and Overtime

As we pointed out earlier, on the whole, managers and professionals are doing quite well in the postindustrial economy. The earnings and benefits data confirm this view. But managers and professionals are also more likely to be feeling pressured because of long workweeks and after-hours obligations to their workplace. Ironically, at the same time, other white-collar workers, as well as service and blue-collar workers, are experiencing a dearth in hours of work.

Among survey respondents, 88 percent of managers, 70 percent of professionals, 42 percent of other white-collar workers, and 21 percent of service and blue-collar workers are salaried for part or all of their income (not shown). Most managers and professionals do not receive extra pay for overtime, whereas most other white-collar and service and blue-collar workers do. Figure 3.6a displays average weekly hours across the four types of occupations. Managers put in the longest hours, 51 a week, followed by professionals with 44, service and blue-collar workers with 41, and finally other white-collar workers who work an average 38 hours a week. These differences are statistically significant.

The work-hour differences across occupations can also be seen in the answers to the question “How often do you work overtime or extra hours beyond 8 hours per day or 40 hours per week (at your main job)?” Overall, 43 percent of respondents reported that they “usually” do, while 30 percent reported they “sometimes” do and only 27 percent reported that they “never” do. Although these answers suggest that a huge proportion (73 percent) of working Californians work overtime at least some of the time, there are large statistically significant differences by occupational categories. Whereas 80 percent of managers and 53 percent of professionals reported that they usually work overtime (Figure 3.6b), only 26 percent of other white-collar workers and 40 percent of service and blue-collar workers did. Thus, while managers and professionals were earning the most money, they were also putting in the longest hours.

There are some interesting gender differences here. Only 23 percent of the women in the subsample reported working more than 40 hours a week in the past week, whereas 48 percent of the men reported overtime in the past week. This difference is even more dramatic across occupational groups. While 84 percent of male managers reported working overtime, only 61 percent of female managers did. Among professionals the difference was 59 percent for men and 37 percent for women. Among other white-collar workers the difference widened to 47 percent for men and 10 percent for women. Finally, among service and blue-collar workers, the gap was 37 percent for men and 15 percent for women. All of these differences (not shown here) are statistically significant.

Women were also much more likely to work part-time than their male counterparts, particularly in other white-collar and service and blue-collar jobs. In the serv-

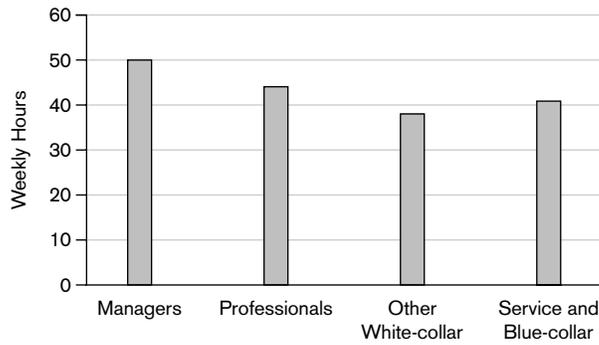


FIGURE 3.6A Respondents' Mean Number of Hours Worked Weekly, by Occupational Group

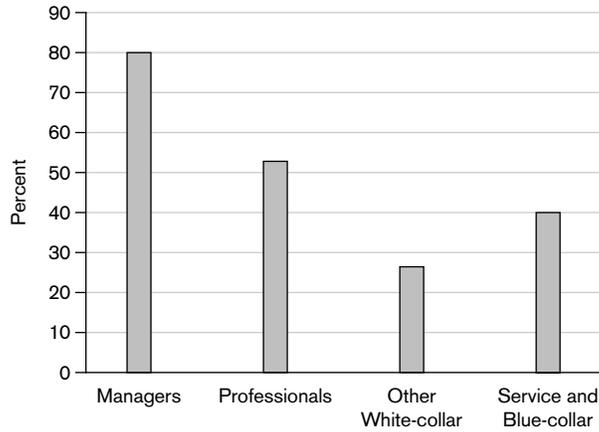


FIGURE 3.6B Respondents Who Said They "Usually Work Overtime," by Occupational Group

ice and blue-collar category, 42.5 percent of the women worked part-time, compared to just 16.8 percent of men. Women were likely balancing work and family responsibilities by working fewer hours, no matter what their occupation. They were also more apt to have part-time jobs that paid hourly rather than jobs that were salaried (not shown here).

When respondents were asked if they were given enough time to do the work assigned to them, a large majority, 83 percent, report that they were, but the figure is lower for managers and professionals than for other white-collar or service and blue-collar workers. Further evidence of the greater time pressures experienced by managers and professionals lies in their answers to a question regarding whether their jobs involve tight deadlines. Whereas 60 percent of managers and 67 percent of professionals reported having tight deadlines, 51 percent of other white-collar workers and 46 percent of service and blue-collar workers did. These differences are statistically

significant. These findings suggest that managers and professionals were “usually” working overtime at least in part because they were facing tight deadlines and did not have enough time to complete their work.

One of the most interesting questions in the survey concerns the use of pagers and cell phones for work. One defining characteristic of the “new economy” is the telecommunications revolution of the past decade, which has made it possible for people to be more closely wired into their workplaces. The CWS provides evidence that these new telecommunications devices have, to an astounding degree, spread across the world of work. More than a third of respondents (38 percent) reported using cell phones or pagers on the job. As Figure 3.7 shows, managers were the most likely, at 65 percent, to use cell phones or pagers. Many other workers also used cell phones and pagers at work: 44 percent of professionals, 27 percent of clerical workers, and 35 percent of service and blue-collar workers. These differences are statistically significant. Respondents also reported on their use of cell phones or pagers to keep in touch with work after working hours. An astonishing 88 percent of managers who had cell phones or pagers reported they used them for work-related purposes after hours, while 68 percent of professionals, 57 percent of other white-collar workers, and 62 percent of service and blue-collar workers did. The difference between managers and everyone else on this question is statistically significant. These results confirm the view that in the new economy workers are using telecommunications devices extensively to keep in touch with their offices and clientele, not only during working hours but after hours as well. The idea that people are on call for work 24/7 (24 hours a day and seven days a week) is not an exaggeration, particularly for managers.

Among our respondents only 30 percent were able to set their own hours of work (not shown). Not surprisingly, managers had the most discretion over work hours (49 percent), and service and blue-collar workers, the least (21 percent), a statistically significant difference. When asked who determines if a respondent works overtime, 61 percent said they determine overtime, while 35 percent said their boss does and 4 percent say both do. (This is probably because even if the boss wants a person to work overtime, workers often have the formal discretion to turn such hours down.) This result also varies greatly by occupational position: 76 percent of managers and 81 percent of professionals reported determining their overtime hours, while 61 percent of other white-collar workers and 42 percent of service and blue-collar workers had this discretion. The differences between managers and professionals and everyone else are statistically significant.

Another indicator of the degree to which people feel overworked is the question “If you could, would you work more hours for more pay, the same hours for the same pay, or fewer hours for less pay.” Overall, 32 percent of respondents reported they would work more hours, while 50 percent said they would work the same hours and only 8 percent said they would work fewer hours. The breakdown of this variable across occupational groups is quite revealing. Figure 3.8 shows that only 17 percent of managers and 18 percent of professionals said that they would like to work

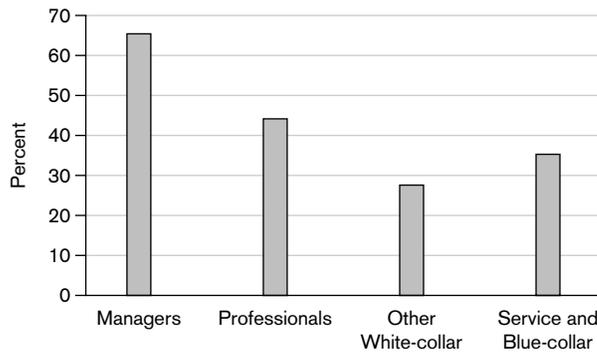


FIGURE 3.7A Respondents Who Used a Pager or Cell Phone at Work, by Occupational Group

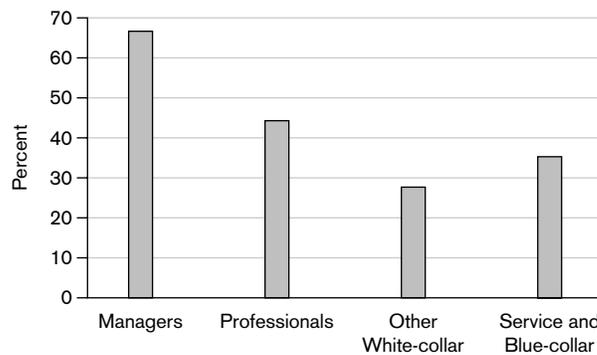


FIGURE 3.7B Respondents Who Used a Pager or Cell Phone after Work for Work-Related Purposes, by Occupational Group

more hours for more pay, while 32 percent of other white-collar workers and 44 percent of service and blue-collar workers wanted more work. The differences between managers and professionals and everyone else are statistically significant. These estimates suggest that although a substantial percentage of other white-collar and service and blue-collar workers are not working enough hours, most managers and professionals are at their limit. Conversely, about twice as many managers and professionals wish they could work fewer hours for less pay than service and blue-collar workers (11 to 12 percent versus 6 to 7 percent).

Not surprisingly, managers and professionals were also more likely than the other groups to report having difficulties finding time for both work and family (not shown). Among our respondents, 44 percent of managers and 41 percent of professionals reported having a problem balancing work and family, compared to 34 percent of other white-collar workers and 37 percent of service and blue-collar workers. The gap between managers and professionals and everyone else was statistically significant.

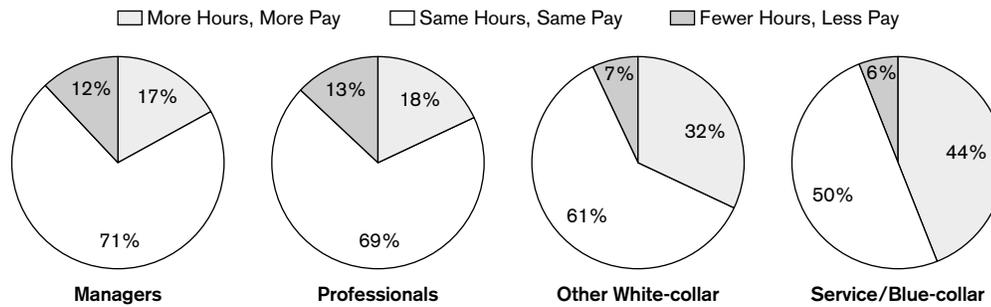


FIGURE 3.8 Respondents Willing to Work More Hours, the Same Hours, or Fewer Hours (for Commensurate Pay), by Occupational Group

There were gender differences here as well. Contrary to the conventional wisdom, women were generally happier than men with their current hours: 64 percent of women reported that they were happy with their hours of work, compared to 55 percent of men (these differences are statistically significant). 37 percent of men and only 27 percent of women wanted longer hours for more money. Still, more women (40 percent) than men (35 percent) reported that balancing work and family was a problem. Managers perceived greater difficulties: 49 percent of women reported difficulties finding time for work and family, as opposed to 42 percent of men. Similar gender differences appear across the occupational distribution. Overall, women were less likely to be working overtime than men and had shorter workweeks than men, but they were more likely to feel pressures in balancing home and work.

It is interesting to consider why people work long hours. Table 3.2 presents respondents' views of the importance of various reasons for working overtime. Respondents were given a series of possible reasons why they might work overtime and were asked whether the reason was important in their decision to work overtime. Thus, respondents could have more than one reason why they work overtime. In the overall sample, 48 percent reported that they work overtime because they are required to; 47 percent reported that it is because they are unofficially expected to; 81 percent reported that it is because they enjoy the work; and 71 percent reported that it is because they enjoy their workplace and co-workers. These results suggest that the vast majority of California workers value the intrinsic character of their work and the opportunity to be with their colleagues in the workplace. This finding supports Hochschild's (1997) thesis in her study of white-collar workers in a large firm, which showed that some workers actually prefer work life to home life.

The table displays some interesting differences in the reasons the four occupational groups gave for why they work overtime. Service and blue-collar workers were the most likely to report that they are required to work overtime (58 percent), while about 40 percent of the other three groups reported that overtime was required (a statistically significant difference). Service and blue-collar workers were also more

TABLE 3.2 Respondents' Reasons for Working Overtime, by Occupational Group

<i>Reported Reason for Working Overtime as "very important" or "somewhat important"</i>	<i>Total Sample</i>	<i>Managers</i>	<i>Professionals</i>	<i>Other White-Collar Workers</i>	<i>Service & Blue-Collar Workers</i>
Required to	47.7%	40.2%	39.1%	43.9%	58.2%
Unofficially Expected to	46.7%	41.8%	46.5%	40.6%	51.0%
Enjoy the Work	81.0%	80.0%	85.2%	71.4%	72.6%
Enjoy Workplace or Being with Co-workers	70.8%	80.0%	67.5%	64.3%	63.3%

SURVEY QUESTIONS:

"I'm going to read some reasons why people sometimes work extra hours at their job. Please tell me how important each of the following is in determining whether you work overtime or extra hours at your [main] job?"

"How about because long hours are REQUIRED by your supervisor or company? Is this reason very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?"

"How about because long hours are UNOFFICIALLY EXPECTED by your supervisor or company?"

"(How about because) you ENJOY THE WORK that you do?"

"(How about because) you ENJOY YOUR WORK PLACE OR BEING WITH YOUR CO-WORKERS on the job?"

likely to report that they are unofficially expected to work overtime. This finding reinforces our earlier discussion regarding the high degree of discretion workers report having over working overtime. Although workers can choose not to work overtime, many—especially service and blue-collar workers— may believe that they are unofficially expected to do so.

Managers and professionals were more likely than the other two groups to work overtime because they "enjoy the work," at 80 percent and 85 percent, respectively. They were also more apt to cite enjoying their workplace and co-workers as their reason for working overtime, at 80 percent and 67 percent. The two lower level occupational groups were significantly less likely to cite these intrinsic qualities of their jobs, with just over 70 percent of both groups citing enjoyment of their work and just under 65 percent citing enjoyment of their workplace and co-workers. Thus, while managers and professionals are less likely to report being required or expected to work overtime, they do feel pressured, as previously discussed, by tight deadlines and limited time to get their work done. In other words, their enjoyable jobs come at the price of remaining connected to the workplace around the clock, and they often experience difficulties finding time for both work and family.

Hours of Work and Earnings

Figure 3.9 presents evidence on the distribution of financial rewards across the four types of occupations among workers with different workweeks. We use three cate-

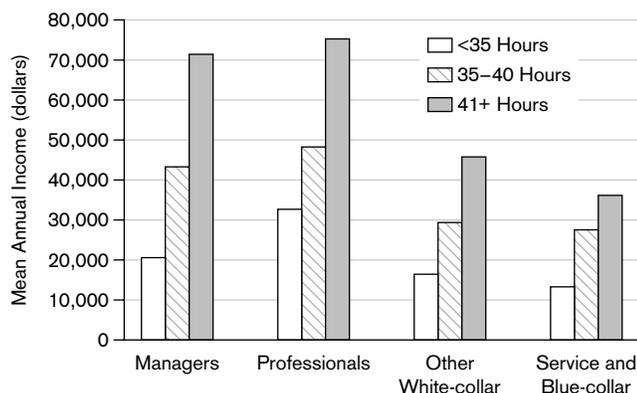


FIGURE 3.9 Respondents' Mean Annual Income, by Type of Occupation and Number of Hours Worked

gories of hours worked per week: fewer than 35 (part-time work), 35 to 40 (full-time work), and over 40 (overtime). Hours of work has a large and direct relationship to yearly earnings. Part-time workers in the subsample earned substantially less than full-time workers did. But interestingly, full-time workers in all four types of occupations display less variation than do the workers in the overtime category. Indeed, the most salient finding in Figure 3.9 is the degree to which overtime work affected the earnings of managers and professionals. Managers who worked more than 40 hours a week made an average of \$71,063, whereas their counterparts who worked a 35- to 40-hour week earned only \$42,998, on average. Similarly, while professionals who worked overtime made \$75,446 annually, on average, their counterparts with a 35- to 40-hour workweek had earnings of only \$47,860 annually. As we saw in Figure 3.6, managers and professionals in the subsample were much more likely to work overtime than were other white-collar workers or service and blue-collar workers.

Managers and professionals are less likely to be paid directly for their extra hours of work because they are salaried employees. But the findings here suggest that remuneration for long hours is built into their salaries. In short, managers and professionals both work long hours and receive sizable financial rewards for doing so. Another interesting finding in Figure 3.9 is that service and blue-collar workers who worked overtime did not appear to benefit as much from doing so, in terms of their proportionately higher yearly earnings, as did managers and professionals. For each of the other three types of occupations, the annual income differential between those who worked overtime and those who worked only "full-time" was over 50 percent: specifically, 65 percent for managers, 57 percent for professionals, and 55 percent for other white-collar workers. For service and blue-collar workers the overtime/full-time earnings differential was only 31 percent. These differences are statistically significant.

Working full-time or overtime is also one of the main sources of the income gap between men and women. As we have seen, women had higher rates of part-time

employment across the occupational spectrum, and at the top of the spectrum they were less likely to work overtime than men were. Nevertheless, there are still gaps between male and female pay rates even if we control for hours of work. For example, male managers in the survey subsample who worked full-time averaged \$45,726 annually, but their female full-time counterparts averaged only \$37,708. Women who worked overtime, though, did substantially close the gender gap in earnings. Among those in the subsample who worked more than 40 hours a week, the men averaged \$57,006 a year, while women averaged \$55,851.

It is useful to step back and synthesize these results. Managers and professionals work long hours and also report that they “usually” work overtime. They are likely to do so both because they enjoy the work and the workplace, and because they are subject to tight deadlines. Although they are highly paid for their long workweeks, managers and professionals are also more likely to be closely tied to their work with cell phones and pagers and more apt to report having trouble finding time for both work and family. Despite their high rewards, they are at their limit in terms of work hours. Workers in the other white-collar and service and blue-collar occupations also enjoy work and the workplace and many choose to work overtime as a result. But they also have less discretion over working overtime and report more formal and informal pressure to do so. They are also more likely than managers and professionals to report that they do not have *enough* hours of work. Service and blue-collar workers who do work overtime receive less remuneration for it than workers in the other three types of occupations. Finally, women are more apt to work part-time than men and less likely to work overtime. Their shorter workweek, on average, is one of the main sources of the gender gap in incomes. And despite their shorter workweek, women report more conflict between work and family than men do, which suggests that the traditional household division of labor still places a heavier burden on women than on men.

This picture broadly supports the view that there has been a bifurcation of work in the postindustrial economy. The “haves”—managers and professionals—have long work hours and receive high levels of compensation in doing so, while the “have less” workers wish they had more working hours and are paid proportionately much less when they do work longer than a “full-time” workweek. Although those who work overtime in both sets of occupations do so partly because they enjoy their work, workplaces, and co-workers, there are significant differences between the two in the types and extent of pressures they face. Managers and professionals are more apt to complain of tight deadlines and difficulties balancing work and family, while the other white-collar and service and blue-collar groups report less discretion over work hours and overtime and more pressure from the boss to work overtime.

Job Opportunities, Security, and Satisfaction

We also explored the opportunities and insecurities workers report at work. Table 3.3 presents workers’ responses to some of the survey questions on a workplace opportu-

TABLE 3.3. Respondents' Job Opportunities and Satisfaction, by Occupational Group

<i>Reported Job Opportunities and Satisfaction</i>	<i>Total Sample</i>	PERCENTAGE RESPONDING "YES"			
		<i>Managers</i>	<i>Professionals</i>	<i>Other White-Collar Workers</i>	<i>Service & Blue-Collar Workers</i>
Have Been Promoted at Current Job	49.6%	65.8%	56.2%	47.0%	44.0%
Expect Promotion in the Future	25.7%	41.1%	30.7%	23.6%	21.0%
Have Received Pay Raise	76.1%	80.3%	82.6%	68.6%	75.7%
Very or Somewhat Satisfied with Job	47.9%	57.9%	52.0%	45.6%	45.0%

SURVEY QUESTIONS:

Since you first started working for this employer, were you ever promoted to a higher level job with more authority or responsibility, or are you still at the same job level where you started?

IF NEVER PROMOTED IN PAST:

If you had to guess, what would you say are the chances that you'll be promoted to a higher level job?

IF HAS EVER BEEN PROMOTED IN PAST:

If you had to guess, what would you say are the chances that you'll be promoted again to a higher level job? Would you say it is very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not likely at all?

[Again, still thinking about your present main job,] since you first started working for [your present/that] employer, have you ever received a pay raise?

All in all, how satisfied would you say you are with your present [main] job? Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

nities and job satisfaction. Just under half of the subsample reported having received a promotion from their current primary employer, and 26 percent expected a promotion in the future. Just over three-fourths of respondents reported having received a pay raise from their current employer. The question "How satisfied would you say are you with your present (main) job?" measured job satisfaction. Overall, almost half of the respondents (48 percent) reported being very satisfied with their jobs. Taken together, the answers to these questions suggest that many California workers have experienced opportunities for promotion and pay raises in their current jobs. That over 25 percent reported that they expect to receive a promotion in the future also suggests that workers at least believe they have good opportunities with their current employer.

When we break these results out for the four types of occupations, we get some interesting results. Two-thirds of managers and 56 percent of professionals reported having had a promotion in their current workplace, while only 47 percent of other white-collar workers and 44 percent of service and blue-collar workers reported a promotion. This difference between the managers and professionals and the other workers is statistically significant. A similar pattern appears regarding expectations of a promotion in the

next 12 months; managers and professionals appear to have had more opportunities for promotion in their workplace and thus are more apt to anticipate opportunities in the future. The percentage reporting a pay raise in their current workplace is high for all groups. Still, managers and professionals were more likely to have received a raise.

Finally, managers were the most likely group (at 58 percent) to report being very satisfied with their job, while other white-collar and service and blue-collar were the least likely to do so (at about 45 percent each). The fact that 48 percent of all the respondents reported a high level of satisfaction with their work is not surprising. The literature shows that American workers generally do report high levels of job satisfaction (see Lincoln and Kalleberg 1990). This is partly due to the American tendency to believe that individuals are in control of their own economic destiny, regardless of their actual career mobility. In this cultural context workers may be more likely to present themselves as satisfied with their jobs because they believe a lack of satisfaction might reflect a personal failure to take responsibility for finding a job more to their liking. This tendency may also partly account for the high numbers of workers who reported that they work overtime because they enjoy their work and the workplace.

The period during which the telephone interviews took place (again, in the second half of 2001 and the first month of 2002) was part of a national recession. Californians were witnessing relatively high unemployment (see Pastor and Zabin, this volume) and a great deal of economic uncertainty. We therefore also explored how those economic conditions were affecting workers' sense of security.

The average number of years respondents had worked for their current employer was 6.7 years. Fourteen percent of respondents reported having been laid off in the past three years. Nineteen percent feared they might be laid off in the next 12 months. The recession in California had almost a fifth of the subsample worried about their jobs. In answering the question "How easy do you think it would be to find a job with another employer with approximately the same income and fringe benefits that you have now?" only 23 percent of respondents thought it would be "very easy" to find a job as good as the one they currently held. This again reflects some insecurity on their part.

As was true of our earlier findings, the responses to these questions about job security varied by occupational group. As shown in Figure 3.10, managers and professionals reported longer job tenure; managers were on the high end, with an average tenure of almost nine years, and the other white-collar workers were on the low end, with about five and a half years. These differences in tenure, which are statistically significant, suggest that managers and professionals enjoy more job security than white-collar, service, and blue-collar workers do. This gap in security is even wider in the findings concerning whether respondents had been laid off in the past three years. Only 3 percent of managers and 10 percent of professionals reported a layoff, whereas 13.7 percent of other white-collar workers and 19 percent of service and blue-collar workers had experienced a layoff. Managers were also the most likely (34 percent) to report that they could find a similar job very easily, whereas only 20 percent of other white-collar workers held the same expectation. The only question that pro-

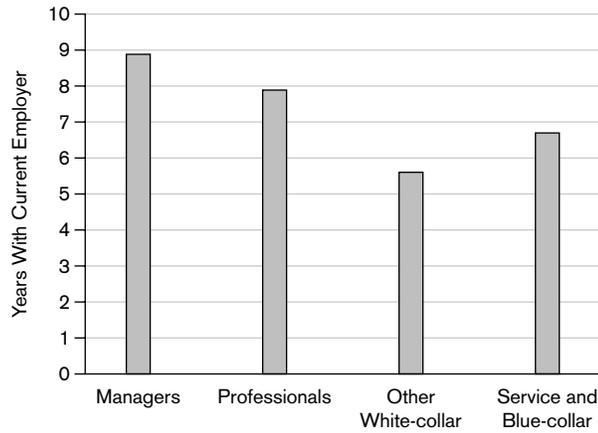


FIGURE 3.10A Respondents' Mean Number of Years with Their Current Employer, by Occupational Group

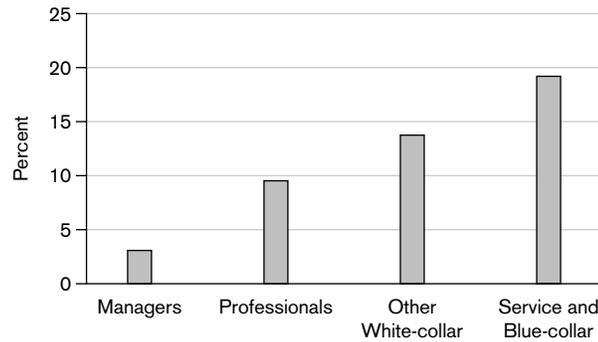


FIGURE 3.10B Respondents Laid Off in the Last Three Years, by Occupational Group

duced a deviation from this bifurcated pattern for the four types of occupations was the one asking about respondents' fear of layoff in the next 12 months. Here, 26 percent of managers were fearful of a layoff, nearly matching the highest category, the service and blue-collar workers. In other words, both managers and service or blue-collar workers in California are apparently worried about being "downsized" during the recession—much more so than are professionals and other white-collar workers (at 11 percent and 15 percent, respectively).

In sum, our respondents were generally apt to have received a promotion and a raise in their current job, and many anticipate the opportunity for a further promotion in the future. While they were generally very satisfied with their jobs, they exhibited some insecurity about the future. Many of the respondents did not think they could easily get a similar job, and almost a fifth reported they might be laid off in the next 12 months. Not surprisingly, managers and professionals were the least

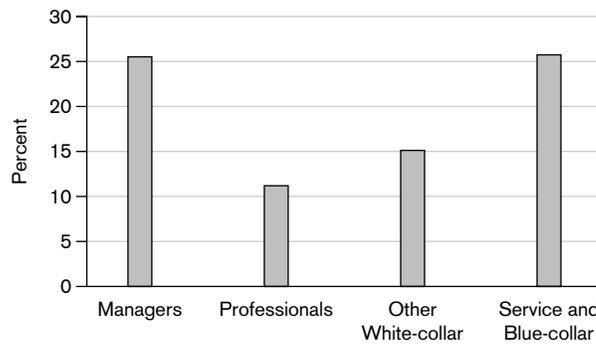


FIGURE 3.10C Respondents Fearing a Layoff in the Next 12 Months, by Occupational Group

SURVEY QUESTION: “In the next 12 months, how likely is it that you will lose your [main] job? Is it very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not likely at all?”

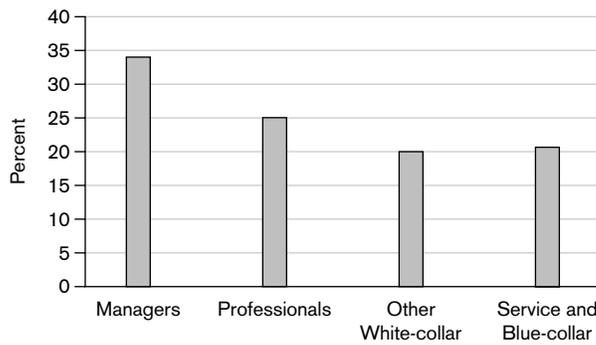


FIGURE 3.10D Respondents Reporting They Could Easily Find Another Job, by Occupational Group

SURVEY QUESTION: “How easy do you think it would be for you to find a job with another employer with approximately the same income and fringe benefits that you have now? Would it be very easy, somewhat easy, not too easy, or not easy at all?”

likely to exhibit job insecurity and the most likely to be anticipating opportunities for promotion and higher pay. Managers, however, along with service and blue-collar workers, exhibited more insecurity about the possibility of being laid off in the next 12 months than did the other groups.

WORKING CONDITIONS FOR UNION AND NONUNION WORKERS

One of our key findings is that, compared to managers and professionals, other white-collar and service and blue-collar occupations pay less, have fewer benefits,

and are more insecure. But we also find that outside the professional and managerial categories, unionization can make a big difference. Not only do unionized workers earn wage premiums, but they also enjoy many other advantages over their non-union counterparts. Among our respondents 18 percent (N=175) were union members. Within this group 51 percent worked in the public sector. Since the government tends to provide more benefits and security than the private sector does, one could suspect that the better working conditions of union workers might merely be the result of government employment. It turns out, however, that working conditions are better for union workers in both the private and public sector.

The first row of Table 3.4 compares the annual incomes of union and nonunion respondents.⁷ Overall, union members earned 45 percent (\$11,212) more, on average, than nonunion members did, a statistically significant finding. Union workers who worked for a governmental entity earned more than union workers in the private sector did, but both still made substantially more than their nonunion counterparts. Similar patterns appear if one considers the differences in benefits. The gaps in benefits coverage between union and nonunion workers were 28 percentage points for medical insurance, 38 percentage points for retirement benefits, 19 percentage points for paid sick leave, and 25 percentage points for paid vacations. All of these differences are statistically significant. The union-nonunion gap in benefits holds true whether the union members are in government or the private sector, although the gap is smaller for unionized private sector workers in the case of paid sick leave.

Union and nonunion workers also differed in their overtime hours and their desire for more work hours. Unionized workers were somewhat more likely than their nonunion counterparts were to report that they “usually” work overtime (39 percent versus 33 percent). They were also less likely to report wanting to work more hours for more pay than their nonunionized counterparts (32 percent versus 41 percent).

Finally, unionized workers generally reported greater security in their jobs than nonunionized workers did. Among our unionized respondents only 13 percent said it was very or somewhat likely they would be laid off in the next 12 months, compared to 24 percent of nonunion respondents. These views are consistent with the two groups’ past experiences: 11 percent of unionized respondents reported having been laid off in the past three years, while 19 percent of nonunionized respondents had been laid off. These differences are statistically significant. As one might expect, unionized public sector workers were much less likely to predict being laid off than were union workers in the private sector. Still, even private sector unionized workers exhibited a greater sense of security than nonunion workers did. Our results suggest

7. These comparisons are restricted to workers in the other white-collar, service, and blue-collar categories, comparing those who are and are not union members. We exclude managerial and professional employees in order to compare how workers at the bottom of the occupational structure are faring. The main group that this eliminates on the union side is teachers.

TABLE 3.4. Respondents' Income, Selected Benefits, and Work Prospects, by Union-Nonunion and Public-Private Sector Status

<i>Income, Benefits, and Work Prospects</i>	<i>Unionized Workers</i>	<i>Nonunion Workers</i>	<i>Unionized Government Workers</i>	<i>Unionized Private Sector Workers</i>
Mean Income (standard deviation)	\$35,912 (21210)	\$24,700 (19801)	\$38,136 (19437)	\$34,407 (22318)
Percentage with Medical Insurance	95.6%	67.6%	97.9%	94.0%
Percentage with Retirement Plan	90.9	52.7	93.6	89.1
Percentage with Sick Leave	76.0	57.5	88.8	67.0
Percentage with Paid Vacation	89.1	64.5	86.9	90.4
Percentage Who Usually Work Overtime	39.2	33.3	43	37.1
Percentage Who Wanted More Hours for More Pay	32.2	40.6	32.2	33.8
Percentage Reporting "Very" or "Somewhat Likely" to Lose Job in Next 12 Months	13.2	23.9	3.7	16.7
Percentage Laid Off in Past 3 Years	11.3	18.7	6.1	13.7
Number of Respondents	(N = 115)	(N = 414)	(N = 46)	(N = 69)

SURVEY QUESTIONS:

Now think of your household income for the year 2000. Which category represents the total combined income of all members of your household for last year? Please include money from jobs, net income from business, farm or rent, pensions, dividends, interest, social security payments and any other money income received by members of this household who are 15 years of age or older.

Now I'd like to ask you about benefits. Which of the following fringe benefits does your [main] employer make available to you, even though you may have to pay some portion?

How often do you work overtime or extra hours beyond 8 hours per day or 40 hours per week [at your main job]? Would you say usually, often, sometimes, or never?

If you could, would you work longer hours and earn more money, work fewer hours for less money, or would you prefer to keep the same hours for the same pay?

In the next 12 months, how likely is it that you will lose your [main] job? Is it very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not likely at all?

In the past 3 years, have you lost or left a job because of a plant closing, an employer going out of business, a layoff from which you were not recalled, or other similar reason?

that despite the decline in union density over recent decades, unions remain an important organizational vehicle to improve workers' earnings, benefits, and sense of job security.

CONCLUSION

The California economy is dominated by nonmanufacturing activities, such as finance, real estate, construction, services, and government, with only 13 percent of all workers employed in manufacturing companies. California workers are highly educated, averaging over 13 years of schooling. Almost three-fifths of them are managers, professionals, or other white-collar workers. California, simply put, has a postindustrial economy that is predominantly white-collar and depends heavily on the skills of its workers.

These skills are not distributed equally across the population. We have seen that Anglos, African Americans, and Asians average more than 14 years of schooling, while Latinos, both native born and foreign born average much less. Foreign-born Latinos have the least schooling (9 years on average) and correspondingly, the lowest annual earnings. There is also evidence that Anglos hold the best paying jobs, followed by Asians, African Americans, and Latinos. In addition, the data shows continuing sex segregation in occupations. Women are concentrated in traditionally female jobs like teaching, sales, and clerical work. They also are more likely to work part-time and less likely to work overtime. They express more satisfaction than men do with their current hours of work but more dissatisfaction with their ability to find time for both work and home.

Much of our analysis has focused on conditions of work for four occupational groups. As we have seen, there are also stark differences by race, ethnicity, and nativity. The Latino population, in particular, is concentrated in the lower ranks of the occupational distribution, with foreign-born Latinos particularly concentrated in the service and blue-collar category. Where Anglos and Asians are overrepresented, at the top of the occupational distribution, people work the longest hours and earn the most. To the degree that Latino immigrants are absent from these top occupational categories, they do not share in the associated benefits. Besides earning less money, they are less apt to receive job promotions, and they are more vulnerable to layoffs. At least part of the gap between Latino immigrants and the rest of the population is due to their low levels of education, as well as the labor market disadvantages associated with being foreign born. Although finding employment in the United States may provide many low-skilled immigrants with a better standard of living than they would have attained in their home countries, their low wages nevertheless make it hard for them to make ends meet.

Women equal men in terms of schooling but still tend to work in occupations segregated by gender. Their incomes still trail men's in all occupation groups. Women

work fewer hours and are less likely to report overtime than men. They are generally happy with their hours of work, but they are more apt than men are to report having problems juggling work and family. This suggests that women are still the organizers of family life. They adjust their hours of work to meet their home responsibilities, but they pay the price in terms of lower incomes, fewer benefits, and less access to retirement plans.

One of the questions we were most interested in pursuing was how conditions at work differed in the postindustrial economy for various occupational groups. Most scholars agree that the labor market has become much more deregulated in the past 20 years and that there has been growing income inequality. As we have seen, inequality in fringe benefits is nearly as extreme as inequality in income. In addition, the labor force is polarized on the spectrum of working hours. We found that managers and professionals report “usually” working overtime. They are also likely to report that they work under tight deadlines and with not enough time to do their jobs. They are highly likely to use cell phones and pagers, and these devices tie them to the workplace after regular work hours. We showed that those managers and professionals who work long hours take home premium earnings, but often report trouble finding time for both work and family. Nonetheless, managers and professionals tend to find work rewarding. Managers and professionals are also more likely to have had a promotion in their current place of employment, expect a promotion in the next 12 months, and have received a salary increase. They also have higher benefit levels, including medical insurance, retirement plans, and profit sharing.

Workers in the other white-collar and service and blue-collar categories work fewer hours than managers and professionals do, and they would like to have the opportunity to earn more income. Many service and blue-collar workers in particular wish they had more work hours. They also have fewer benefits such as medical insurance or a retirement plan. Other white-collar and service and blue-collar workers are also more likely to have been laid off, and they are the least likely of the four groups to predict that they could find a job as good as the one that they currently have.

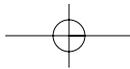
Managers and professionals work long hours, but in turn they receive higher pay, more benefits and greater control over their work. They also report high levels of job satisfaction. Those who work long hours report enjoying their work and their colleagues. Other white-collar workers and service and blue-collar workers earn less, have fewer opportunities for advancement, and wish they could add hours to add income. They are also more insecure in their jobs and are more likely to experience layoffs. For workers in the lower parts of the education and occupational distributions, unionization brings better pay, benefits, and working conditions, across both the private and public sectors.

Our snapshot of work in California captures two worlds of work. One world, for those at the top (34 percent of the labor force), has lots of pressures but many rewards. The other, for those at the bottom (66 percent of the labor force), has fewer

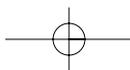
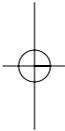
rewards and more insecurity. Managers and professionals who are prepared to work long hours reap the reward in income, psychic benefits such as job satisfaction, paid benefits, and more security on the job. For the other white-collar and service and blue-collar workers, however, life at work is more onerous. They have fewer working hours than they need to make ends meet, have fewer paid benefits, and face more insecurity on the job.

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APPENDIX. Occupations in the Four Occupational Categories

Interviewers asked the employed respondents to describe their current occupation. The text of each response was coded after the interview into a two-digit code that was somewhat more general than the three-digit Census occupation codes. The two-digit codes were then recoded into four categories, for the purposes of this chapter. The following two-digit Census occupation codes were coded into the four occupation groups: managerial, professional, other white-collar, and service and blue-collar occupations.

MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS

- | | |
|---|--|
| 01. Managers, administrators, and public officials | 71. Supervisors, mechanics, and repairers |
| 03. Management analysts | 72. Supervisors, construction trades |
| 32. Retail and other sales supervisors | 73. Supervisors, extractive occupations (oil drilling, mining) |
| 51. Supervisors, protective services | 74. Supervisors, production occupations |
| 52. Supervisors, food services | 81. Supervisors, motor vehicle operators |
| 53. Supervisors, cleaning/building services | 83. Ship captains and mates |
| 54. Supervisors, personal services | 84. Supervisors, material moving equipment operators |
| 61. Farmers, farm managers/supervisors, and other supervisors of agricultural/forestry work | 92. Supervisors of handlers, equipment cleaners, and laborers |
| 62. Captains and other officers of fishing vessels | |

PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS

- | | |
|---|---|
| 02. Accountants, auditors, underwriters, and other financial officers | 19. Health techs (hosp. lab techs, dental hygienists, etc.) |
| 04. Personnel, training and labor relations specialists | 20. Elementary/high school teachers |
| 05. Purchasing agents and buyers | 21. College/university teachers |
| 06. Business and promotion agents | 22. Counselors, educational and vocational |
| 07. Inspectors and compliance officers | 23. Librarians, archivists, and curators |
| 11. Doctors and dentists | 24. Lawyers and judges |
| 12. Veterinarians | 25. Social scientists and urban planners: economists, psychologists, sociologists, urban planners |
| 13. Optometrists | 26. Clergy, social, recreation, and religious workers |
| 14. Other health diagnosing occupations: podiatrists, chiropractors, acupuncturists, etc. | 27. Writers, artists, entertainers, and athletes |
| 15. Nurses (RNs, LVNs, LPNs) | 28. Engineers, scientists, architects |
| 16. Physicians' assistants | 29. Computer programmers |
| 17. Pharmacists and dietitians | 30. Other technicians (draftsmen, other lab techs, airline pilots, air traffic controllers, legal assistants, etc.) |
| 18. Therapists: physical therapists, speech therapists, inhalation therapists, etc. | |

OTHER WHITE-COLLAR OCCUPATIONS

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 08. Administrative assistants 33. Retail sales workers and cashiers 34. Real estate and insurance agents 35. Stock brokers and related sales occupations 36. Advertising and related sales occupations 37. Sales representatives—manufacturing and wholesale 38. Street and door-to-door sales workers, news vendors, and auctioneers 39. Other sales occupations 40. Office/clerical supervisors/managers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 41. Secretaries, typists, stenographers, word processors, receptionists, and general office clerks 42. Records processing clerks: bookkeepers, payroll clerks, billing clerks, file and records clerks 43. Shipping/receiving clerks, stock clerks 44. Data-entry keyers 45. Computer operators 46. Telephone operators and other communications equipment operators 48. Bank tellers 49. Teacher's aides 50. Other clerical workers |
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SERVICE AND BLUE-COLLAR OCCUPATIONS

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 47. Postal clerks, mail carriers, messengers, etc. 55. Cooks, waiters, and related restaurant/bar occupations 56. Health service (dental assistants, nursing aides, attendants) 57. Personal service (barbers, hairdressers, public transportation attendants, welfare service aides) 58. Cleaning and building service (maids, janitors, housekeepers, elevator operators, pest control) 59. Childcare workers 60. Firefighters, police, and other protective service occupations 63. Farm workers 64. Graders, sorters, and inspectors of agricultural products 65. Animal caretakers 66. Nursery workers 67. Groundskeepers and gardeners 68. Forestry and logging workers 69. Fishers, hunters, and trappers 70. Other farming, forestry, and fishing occupations 77. Extractive occupations (oil drillers, miners) 78. Precision production occupations (tool and die makers, cabinet makers, jewelers, butchers, bakers, etc.) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 79. Precision inspectors, testers, and related occupations 80. Plant and system operators (water and sewage treatment plant operators, power plant operators) 82. Railroad conductors and yardmasters 85. Machine operators 86. Motor vehicle operators (truck, bus and taxi drivers) 87. Railroad (engineers, conductors, other operators) 88. Ships (fishing boat sailors, merchant marine) 89. Bulldozer and forklift operators, longshore workers, and other material movers 90. Fabricators, assemblers, and handworking occupations: welders, solderers, hand grinders, and polishers, etc. 91. Production inspectors, testers, samplers, and weighers 93. Construction helpers and laborers 94. Factory and other production helpers 95. Service station attendants, car mechanic's helpers, tire changers, etc 96. Garbage collectors, stock handlers and baggers, and other movers of materials by hand 97. Helpers of surveyors and extractive occupations |
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