Mirrored Racial (Dis)advantage by Gender:

Racialized Household Division of Work and Earnings Gaps between Whites and Minorities*

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Abstract

Intersectionality theories suggest that minority women are doubly disadvantaged as a woman and as a racial minority. However, most previous studies do not report an additive disadvantage of minority women in the labor market. Instead, prior research shows that racial earnings inequality is higher among men than women. What are the mechanisms behind this? We argue that racialized household division of work is associated with the gendered patterns of racial earnings (dis)advantage in the labor market. Using the 2012-2016 American Community Survey, we show that the patterns of racial (dis)advantage in annual earnings is mirrored across earnings distribution between genders. Minority women earn significantly more than whites at the low-end of the earnings distribution, but the advantage fades as earnings quantile rises. To the contrary, minority men tend to earn significantly less at the low-end of the earnings distribution, but the disadvantage becomes weaker as earnings quantile rises. The same mirrored pattern is evident for blacks, Hispanics, and Asians when they are compared to whites. Additional analyses suggest that the mirrored racial inequality by gender is related with the tendency of married whites, relatively less-educated and reside in rural areas, being more likely to follow traditional gender roles. Other implications of these findings are discussed.

Keywords: gendered racial earnings inequality, mirrored disadvantage, household division of work in the labor market

1 Introduction

Racial earnings (dis)advantage, the degree to which racial minorities fair in the labor market compared to whites is gendered. Intersectionality theories suggest that minority women suffer double disadvantages of being a woman and a racial minority (Browne and Misra, 2003). However, despite the intuitive appeal of intersectionality theory, this additive disadvantage of minority women in the labor market has not been fully supported empirically (Greenman and Xie, 2008). It is a widely explored fact that racial earnings inequality is larger among men than women (Mandel and Semyonov, 2016). What are the mechanisms behind this?

Conventionally, racial earnings inequality is assessed separately by gender (Bayer and Charles, 2018; Cheng et al., 2018; Kim and Sakamoto, 2010, 2014; Kim and Zhao, 2014). Gender-separate analysis on racial earnings inequality is justified in that life cycle of women's employment or labor market activities differ greatly from that of men (Goldin and Mitchell, 2017). In so doing, group mean differences in earnings are compared. However justified, gender-separate assessments on racial earnings inequality are limited in that it fails to account for possible differences in the context by which women enter or stay in the labor market by race. The assessment of racial earnings inequality among married women is especially challenged, as the context under which women enter the labor market is closely tied to that of men's. Decisions to work in the labor market is seldom an individual one.

We argue that racialized household division of work is associated with the gendered patterns of racial earnings (dis)advantage in the labor market. The importance of racial differences in household division of work in the labor market can be well explained by a couple of recent trends. More wives are earning more than their husbands than before (Brines, 1994; Raley et al., 2006). Women's level of education has surpassed that of men, and more women are educationally marrying down and their increased income from labor market benefit men in terms of economic standard of living (Kim and Sakamoto, 2017). Given the apparent earnings difference by race, married couples can assess both parties' possible economic gains

and decide on who spends more time in the labor market. This division of work hours in the labor market is especially important in that the relationship between work hours and wage is ever stronger (Cha and Weeden, 2014; Weeden et al., 2016). Greenman and Xie (2008) found that minority groups with the lowest annual earnings showed a lesser degree of gender role specialization than whites while most minority groups with the highest annual earnings showed a similar degree of gender role specialization to whites.

Using the 2012-2016 American Community Survey, we show the patterns of racial earnings (dis)advantage in annual earnings are mirrored across earnings distribution between genders. Minority women earn significantly more than white women at the low-end of the earnings distribution, but the advantage grows weaker as earnings quantile rises. To the contrary, minority men earn significantly less at the low-end of the earnings distribution, but the disadvantage decrease as earnings quantile rises. This mirrored pattern is evident for blacks, Hispanics, and Asians compared to whites. We do not find a mirrored pattern by gender in racial earnings (dis)advantage among never married singles. This mirrored pattern of racial earnings (dis)advantage maintains net of demographic, human capital, and family context factors. Only when we control for usual hours worked per week, minority women's downward pattern and minority men's upward pattern of (dis)advantage both turns flat.

Additional analyses on equivalized income and spouse characteristics among currently married show that gendered patterns of racial earnings (dis)advantage are closely tied to the racialized household division of work in the labor market. We find the patterns of racial earnings (dis)advantage for men and women are parallel in terms of family standard of living. As expected, differences in racial variations in the proportion of respondent's work hours in total family work hours are larger at the low-end of the earnings distribution. White women work less than minority women and white men work as much as the married minority men. Racial variations in spousal income by respondent's earnings quantiles further reveal that married whites with the tendency of following traditional gender roles more so that others can do so because they can afford to. Additional analyses indicate that married whites at

the low-end of the earnings distribution tend to have a relatively low level of education and resides in rural areas.

It is important to remember that the marriage market, as well as the labor market, is where individuals can get economic gains. In order to fully grasp the degree to which individuals are (dis)advantaged in the labor market at the intersection of race and gender, household division of work in the labor market, and prospects of earning within one's family unit should be considered. Because activities in the labor market are based on the decision made in families as a unit, the patterns of racial disadvantage in earnings distribution is be gendered and mirrored. We plan on further developing this paper with regard to explain the upward pattern of racial (dis)advantage in equivalized income and explore the differences by race and gender responsible for the racialized division of household work in the labor market.

2 Theoretical Background and Prior Research

2.1 Earnings (Dis)advantage at the Intersection of Gender and Race

The thesis of intersectionality posits that the experience of women of color is distorted when the axis of gender or the axis of race is independently applied (Crenshaw, 1989; Saltzman Chafetz, 1997; McCall, 2005). The works on intersectionality in the labor market hypothesize women of color to suffer the additive disadvantage in that they are at the intersection of being a women and a racial minority (Browne and Misra, 2003). Despite the high plausibility of intersectionality thesis, the additive disadvantage by race and gender in personal earnings has not yet been supported empirically (Greenman and Xie, 2008).

It is a widely accepted custom to assess racial earnings inequality separately by gender (Bayer and Charles, 2018; Cheng et al., 2018; Kim and Sakamoto, 2010, 2014; Kim and Zhao, 2014), and it has been found that racial earnings inequality is larger among men than

women. As of 2010, black women earning about 12.7% less than white women while black men earning about 39.4% less than white men (Mandel and Semyonov, 2016: 1049). Earnings inequality between black and white women and Asian and white women further complicate our understanding. It has long been known that black-white wage gap among women is lower on the surface because of the drastic difference between black and white women who are not in the labor market (Neal, 2004). Asian-white earnings gap among women shows a different picture in that higher levels of education by Asian women put them at advantage in earnings compared to white women (Kim and Zhao, 2014).

Is intersectionality thesis limited in explaining labor market outcomes? We review the theoretical foundation and empirical evidence that can guide us in understanding how the additive disadvantage faced by women of color can be captured in the following section. The first step is to recognize the shortcomings of gender-separate analysis on racial earnings inequality.

2.2 Household Division of Work in the Labor Market: Revisiting Role Specialization

Gender-separate analysis on racial earnings inequality has a solid ground in that life cycle of women's employment or labor market activities differ greatly from that of men (Goldin and Mitchell, 2017). However, considering the importance of looking at household level for individual labor market outcomes magnified by previous research on the relationship between marital instability and female labor supply (Özcan and Breen, 2012) and the impact of economic insecurity have on social stratification (Western et al., 2012), gender-separate assessments on racial earnings inequality are limited in that it fails to account for possible differences in the context by which women enter or stay in the labor market by race.

So-called role specialization theory sought to explain the differential labor market outcomes by gender based on an idea that economic resources are shared in a family (Becker,

1973, 1974, 1991). Though not as unitary and static as the original account, the implication for men as well as women, depending on the marriage market for economic gains is clear. Considering marriage is "the nonrandom matching of individuals into relationships" (Schwartz, 2013), it is necessary to assess individual-level labor market performance in the context of a family. Given the tradition of choosing married couples as a unit of analysis in research emphasizing the family context by which labor supply decisions are made (Blundell and MaCurdy, 1999; Lundberg and Pollak, 1996, 2007), labor supply or hours (to be) worked in a labor market is hardly a sole individual decision.

The importance of racial differences in role specialization within a family can be well explained by a couple of recent trends. More wives are earning more than their husbands than before (Brines, 1994; Raley et al., 2006). Women's labor market opportunities are increasing (Juhn and McCue, 2017). Women's level of education has surpassed that of men, and more women are educationally marrying down and their increased income from labor market benefit men in terms of economic standard of living (Kim and Sakamoto, 2017). Given the apparent earnings difference by race, married couples can assess both parties' possible economic gains and decide on a household division of work hours in the labor market, or who spends more time in the labor market. This household division of work hours in the labor market is especially important in that the relationship between work hours and wage is ever stronger (Cha and Weeden, 2014; Weeden et al., 2016).

It is important to remember that the marriage market, as well as the labor market, is where individuals can get economic gains. In order to fully grasp the degree to which individuals are (dis)advantaged in the labor market at the intersection of race and gender, household division of work in the labor market, and prospects of earning within one's family unit should be considered. Because activities in the labor market are based on the decision made in families as a unit, the patterns of racial disadvantage in earnings distribution can be gendered.

Then, are there enough racial differences in household division of work in the labor market

to account for racial earnings inequality by gender? With regard to racial differences in household division of work in the labor market, Greenman and Xie (2008) found that minority groups with the lowest annual earnings showed a lesser degree of gender role specialization than whites while most minority groups with the highest annual earnings showed a similar degree of gender role specialization to whites. Racial differences in household division of work in the labor market are found to be the smallest at the high-end of the earnings distribution and the largest at the low-end of the earnings distribution. Then, does it relate to individual labor market outcomes?

2.3 Effects of Household Division of Work in the Labor Market at the Intersection of Race and Gender

Two interrelated reasons for the lack of evidence supporting intersectionality theory arise given the review of prior research on racial earnings inequality. First, most literature on racial earnings inequality deal with gender separately, setting white men and women as reference groups respectively. However, as mentioned in the previous section, individual level economic outcomes should consider the context by which individuals decide to (or not to) work and possibly the household division of work in the labor market. Given recent changes, the economic cost of women specializing in household production is more costly for married families than ever. In so doing, the second limitation arises. The majority of attention is given to the average group gaps. Considering the differential changes in racial earnings (dis)advantage by the level of education or position in the earnings distribution, just looking at mean differences across the board can yield less than an accurate portrayal of race gaps in income.

Our research questions are: Do racial earnings inequality show different patterns by gender? Can the difference in patterns be explained by differences in household division of work in the labor market by race? There is one issue that hinders the assessment of

intersectionality thesis. Previous research on race earnings inequality assumes that between race and gender differences are the same across the distribution of income. Racial earnings inequality research seeks to identify the total group differences with subsequent models. The end goal, though rarely achieved, is to see parity net of all entered covariates. Mincer earnings function, an equation that explains wage or earnings as a function of schooling and experience at the mean of earnings distribution (Mincer, 1958, 1974), forms the basis of earnings inequality literature.

Bayer and Charles (2018) found that earnings difference between black and white men have not seen any improvements since 1940 especially because the significant decrease in earnings difference happened only at the 90th quantile in respective earnings distribution thanks to more equal access to higher education and high skilled occupations at the turn of the century. Additionally, the decrease in the black-white earnings gap is not consistent across all schooling levels (Cheng et al., 2018). There is enough evidence to believe that racial earnings gap is not consistent across the earnings distribution. Leicht (2008) argue that "group gaps" research on racial earnings inequality that looks at the mean differences in earnings controlling for various factors assume the gap is the same across the earnings distribution. The study of race gaps in income has been the subject of criticism in that it fails to notice higher income inequality within ascriptive groups than between them (Leicht, 2008: 241). Only looking at the mean for between-group differences leaves out increasing number of individuals within groups that are not represented at the mean. Though inequality within racial groups has been rising while inequality between racial groups has been decreasing, between racial group inequality still remains high, especially among men (McCall, 2001: 525). Previous research on racialized selection into the labor market (Western and Pettit, 2005) and occupational determinants of black-white wage gap (Grodsky and Pager, 2001) can also be understood as another attempt at accounting for differences in overall earnings distribution by race.

Figure 1 demonstrates hypothetical patterns of racial earnings disadvantage in the earn-

ings distribution. If the assumptions of group gaps research hold true, racial earnings disadvantage should be the same across earnings distribution (Figure 1, b). If the earnings disadvantage is the largest at the low-end of the earnings distribution, we will witness an upward pattern of disadvantage (Figure 1, c). A downward pattern of disadvantage will show if the earnings disadvantage is the largest at the high-end of the earnings distribution (Figure 1, d).

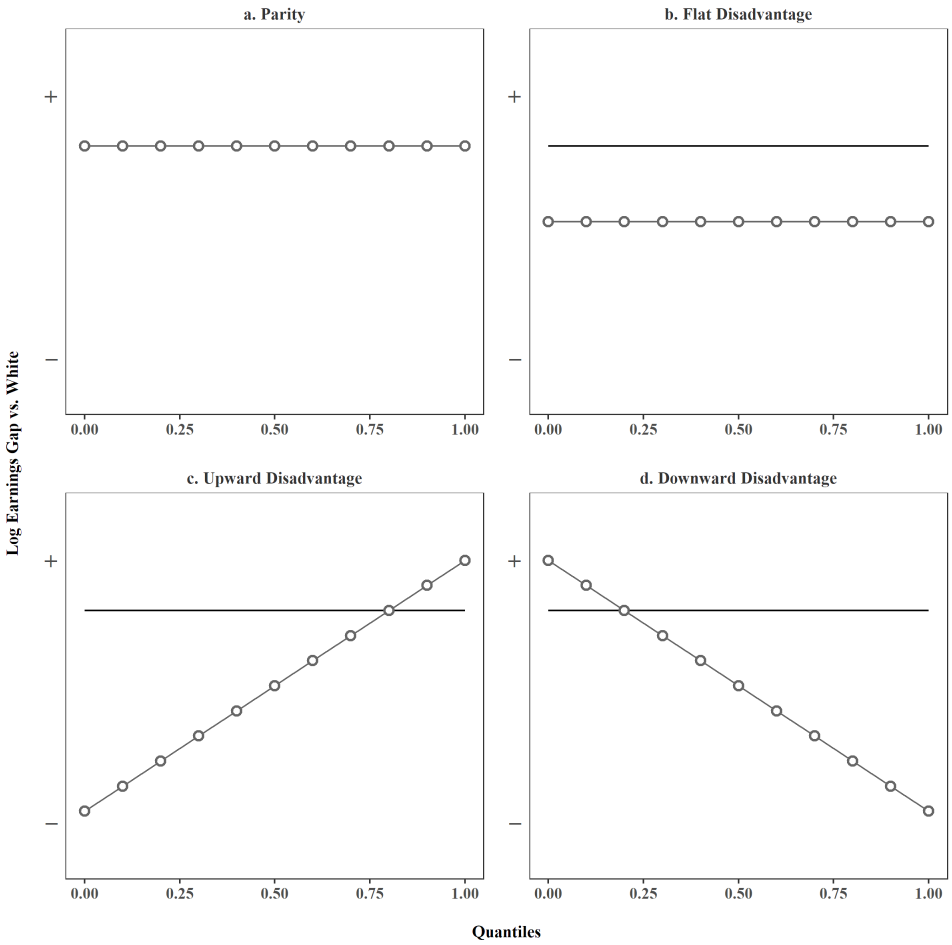

Figure 1: Hypothetical patterns of racial earnings disadvantage

Greenman and Xie (2008) found racial differences in gender role specialization to be more pronounced at the low-end of the earnings distribution. If whites are more likely to adopt traditional gender role in a family than minorities at the low-end of the earnings distribution, racial earnings disadvantage among women will show a downward pattern because minority

women's work hours will be higher than that of white women. For men at the low-end of the earnings distribution, it will show an upward pattern because white men would work more than minority men. If whites are less likely to adopt traditional gender role in a family than minorities, we should witness a downward pattern for men and an upward pattern for women in racial earnings disadvantage. If there are no significant racial differences in household division of work, we should see a flat pattern of (dis)advantage for both genders.

In short, if the household division of work in the labor market is racialized and the racialized role specialization differs across earnings quantiles, racial earnings (dis)advantage in personal earnings should show mirrored patterns across earnings distribution by gender. If there is no difference in the degree of role specialization among different races, the patterns of racial earnings (dis)advantage across earnings quantiles will be the same for men and women.

Table 1: Hypothesis: Racialized household division of work and pattern of racial earnings (dis)advantage by gender

Role Specialization in Household	Pattern of Racial Earnings (Dis)advantage	
	Women	Men
White > Minority	Downward (Dis)advantage	Upward (Dis)advantage
White < Minority	Upward (Dis)advantage	Downward (Dis)advantage
White = Minority	Flat (Dis)advantage	Flat (Dis)advantage

Based on the review of the existing literature, we formulate and test the following hypotheses. Table 1 summarizes our hypotheses.

Because we expect the household division of work in the labor market to be racialized:

Hypothesis 1a: *Patterns of racial earnings (dis)advantage by gender will mirror the pattern of the other gender.*

Hypothesis 1b: *Mirrored pattern of racial earnings (dis)advantage by gender will show for married population and not among never married singles.*

Because we expect role specialization to be higher among whites than minorities especially at lower earning quantiles:

Hypothesis 2a: *Patterns of racial earnings (dis)advantage for women and men will take the form of downward and upward (dis)advantage respectively.*

Hypothesis 2b: *Racial earnings (dis)advantage will be larger at lower earnings quantile.*

Because we deem the differential distribution of work hours in the labor market within families:

Hypothesis 3: *Different patterns of racial earnings (dis)advantage by gender will become flat or identical when we account for work hours.*

3 Methodology

3.1 Data

To test these hypotheses, we use the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS)-American Community Survey (ACS) 1% data from 2012 to 2016 (Ruggles et al., 2017). The sample is limited to native born individuals ages 25 to 54 years, currently not in school. Age 25 to 54 is considered the prime working age and not yet retired (Bayer and Charles, 2018). There are several additional sample limitations. We limited our sample to individuals who are currently out of school because we have no reason to believe that work hours and the type of jobs people have while in school are not random across race and gender. We look at native borns only because immigrants may have different norms with regard to gender role specialization. Due to the difficulty in estimating quantile regression models associated with disproportionately large numbers of whites compared to other race groups, 10% random sample is drawn for whites in multivariate analyses. Other studies (e.g., Kim and Sakamoto, 2014) used a similar strategy. Because the reduced number of whites could result in higher standard errors thereby making coefficients more likely insignificant in multivariate analy-

ses, the selection of 10% white samples yield more conservative estimates on the statistical significance of our coefficients.

3.2 Analytic Strategy

This study utilizes quantile regression on top of ordinary least squares regression to explore the differences in the distribution of earnings by race and gender. The main dependent variables for this research is personal annual earnings. Income variable is inflation adjusted to 2016 constant dollars and further log-transformed in all multivariate analyses.

$$Q_y(\tau|Race, X) = \sum_{i=1} \beta_i(\tau) Race_i + \sum \gamma(\tau) X \tag{1}$$

$Q_y(\tau|Race, X)$ refers to conditional quantile of y (i.e., log earnings) at quantile point τ. $Race_i$ is a set of race dummy variables comparing non-Hispanic black (black), non-Hispanic Asian (Asian) and Hispanic from non-Hispanic white (white). $\beta_i(\tau)$ refers to the net effect of the race at quantile point τ controlling for X, a vector of other covariates. This equation is run separately by gender. This compares the earnings of minority race groups to that of equal sex whites. It is important to note that conditional quantile regression does not compare across the unconditional distribution of the dependent variable (Borah and Basu, 2013; Budig and Hodges, 2014; Killewald and Bearak, 2014). Conditional quantile regression estimates the relationship between the independent and dependent variables at different points of the conditional distribution of the dependent variable. $\beta_i(\tau)$ is then, the earnings (dis)advantage of race group compared to the reference group, whites, that shares similar values for covariates. Lower quantile should not be equated with lower earnings in absolute terms. Earnings distribution conditional quantile regression assess and compare across groups is that of earnings conditional on covariates. The lower end of earnings distribution in conditional quantile regression is occupied by those who earn less than the median earn-

ings from those who share the same characteristics in terms of covariates.[1] Each additional covariate changes the earnings distribution for each race and the aim is not to identify in which earnings quantile certain race is more (dis)advantaged. Rather, the aim is to identify the patterns of earnings disadvantage by race and gender and to explain what factors are responsible for the patterns.

Total of three models is assessed per dependent variable. The base model (=Model 0), with age, age squared and the year of a survey as covariates on top of race dummy variables compares different quantile points in the earnings distribution of whites and minorities after the variations in age and survey years are accounted for. Model 1, controlling for factors decided before the entry into the labor market explore the effects of race on annual earnings conditional on human capital and family context factors on top of variables entered in model 0. Model 2 includes labor supply and context variables decided upon or after entering the labor market. Coefficients of race dummies in this last model can be understood as the effects of race on hourly earnings. For equivalized income, family context variables and labor supply variables are excluded from Model 1 and 2 because equivalized income variable itself includes the number of family members in its calculation and individual differences in work hours are irrelevant in comparing an economic standard of living at family unit.

3.3 Control Variables

Control variables are grouped into those decided before the entry into the labor market, and those represent the conditions decided upon or after entering the labor market. As for before the entry, human capital variables and family context variables are included. Education is a set of six dummy variables (high school graduate, some college, bachelor's degree, master's degree, professional degree, and doctorate degree). Field of degree consists of six dummy variables (STEM, health related fields, social sciences, business related fields,

[1] Unconditional quantile regression assesses the absolute distribution net of covariates while conditional quantile regression assesses the distribution relative to the covariates.

social services/education/arts and humanities, and other majors). Those with less than bachelor's degree level of education is assigned zero. Marital status differentiates those currently married from never married singles. This variable is not included in the analyses of currently married or never married single only. A number of children variable indicates the number of own children in the household. Household head variable indicates whether the respondent is the head of the household.

Covariates of conditions determined upon or after the entry into the labor market are labor context and supply variables. Industry variable comprise of twelve industry dummies based on 2012 census industrial classification system (1: agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining, 2: wholesale trade, 3: retail trade, 4: transportation and warehousing, and utilities, 5: information, 6: finance and insurance, and real estate and rental and leasing, 7: professional, scientific, and management, and administrative, and waste management services, 8: educational services, and health care and social assistance, 9: arts, entertainment, and recreation, and accommodation and food services, 10: other services, except public administration, 11: public administration, and 12: active duty military). Weeks worked last year is the set of six dummies (1 – 13 weeks, 14 – 26 weeks, 27 – 39 weeks, 40 – 47 weeks, 48 – 49 weeks, and 50 – 52 weeks). Usual hours worked per week is a continuous variable and top coded at 99 hours per week.

We control for residential areas in our full model because regions are endogenous with job locations. To check the sensitivity that our results change if we treat the region as exogenous factors from the labor market, we ran models that add region variables in Model 0, finding basically the same results reported here. Region variable comprises of nine census regions or divisions/divisions (New England Division, Middle Atlantic Division, East North Central Division, West North Central Division, South Atlantic Division, East South Central Division, West South Central Division, Mountain Division, Pacific Division). Metro variable identifies whether the respondent is in metro area (not in metro area, central/principal city, outside central/principal city, and metro but central/principal city status unknown).

Table 2: Descriptive statistics

	White		Black		Asian		Hispanic	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Sample size	1,383,095	1,450,867	194,149	202,927	33,852	35,628	152,437	160,679
Married (%)	74.2	65.4	34.0	37.1	55.0	44.9	57.0	49.1
Personal earning ($)[a]								
Total	44,756	68,875	34,877	40,417	58,949	74,243	36,088	47,317
Currently married	46,338	80,232	42,679	51,869	65,653	96,460	39,664	58,376
Never married single	40,446	44,020	30,480	31,170	51,452	54,253	34,464	31,505
Family income ($)								
Total	105,954	102,091	58,760	65,571	129,561	123,080	78,042	76,611
Currently married	121,105	120,672	90,723	89,755	160,491	153,999	97,295	93,642
Never married single	61,713	65,314	41,970	48,910	91,471	97,225	52,134	58,857
Household division of work[b]								
Total	69.2	68.0	51.1	52.3	74.4	74.2	65.6	65.5
Currently married	74.3	74.8	72.2	73.0	77.1	76.9	73.8	73.3
Never married single	54.6	55.1	40.3	40.1	71.0	72.0	54.7	58.0
Employed work hours[b]								
Total	28.6	38.3	27.3	27.4	32.2	37.3	26.7	33.7
Currently married	27.9	42.0	30.4	36.7	30.3	41.6	26.5	39.4
Never married single	30.8	31.2	25.7	21.9	34.4	33.8	27.0	28.2
Family work specialization (%)[c]								
Personal work hours	38.3	63.4	46.1	56.0	40.6	62.9	37.9	63.8
Spouse work hours	61.7	36.6	54.0	44.0	59.4	37.1	62.1	36.2
Educational marriage pattern (%)[c]								
Married up	29.7	39.2	25.3	45.4	27.0	32.4	29.8	41.2
Same educational level	31.7	31.8	30.0	30.2	37.5	36.7	28.6	29.4
Married down	38.6	28.9	44.7	24.4	35.5	30.9	41.6	29.4

[a] Samples are limited to persons with positive annual earnings.

[b] Based on usual hours worked per week last year.

[c] Samples are limited to currently married.

4 Empirical Findings

4.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 shows descriptive statistics of the data. Whites are more likely to be married than minorities. 74.2% of white women and 65.4% of white men of 25-54 of age are currently married. A married population is the smallest among blacks, 34.0% black women and 37.1% of black men are currently married. The overall trend in personal earning, family income and educational marriage pattern follow the pattern witnessed by Kim and Sakamoto (2017). Women have lower personal earning than men but report as high if not higher family income. Women are more likely to be married down than men. However, black women stand out. Their family income is lower than black men's. They are most likely to be married down (44.7%) while black men are most likely to be married up (45.4%). On the other hand, Asians show the opposite pattern. Asian men are least likely to be married up (32.4%) among men and Asian women are least likely to be married down (35.5%).

The total family employed work hours, or the sum of work hours of all employed family members per week is racialized. White family on average spend a total of about 70 hours per week working. For blacks, it is around 50 hours a week. Asians are close to 75 hours per week while Hispanics work about 65 hours per week as a family. However, this race-specific pattern does not hold true for the currently married group. Regardless of race, all currently married families report to work around 72 to 77 hours per week. However, when we look at the ratio of respondents' work hours to total family work hours, a distinctive pattern emerges. Among women, black women provide the most portion of labor supply in the family (61.5%, 42.8% and 73.7% for all, currently married and never married single respectively). On the other hand, black men provide the least portion of the labor supply in a family (58.2%, 63.0%, and 52.5% respectively for all, currently married and never married single). Household division of work looks at the proportion of husbands and wives share of work hours in the total work hours by a couple. Here, blacks show the lowest level of

work specialization among couples, or the smallest gap in the shares of labor market work provided by husband and wife.

4.2 Mirrored Patterns of Racial Earnings (Dis)advantage by Gender at Individual Level

Figures 2, 3, and 4 show racial earnings (dis)advantage by gender for all, currently married, and never married single respectively. Coefficients and detailed model specifications are presented in Tables A.1, A.2, and A.3 in Appendix. Dotted lines indicate the average racial gap compared to whites from OLS estimation.

For model 0 and model 1 in Figure 2, racial earnings (dis)advantage of women takes the form of downward (dis)advantage while that of men shows the upward pattern. In model 0, the earnings disadvantage of black women compared to whites increase from -8.0% to -20.4% across quantiles 0.1 through 0.9 in conditional earnings distribution. For Asian women, their advantage decreases from 48.5% to 40.6%. Hispanic women's disadvantage increases from -2.0% to -16.1%. An exactly opposite pattern is witnessed for men. Black men's disadvantage decreases from -54.2% to -34.9%. Asian men's advantage increases from 3.2% to 21.9%. Hispanic men's disadvantage decreases from -27.1% to -23.5%. Regardless of race, minority women's earnings (dis)advantage across conditional quantiles show downward pattern while that of minority men show the upward pattern. No such pattern is shown for never married singles (Figure 4). Because the coefficients and pattern of (dis)advantage are drastically different between currently married and never married single, we focus on currently married as this group is our main interest.

Among currently married, blacks and Hispanics show the mirror patterns of (dis)advantage. In model 0 (Figure 3, a), married black women are at labor market parity with married white women on average. Looking at the differences in earnings across the earnings distribution, we see a downward pattern. Low earning married black women earn more than low earning

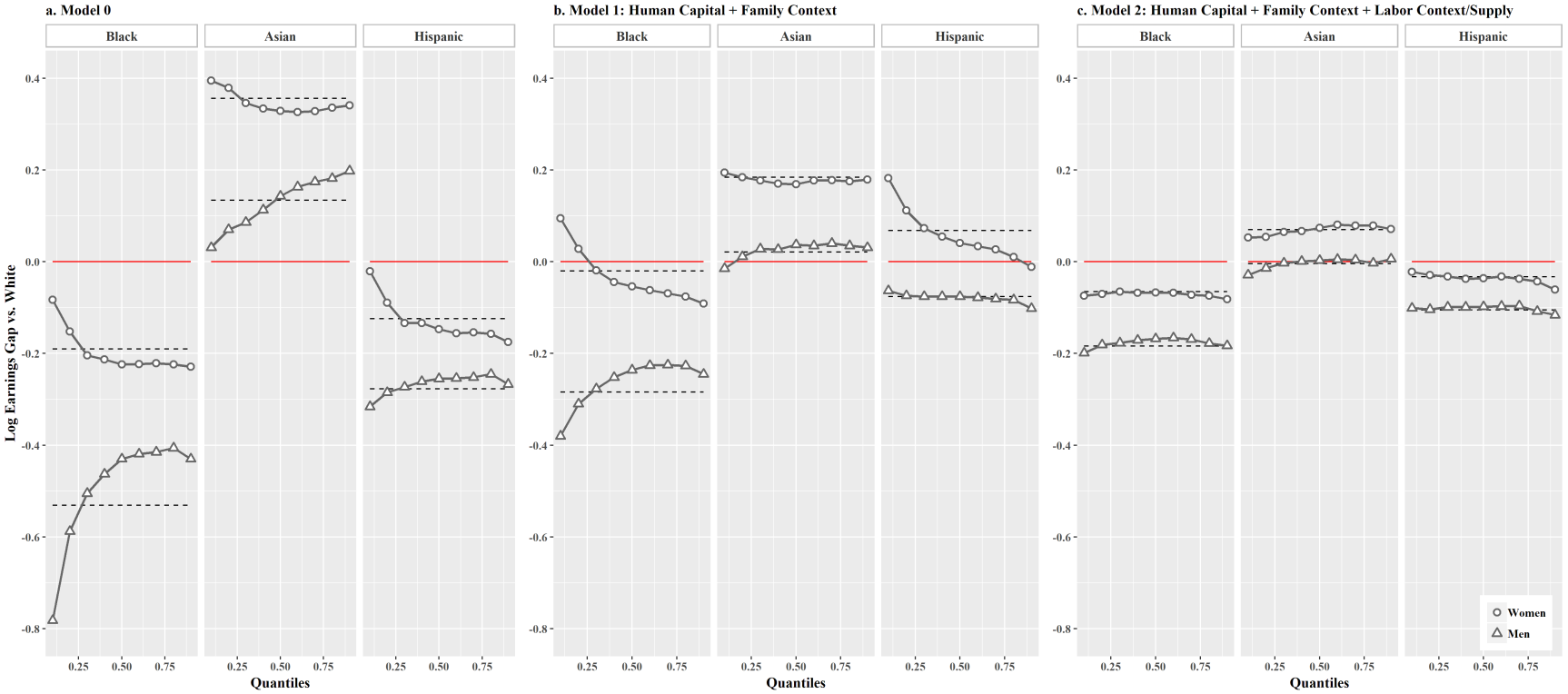

Figure 2: Quantile regression results on log earnings gap by race and gender. Plotted coefficients show predicted log earnings difference from equal sex whites. Dotted lines indicate OLS estimates. All samples are limited to those with positive annual earnings.

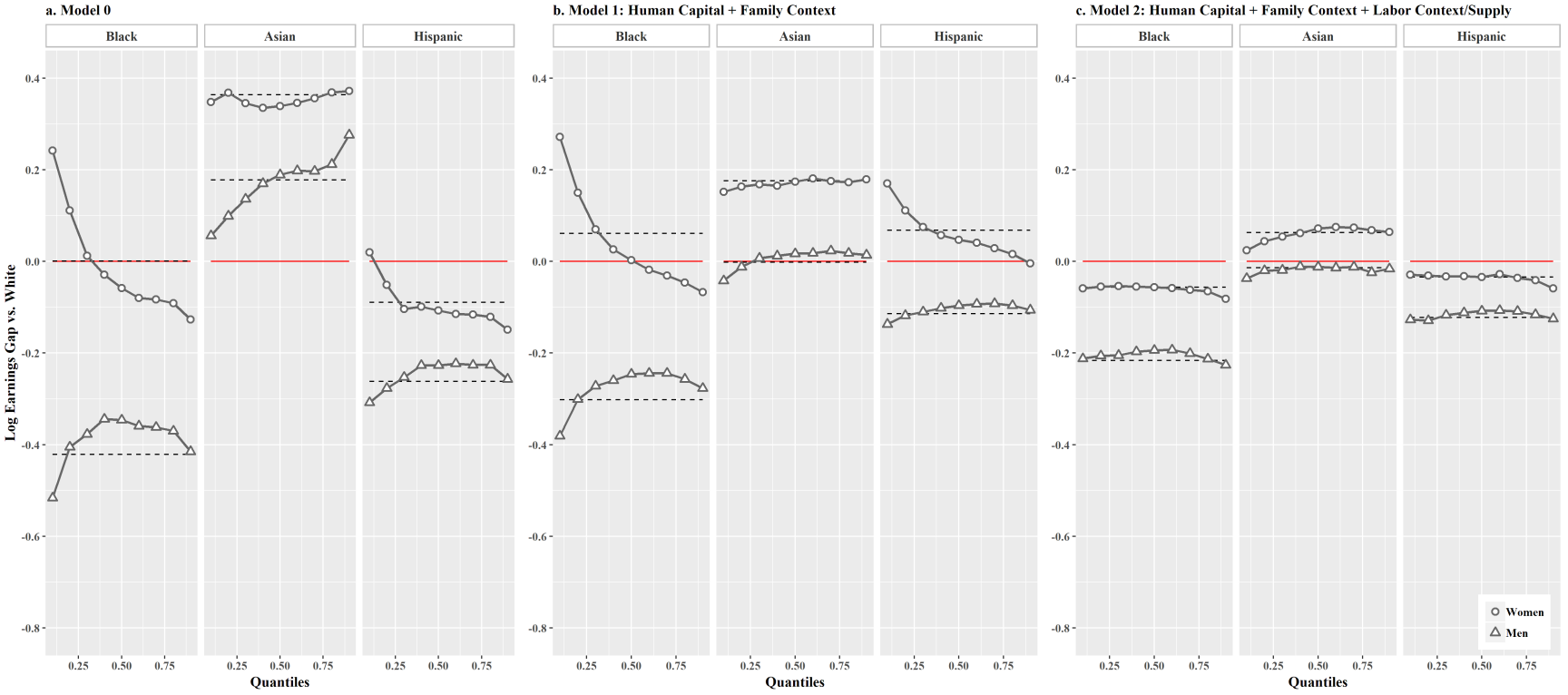

Figure 3: Quantile regression results on log earnings gap by race and gender among currently married. Plotted coefficients show predicted log earnings difference from equal sex whites. Dotted lines indicate OLS estimates. All samples are limited to those with positive annual earnings.

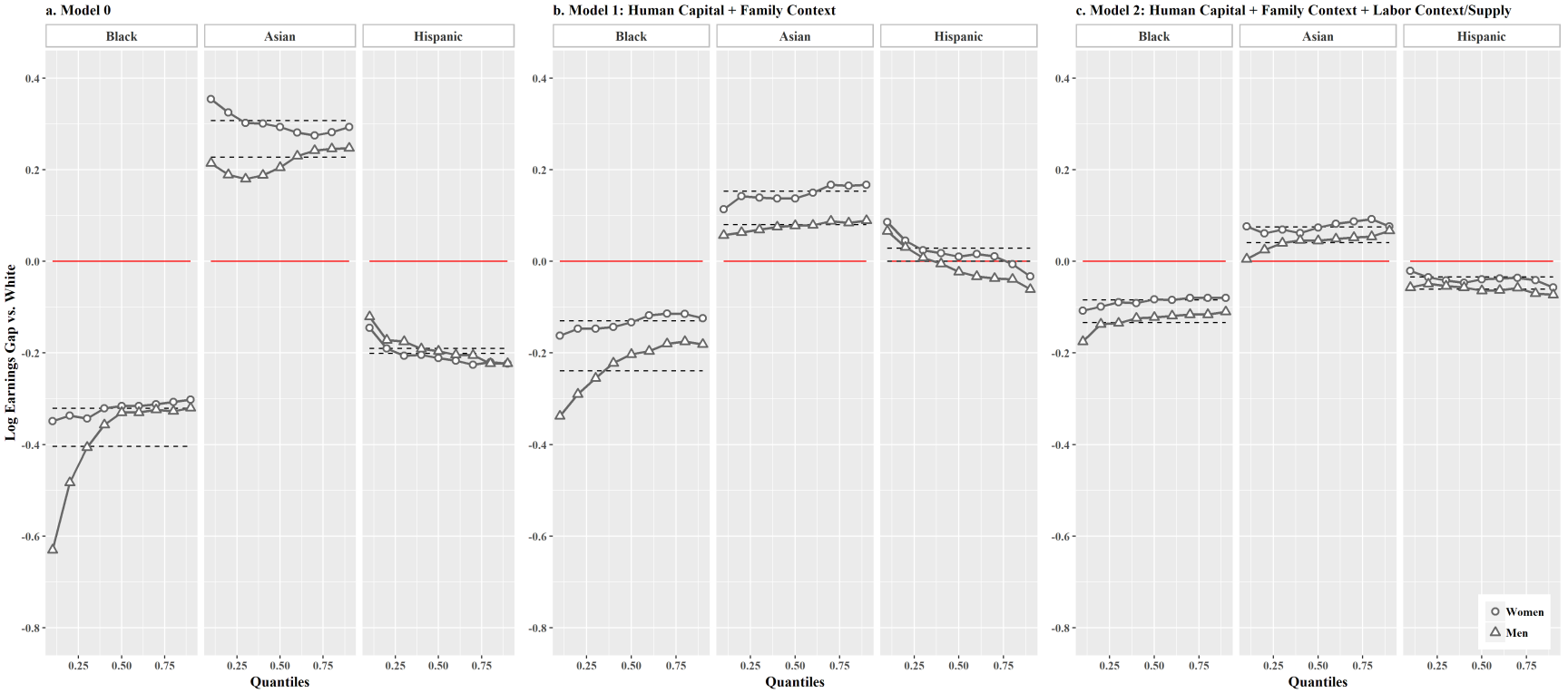

Figure 4: Quantile regression results on log earnings gap by race and gender among never married single. Plotted coefficients show predicted log earnings difference from equal sex whites. Dotted lines indicate OLS estimates. All samples are limited to those with positive annual earnings.

married white women. Such advantage turns into a disadvantage as we move higher in conditional earnings distribution. At quantile point 0.4, married black women's earnings relative to married white women's turn negative (2.8%). This disadvantage continues to increase up to -11.9% at quantile point 0.9. A similar pattern is witnessed for married Hispanic women. Their earnings are 2.1% higher than that of married white women at quantile point 0.1. However, in subsequent quantiles, their (dis)advantage shows a downward pattern and reach -13.8% at quantile point 0.9. For black and Hispanic men, though their earnings continue to be negative throughout the conditional earnings quantile, they show a distinctive upward pattern. Unlike Asian women who show a relatively flat pattern of advantage, Asian men show the upward pattern of advantage.

In model 1 (Figure 3, b), when human capital and family context variables are controlled, couple changes are noticeable. First, minority's (dis)advantage decreased. Considering the overall level of education is higher among Asians and lower among blacks and Hispanics compared to whites, this makes sense intuitively. Second, the mirrored pattern of racial earnings (dis)advantage by gender still holds except for Hispanics as Hispanic men's earnings disadvantage compared to white men shows a flattened pattern. Only in model 2, when the labor market related covariates are controlled, we see a flat disadvantage where quantile regression coefficient plots overlap with OLS coefficients. This implies that covariates added in model 2 (Figure 3, c) eliminates unobserved characteristics responsible for the mirrored pattern of (dis)advantage in racial earnings inequality evident in models 0 and 1.[2]

4.3 Identical Patterns of Racial (Dis)advantage by Gender in Family Standard of Living

If differential patterns of racial earnings (dis)advantage by gender is due to the racialized household division of work in the labor market, the patterns of (dis)advantage might be

[2]We ran additional analyses with usual hours worked per week on top of Model 0, and witnessed the pattern of racial earnings (dis)advantage similar to that of Model 2. When we assessed Model 2 without usual hours worked per week, the mirrored pattern remained.

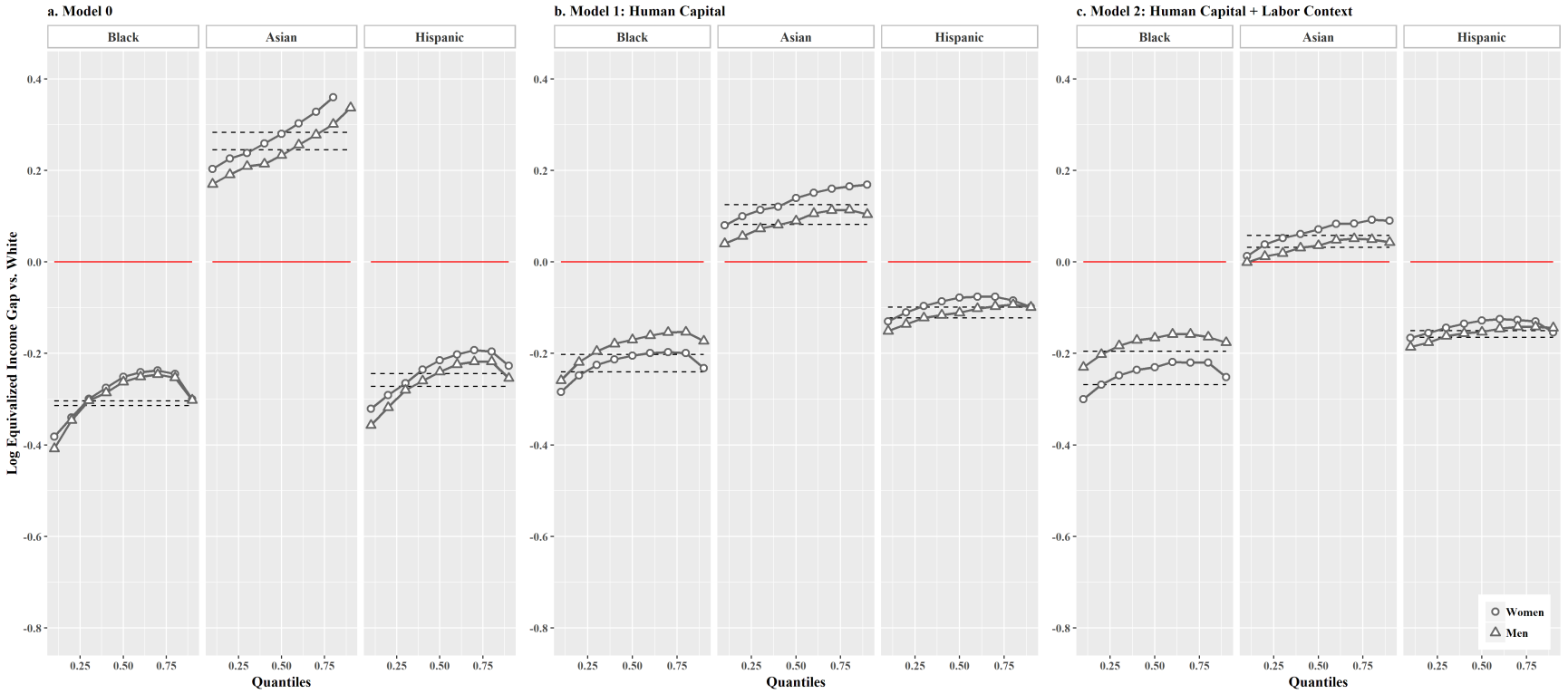

Figure 5: Quantile regression results on log equivalized income gap by race and gender among currently married. Plotted coefficients show predicted log equivalized income difference from equal sex whites. Dotted lines indicate OLS estimates.

identical for men and women when we look at family standard of living. To check this speculation, we estimate the racial effects on equivalized income. Equivalized income is measured by total family income divided by the square root of the number of people living together. It is commonly used as a measure of economic well-being (DiPrete and Buchmann, 2006; Breen and Salazar, 2011; Kim and Sakamoto, 2017). Figure 5 shows racial (dis)advantage in equivalized income by gender among currently married. Coefficients and detailed model specifications are presented in Table A.4 in Appendix. Patterns of (dis)advantage in the family standard of living for men and women are nearly identical.[3]

5 Discussion & Conclusion

Our results in the previous section indicate that racial differences in usual work hours of an individual are responsible for the mirrored pattern of racial earnings (dis)advantage by gender. While minority women earn significantly more than white women at the low-end of the earnings distribution, minority men earn significantly less than white men. As earnings quantile rises, minority women's advantage and minority men's disadvantage both decreased. This gendered pattern of racial earnings (dis)advantage was evident for blacks, Hispanics, and Asians compared to whites. It is important to note that we only found this mirrored pattern among currently married. Even after controlling for demographic, human capital, and family context factors, this gendered pattern of racial earnings (dis)advantage maintained. Net of usual hours worked per week, however, downward and upward patterns of minority women and men turned flat. Additionally, we have shown that racial (dis)advantage in the family standard of living yield identical patterns for men and women across conditional earnings quantiles. The question still remains.

[3]Equivalized income takes into account the number of family members sharing the total income pool. It is possible that this result is skewed by the difference in the average number of family members by race and gender. We did not see a significant difference among currently married in an average number of family members across race and gender. We ran the same analyses with total household income as well and the results were almost identical to the analysis presented here.

Quantile regression results on personal earnings imply that minority women work more than white women, while white men work more than minority men at the lower end of the earnings distribution conditional on respective covariates. Can this difference be explained by work hours or household division of work in the labor market? We compare absolute hours of work, household division of work in the labor market and spouse earnings across the quantiles of residuals from OLS on model 0 among currently married.

Figure 6 shows the absolute hours worked in a week, household division of work in the labor market, and spouse earnings by race and gender for each earnings quantile among currently married. Quantiles are from Model 0. Overall, work hours increase steeply at lower quantiles and flattens out toward the middle quantiles. Across the quantiles, we witness white women working less than minority women, and white men working more than minority men 6, a). This implies that racial minorities who are women work more while racial minorities who are men work less at lower quantiles in their respective earnings distribution compared to equal sex whites. Looking at the household division of work, or the proportion of respondent's work hours in the sum of husband and wife's work hours, we see a more distinctive pattern. Black women's proportion of labor supply in the labor market in their household is higher than any other women across quantiles. The gap is largest at the lower quantiles and it decreases toward the upper end. Among women, white women show the lowest share of labor supply in the labor market in their household. White men's proportion of labor supply in their household is similar to that of Asian and Hispanic men. The gap between black men and other men increase in upper quantiles.

It is clear, at least for married women, white women are more likely to be following the traditional gender division of work in their household than minority women. However, married women staying at home costs families economically more than ever. How can white couples afford to follow traditional gender roles when married? In terms of spouse earnings (Figure 6, c), the difference between white women, and black and Hispanic women is clear. The gap in spouse earnings among white women and non-Asian minority women is larger at

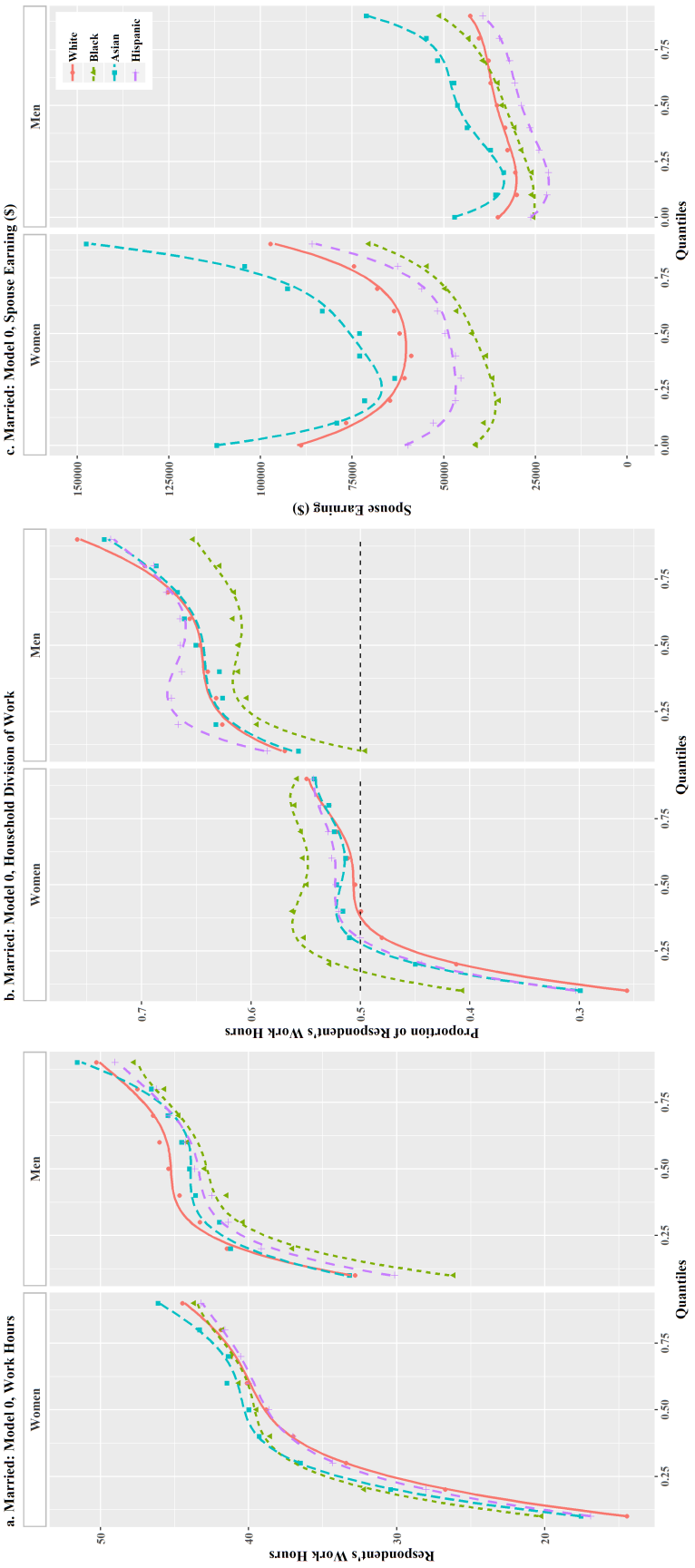

Figure 6: Respondents' work hours, household division of work in the labor market, and spouse earning by race and gender among currently married.

the lower earnings quantile and smallest at the higher earnings quantile. For those who are not in the labor market, this gap is even higher. This implies that the discussion of racialized household division of work in the labor market is closely tied to exploring which racial group can afford to adopt more traditional gender role in a family. Additional analyses indicate that married whites at the low-end of the earnings distribution tend to have a relatively low level of education and resides in rural areas.

This research situated individual level racial earnings (dis)advantage in the context of family decision from a supply side of the labor market. As results suggest, patterns of racial earnings (dis)advantage is closely tied to the household division of work in the labor market. It is important to note that this study, despite empirically supports intersectionality argument to a certain degree, left the demand side of factors in the labor market such as discrimination out of the picture. As such we cannot make arguments on the total racial earnings (dis)advantage in the labor market. However, this attempt is valid in that we found the relationship between the racialized household division of work and earnings differential at an individual level. We plan on further developing this paper with regard to explain the upward pattern of racial (dis)advantage in equivalized income and explore the specific differences by race and gender responsible for the racialized division of household work in the labor market.

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Table A.1: Gendered racial earnings (dis)advantage

	Model 1				Model 2			
	OLS	Quantile Regression			OLS	Quantile Regression		
Position in the distribution	Mean	Q2	Q5	Q8	Mean	Q2	Q5	Q8
Age, age squared, year	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Human capital	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Family context	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Labor context					O	O	O	O
Labor supply					O	O	O	O
Female racial earnings (dis)advantage (ref. White women)								
Black women	-0.020***	0.028***	-0.054***	-0.076***	-0.065***	-0.070***	-0.067***	-0.074***
	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Asian women	0.184***	0.184***	0.169***	0.175***	0.070***	0.054***	0.074***	0.079***
	(0.008)	(0.013)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Hispanic women	0.068***	0.112***	0.041***	0.010*	-0.033***	-0.029***	-0.036***	-0.043***
	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)
R^2	0.187				0.624			
Pseudo R^2		0.095	0.143	0.172		0.450	0.387	0.330
Sample size				400,185				
Male racial earnings (dis)advantage (ref. White men)								
Black men	-0.284***	-0.310***	-0.236***	-0.227***	-0.184***	-0.181***	-0.168***	-0.178***
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Asian men	0.021**	0.011	0.037***	0.035***	-0.004	-0.014	0.003	-0.003
	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Hispanic men	-0.076***	-0.074***	-0.076***	-0.083***	-0.105***	-0.104***	-0.098***	-0.108***
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.004)
R^2	0.268				0.583			
Pseudo R^2		0.153	0.178	0.198		0.418	0.359	0.315
Sample size				433,381				

Notes: Coefficients for controlled variables are not shown to save space. Samples are limited to those with positive annual earnings. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Person weights are applied.

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Table A.2: Gendered racial earnings (dis)advantage among currently married

	Model 1				Model 2			
	OLS	Quantile Regression			OLS	Quantile Regression		
Position in the distribution	Mean	Q2	Q5	Q8	Mean	Q2	Q5	Q8
Age, age squared, year	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Human capital	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Family context	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Labor context					O	O	O	O
Labor supply					O	O	O	O
Female racial earnings (dis)advantage (ref. married White women)								
Married Black women	0.061***	0.150***	0.003	-0.046***	-0.056***	-0.055***	-0.056***	-0.065***
	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Married Asian women	0.176***	0.163***	0.174***	0.173***	0.063***	0.044***	0.072***	0.068***
	(0.011)	(0.020)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.015)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Married Hispanic women	0.068***	0.111***	0.047***	0.016**	-0.034***	-0.029***	-0.034***	-0.041***
	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.005)
R^2	0.158				0.615			
Pseudo R^2		0.080	0.125	0.155		0.446	0.376	0.319
Sample size				227,300				
Male racial earnings (dis)advantage (ref. married White men)								
Married Black men	-0.302***	-0.301***	-0.246***	-0.257***	-0.216***	-0.206***	-0.194***	-0.213***
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Married Asian men	-0.002	-0.012	0.017*	0.018*	-0.014	-0.020*	-0.012	-0.024***
	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Married Hispanic men	-0.114***	-0.118***	-0.096***	-0.096***	-0.122***	-0.129***	-0.108***	-0.116***
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)
R^2	0.215				0.484			
Pseudo R^2		0.109	0.148	0.178		0.323	0.283	0.267
Sample size				252,429				

Notes: Coefficients for controlled variables are not shown to save space. Samples are limited to those with positive annual earnings. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Person weights are applied.

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Table A.3: Gendered racial earnings (dis)advantage among never married single

	Model 1				Model 2			
	OLS	Quantile Regression			OLS	Quantile Regression		
Position in the distribution	Mean	Q2	Q5	Q8	Mean	Q2	Q5	Q8
Age, age squared, year	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Human capital	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Family context	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Labor context					O	O	O	O
Labor supply					O	O	O	O
Female racial earnings (dis)advantage (ref. single White women)								
Single Black women	-0.130***	-0.147***	-0.133***	-0.115***	-0.084***	-0.099***	-0.083***	-0.080***
	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Single Asian women	0.153***	0.142***	0.137***	0.165***	0.075***	0.061***	0.074***	0.092***
	(0.013)	(0.018)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Single Hispanic women	0.029***	0.045**	0.010	-0.006	-0.034***	-0.035***	-0.039***	-0.041***
	(0.009)	(0.015)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.007)
R^2	0.196				0.624			
Pseudo R^2		0.104	0.143	0.166		0.448	0.385	0.324
Sample size				172,885				
Male racial earnings (dis)advantage (ref. single White men)								
Single Black men	-0.239***	-0.290***	-0.203***	-0.175***	-0.134***	-0.137***	-0.122***	-0.116***
	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Single Asian men	0.080***	0.063***	0.078***	0.084***	0.041***	-0.025*	0.045***	0.054***
	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.010)
Single Hispanic men	-0.000	0.031*	-0.023***	-0.039***	-0.061***	-0.049***	-0.064***	-0.070***
	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)
R^2	0.175				0.583			
Pseudo R^2		0.098	0.113	0.135		0.434	0.359	0.294
Sample size				180,952				

Notes: Coefficients for controlled variables are not shown to save space. Samples are limited to those with positive annual earnings. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Person weights are applied.

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Table A.4: Gendered racial (dis)advantage in equivalized income among currently married

	Model 1				Model 2			
	OLS	Quantile Regression			OLS	Quantile Regression		
Position in the distribution	Mean	Q2	Q5	Q8	Mean	Q2	Q5	Q8
Age, age squared, year	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Human capital	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Labor context					O	O	O	O
Female racial (dis)advantage in equivalized income (ref. married White women)								
Married Black women	-0.240***	-0.248***	-0.205***	-0.199***	-0.268***	-0.268***	-0.230***	-0.220***
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Married Asian women	0.125***	0.100***	0.140***	0.165***	0.058***	0.038***	0.071***	0.092***
	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Married Hispanic women	-0.099***	-0.110***	-0.078***	-0.084***	-0.150***	-0.155***	-0.128***	-0.130***
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.005)
R^2	0.255				0.302			
Pseudo R^2		0.148	0.151	0.157		0.187	0.184	0.180
Sample size	290,075							
Male racial (dis)advantage in equivalized income (ref. married White men)								
Married Black men	-0.202***	-0.219***	-0.170***	-0.153***	-0.268***	-0.268***	-0.230***	-0.220***
	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Married Asian men	0.082***	0.056***	0.090***	0.114***	0.058***	0.038***	0.071***	0.092***
	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Married Hispanic men	-0.122***	-0.136***	-0.111***	-0.093***	-0.150***	-0.155***	-0.128***	-0.130***
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.005)
R^2	0.245				0.302			
Pseudo R^2		0.135	0.142	0.157		0.188	0.184	0.180
Sample size	271,861							

Notes: Coefficients for controlled variables are not shown to save space. Samples are limited to those with positive family income. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Person weights are applied.

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)