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**INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING AND THE GROWTH OF LOW
WAGE WORK IN THE RURAL U.S.**

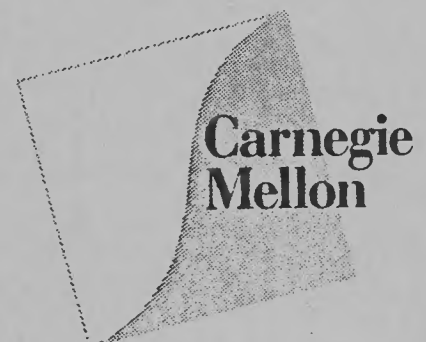
Lucy Gorham

and

Bennett Harrison

School of Urban and Public Affairs
Carnegie Mellon University

October, 1990



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**Lucy Gorham
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Massachusetts Institute of Technology**

**Bennett Harrison
Visiting Professor, School of Urban and Public Affairs
Carnegie Mellon University**

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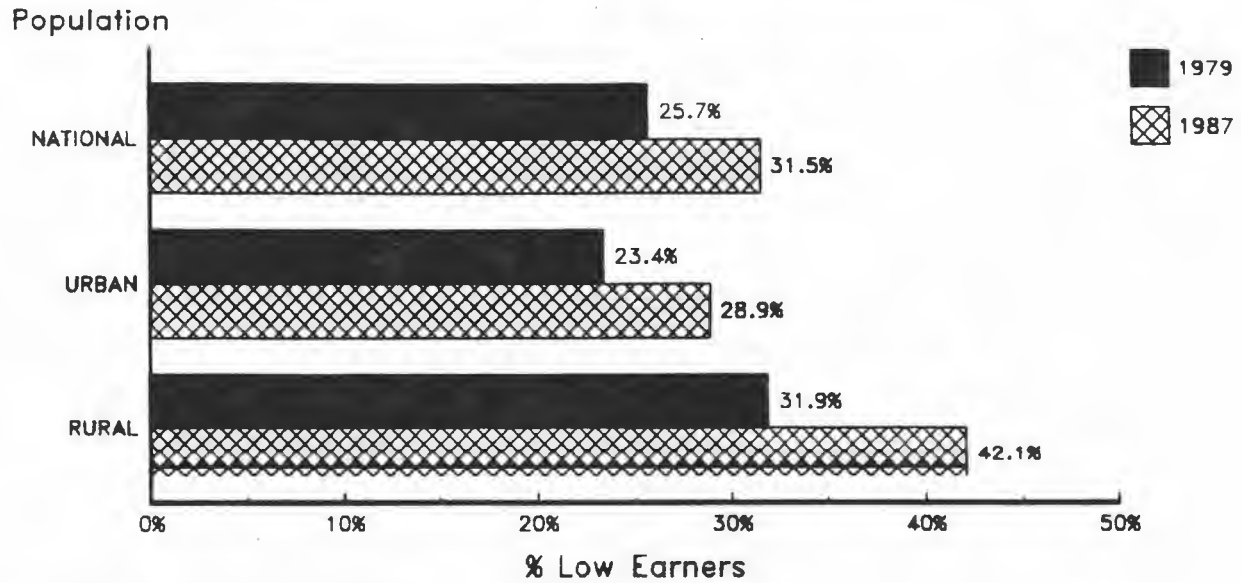
INTRODUCTION

This report examines the contribution of industrial change to the growth of low wage work in the rural United States. Over the past decade, the share of workers earning poverty level wages grew dramatically in rural areas, even though these people worked the equivalent of year round and full time.¹ According to our research findings presented in an earlier report, in 1979 31.9 percent of rural workers received hourly earnings which, on an annualized basis, were too low to lift a family of four out of poverty.² By 1987, this figure had leapt to 42.1 percent (see Figure 1 for a comparison of earnings trends for all U.S., rural, and urban workers). This represents an increase in the share of rural low earners of over 30 percent in just eight years.

Not only did the percentage of low earners increase in the rural U.S. overall, but also among all rural labor force groups based on race, sex, age, and education and within each of nine Census regions.³ And while these figures on the share of workers earning low wages are disturbing, perhaps even more distressing is the fact that the growth of rural low earners during the 1980's reversed the trend of the previous decade, during which the percentage of low earners declined.⁴

What can account for these disturbing developments? Given the tremendous turmoil experienced by many industries such as agriculture, natural resources, and manufacturing -- attributable especially to profound changes in global competition, generally,

FIGURE 1
PERCENTAGE OF LOW HOURLY EARNERS, 1979-87*
NATIONAL, URBAN, AND RURAL POPULATIONS



*ANNUAL EARNINGS ADJUSTED FOR WKS & HRS OF WORK
Source: authors' estimates from Census Bureau data.

and in U.S. competitiveness, in particular -- one obvious possibility is that industrial restructuring has played a major role. To determine whether this is true, we need to consider two distinct, though not mutually exclusive, dimensions of industrial restructuring. The first consists of employment shifts between different industries, for example the decline of manufacturing and the rise of service employment. Since manufacturing industries contain, on average, a smaller share of low wage jobs than do services industries, a shift of employment between these two sectors in and of itself could increase the overall share of low earners in the economy.

The second dimension of restructuring consists of changes within an industry which could increase the share of low earners. If, for example, an industry responds to increased competitive pressure by closing its operations in a higher wage area and moving them to a lower wage area, this action will result in a higher share of low wage workers across the economy, even though overall employment in each industry may have stayed exactly the same. Making a distinction between these two dimensions of industrial restructuring is important not only because it adds to our understanding of the problem of the growth of low wage work, but also because the policy implications of each are somewhat different. This will be discussed in greater depth further on.

Our major findings are that the growth in the share of low earners in rural areas cuts across all major industry sectors and is largely attributable to changes which have occurred within

industries, rather than to employment shifts between industries.
This is true not only for rural workers considered as a whole, but
also for rural women and men and Blacks and Whites. In short,
employers have apparently been shifting existing work to lower wage
areas, expanding the lower-skilled jobs within an industry, or
freezing or cutting wages or hours of existing jobs.

In the next section, we take a brief look at rural economic
restructuring over the past two decades to give some background to
the analysis of industry earnings trends which follows. The
industry analysis not only compares industry earnings trends in
both rural and urban areas, but also compares the experience of men
and women workers and Black and White workers.⁵

THE RURAL U.S. IN ECONOMIC TRANSITION

In order to understand whether and how industrial
restructuring may have contributed to the growth of low wage work
in rural areas, we need to explore what changed in rural areas in
the 1980s compared to the previous two decades. During the 1960s
and 1970s, largely unanticipated economic growth and population
expansion took place in rural America.⁶ A combination of
fortuitous economic trends all contributed to an unprecedented
surge in rural prosperity. Manufacturing employment moved from
urban to rural areas at an accelerated pace, resource-based
industries such as agriculture, mining, and energy boomed, the
infrastructure for transportation and communications improved, and

rural areas became an increasingly attractive place to live, especially for the retired.

As a result, employment opportunities both expanded and diversified. This contributed to an increase in the earnings and family income of rural residents, both absolutely and relative to workers in cities.⁷ Rural women, who had lagged behind their urban counterparts in joining the labor force, began to work in record numbers. For the first time since the start of the industrial revolution, the historic trend of migration from country to city halted.

But just as the boom in rural America was not anticipated by many, neither was the sudden slowdown in rural growth starting in the late 1970s and continuing on into the 1980s. While the traditional rural industries of farming, mining, and energy (particularly oil) experienced a simultaneous expansion in the 1970s for a variety of reasons, they all underwent sharp contractions in the 1980s. The new economic prosperity of the 1970s suddenly evaporated for many rural communities. Commodity prices plummeted, real interest rates remained high, the high value of the dollar discouraged foreign exports and encouraged imports, and international economic stagnation and third world debt dampened the demand for U.S. products, including both food and manufactured goods.⁸

Related rural industries such as farm machinery and wood products came under severe strain, resulting in even fewer opportunities for rural workers. Plant closings in traditional

manufacturing industries that migrated from the cities in previous decades, such as textiles and furniture, left many small towns reeling as their major source of jobs disappeared. Job losses in one sector often had far-reaching consequences. For example, with roughly sixty percent of farm family income derived from non-farm sources, declining opportunities for off-farm employment added yet another source of instability to the farming sector.⁹

The current restructuring of the rural economy -- changes in industry mix, labor force composition, the size distribution (and possibly ownership) of business establishments, the sensitivity to international economic forces -- raises important issues for those concerned with maintaining and improving standards of living through economic development. Research comparing urban with rural trends in per capita income shows that the gap between urban and rural areas closed between 1965 and 1973, but has increased since then.¹⁰ Counties dependent on agriculture, mining, and energy have fared the worst, and the trends seem to be structurally rather than cyclically based.¹¹

Clues to the changes in per capita income can be found by examining labor market trends. Rural areas have always had a higher proportion of low-skilled, low-wage industries than urban areas (indeed, this is true throughout the world).¹² The south in particular is heavily dependent on low-wage manufacturing. Whereas low-wage industries such as apparel, textiles, wood products, and shoes represented only 19 percent of total U.S. manufacturing employment in 1984, they accounted for 40 percent of Southern rural

manufacturing.¹³ While 83 percent of the new job growth in rural areas has been in services since the late 1960s, rural areas aren't attracting either the higher wage or the faster growing segments of the services sector, such as business services, computer software development, or the home office operations of insurance, banking, and other overwhelmingly urban activities.¹⁴

While many rural communities have continued to prosper during the 1980's, rural America as a whole has been hard hit by the level and intensity of economic restructuring that the past decade has brought. We know that rural workers were considerably more likely to be receiving low earnings in 1987 than they were in 1979. In the following section, we explore whether this is because of the experience of rural workers in only a few industrial sectors or whether the problem is more pervasive.

THE ROLE OF INDUSTRIAL CHANGE

We now turn to examine more specifically what role industrial restructuring has played in changing the distribution of rural earnings. Our analysis of industry earnings trends uses the March Current Population Survey for the years 1979 and 1987.¹⁵ As has become convention, we use the CPS categories of "nonmetropolitan" and "metropolitan" as proxies for rural and urban.¹⁶

We define "low earners" to be individuals whose hourly wage and salary incomes (WSI) would leave them below the official poverty line for a family of four persons, even though they worked

the equivalent of a year round/full time job. By this definition, in 1987 a low earner made \$11,611 or less in annual earnings.¹⁷ We also defined three additional earnings categories which are simply multiples of the poverty line (Table 1). While our primary interest is in the bottom end of the earnings distribution, The Appendix contains detailed results for all four earnings categories, as well as results for all U.S. workers considered as a whole (Appendix Table XI).

TABLE 1
Average Poverty Threshold for a Family of Four
Adjusted by the CPI-X1

	<u>1979</u>	<u>1987</u>
Poverty Index (\$)	\$6,942	\$11,611
2X Pov.	\$13,884	\$23,222
3X Pov.	\$20,826	\$34,833

One problem in comparing workers' wages is that people's work experience varies enormously over the course of the year. Some people work year round and full time, others only part time or part year. How can these differences in work time be incorporated into an analysis of wages that gives an indicator that can be meaningfully compared across labor force groups?

The procedure is straightforward. From the CPS tapes, each individual's annual wage and salary income (WSI) is known. This is

divided by the number of weeks the respondent works, and then again by the number of hours the respondent "usually" worked per week. The resulting figure of hourly earnings is then multiplied by (52 weeks * 40 hours) to arrive back at a work experience-adjusted estimate of "annualized" WSI--what we referred to earlier as the equivalent of a year round/full time job. Such an indicator allows seasonal, occasional, and part-time workers to be incorporated into a comprehensive count of how many workers are low earners and to compare their earnings to an annual poverty level. ¹⁸

We divided industries into eight major sectors. These are agriculture, natural resources, construction, nondurable goods manufacturing, durable goods manufacturing, business and distributive services, consumer and social services, and the public sector (excluding military employment, which is not included in the CPS).¹⁹ For our gender and race breakdowns, however, we were not able to perform an analysis of all eight sectors due to the limitations of sample size.

To begin, is the growth in the percentage of rural low earners between 1979 and 1987 due to shifts of employment between industries -- for example, the decline of manufacturing and the growth of services? From the evidence presented in Table 2, which analyzes employment categorized into our eight major sectors, the answer would have to be no. In spite of the economic turmoil experienced in rural areas over this period, the distribution of rural employment among these eight sectors remained remarkably stable between 1979 and 1987.

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY
1979 AND 1987

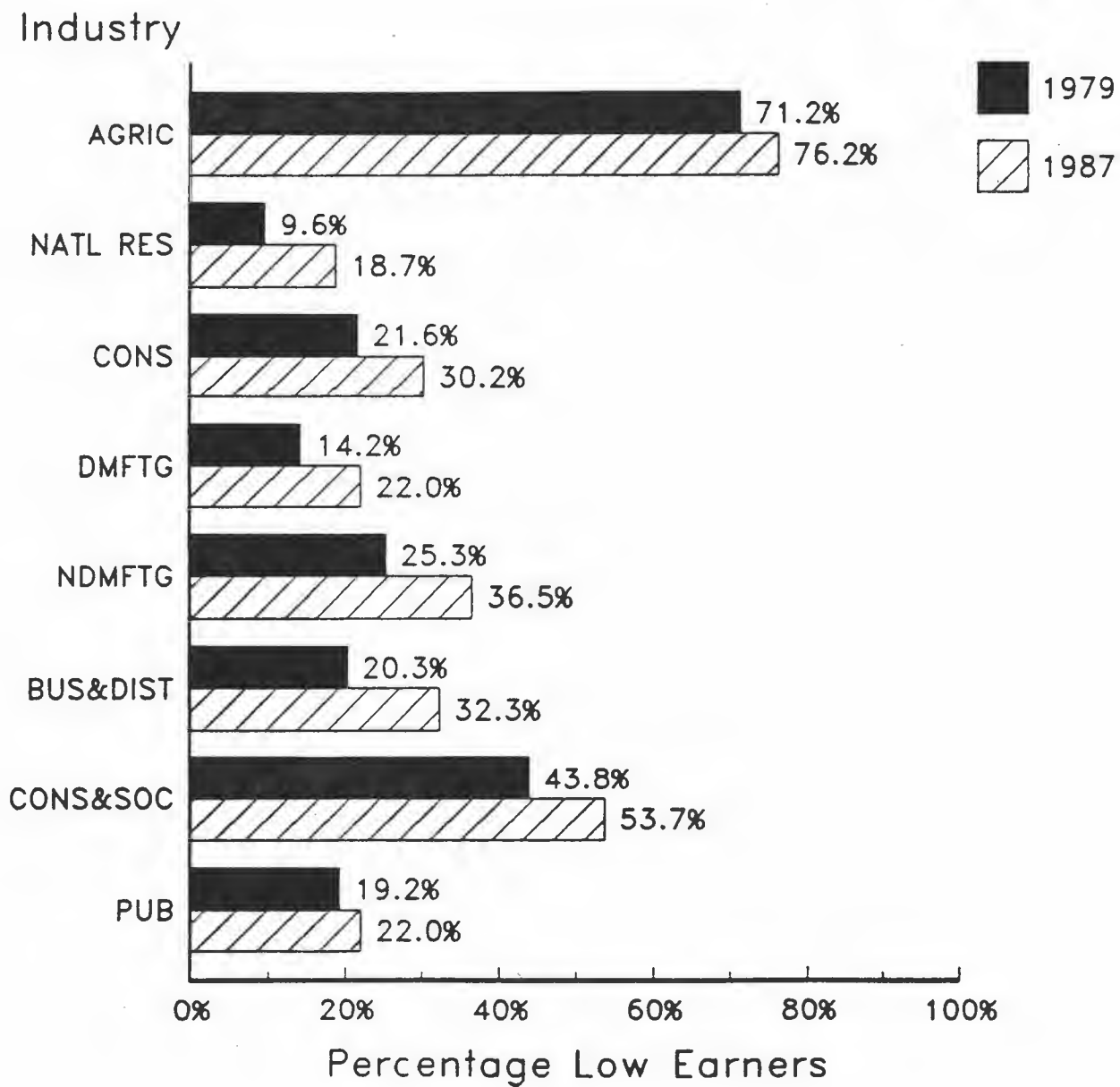
	Agric.	Nat'l Res.	Construc.	Durable Mftg.	Nondurable Mftg.	Bus/Diet Serv.	Cons/Soc Serv.	Public
% OF RURAL WORKERS IN INDUSTRY								
1979	4.1	2.0	7.0	13.9	11.8	14.3	41.9	4.9
1987	4.5	1.7	6.4	12.0	10.9	15.9	43.9	4.8
Change 1979-87	0.4	(0.3)	(0.6)	(1.9)	(0.9)	1.6	2.0	(0.1)

Source: Authors's estimates from Census Bureau
Data

While the share of workers employed in both durable and nondurable manufacturing declined slightly and the share of both business and distribution (B&D) services and consumer and social (C&S) services employment increased slightly, these shifts were not great enough to account for the 10.2 percentage point increase in the overall share of rural low earners. Instead, we find that the share of low earners increased in all eight industry sectors. These results are displayed in Figure 2. Thus, the growing problem of low earners must be attributable mainly to changes within industries rather than to employment shifts between industries.

So far, we have been talking about changes in the incidence of low wage work, rather than about the levels. Again looking at the results presented in Figure 2, we see that the percentage of low earners working in agriculture (71.2 percent in 1979 rising to 76.2 percent in 1987) exceeded that in any other sector by some margin in both years. Thus, for those workers able to remain employed in agriculture in 1987, more than three out of every four attained only poverty level earnings. The consumer and social services sector had the second highest percentage of low earners (53.7 percent in 1987). Since this is one of the few sectors with expanding employment in rural areas, this does not bode well for rural areas being able to reduce their dependence on low wage jobs. While business and distribution services, the other sector of employment expansion, had a lower percentage of low earners in 1987 than did consumer and social services, still close to 1 out of

FIGURE 2
PERCENTAGE OF RURAL WORKERS WITH LOW EARNINGS*
BY INDUSTRY, 1979 AND 1987



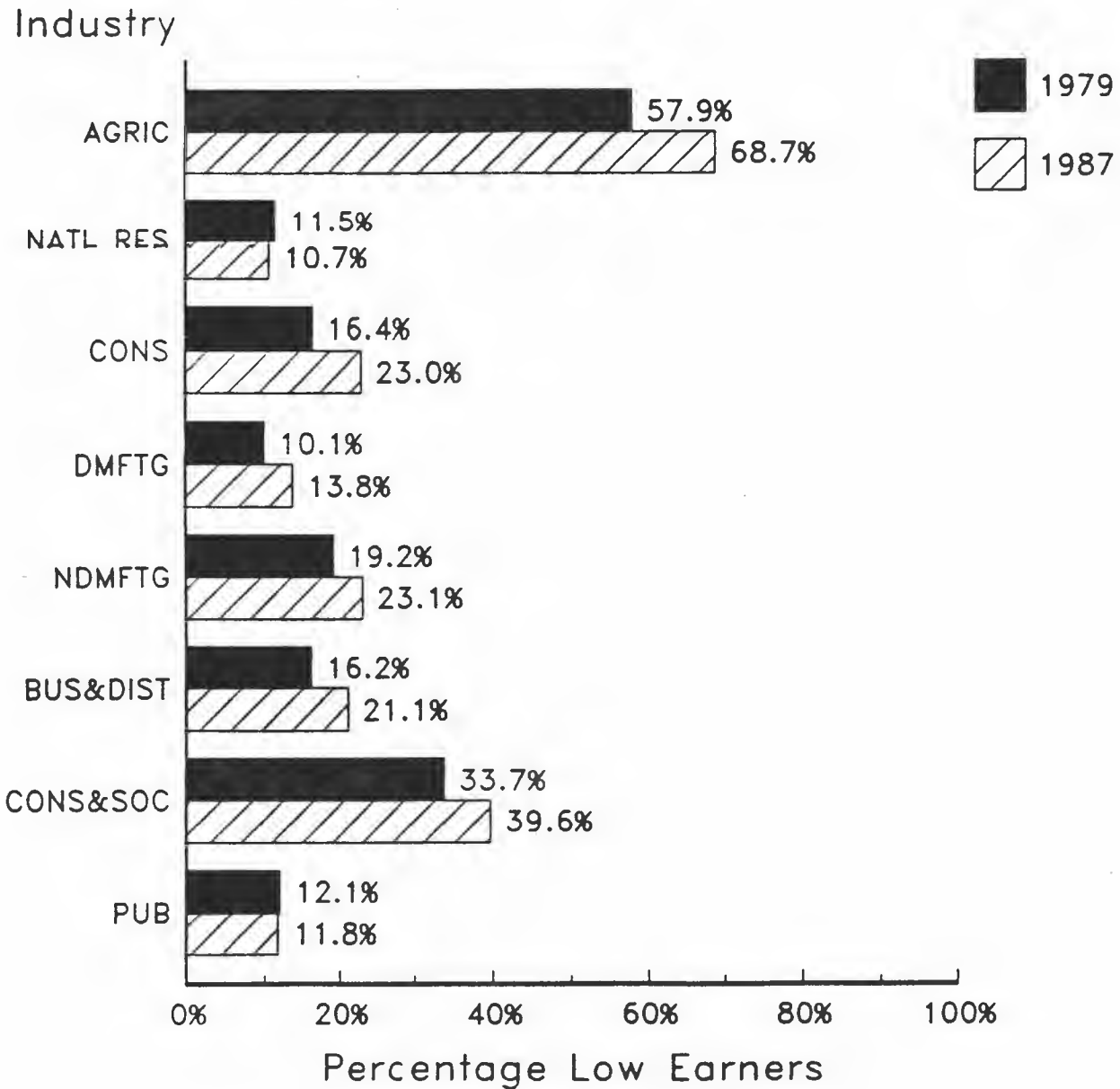
*ANNUAL EARNINGS ADJUSTED FOR WKS & HRS OF WORK
 Source: authors's estimates, Census Bureau Data

every 3 workers were low earners, up from 1 out of 5 in 1979. Compared to the other seven sectors, the public sector appears relatively stable -- an increase in the percentage of low earners between 1979 and 1987 of less than 3 percentage points.

The growth in the percentage of low earners within industries is not peculiar to rural areas, but is found in urban areas as well (Figure 3). As in rural areas, the agriculture sector showed the highest percentage of low earners in both 1979 and 1987, approaching 7 out of 10 workers in 1987. And, again, consumer and social services had the second highest percentage of low earners -- roughly 4 out of 10 workers in 1987. In fact, if we rank each rural industry by its percentage of low earners in 1987 and do the same for each urban industry, we find that the rank order is nearly identical (the one exception being that in rural areas, business and distribution services have a higher share of low earners than construction, while in urban areas the reverse is true). Except for very slight declines in the share of low earners in the natural resources and public sectors, all urban industrial sectors also showed a growing share of low wage earners between 1979 and 1987.

The real difference between rural and urban industry wage trends lies not in whether the share of low earners increased between 1979 and 1987, but rather in how much it increased and in how high the levels were in both years. All rural industrial sectors showed a substantially higher level of low earners than urban industries in 1987, and the increase in low earners between these two years was on the order of 50 percent higher in rural than

FIGURE 3
PERCENTAGE OF URBAN WORKERS WITH LOW EARNINGS*
BY INDUSTRY, 1979 AND 1987



*ANNUAL EARNINGS ADJUSTED FOR WKS & HRS OF WORK
 Source: authors's estimates, Census Bureau Data

in urban areas. In fact, in 1979 the percentage of low earners in the natural resources sector was lower in rural areas than in urban areas. By 1987, however, it had climbed to a level in rural areas approximately 80 percent higher than that in urban areas.

Why have rural areas been harder hit generally than urban areas? One answer, discussed earlier, is that during the 1980s nearly all the major industrial sectors found in rural areas -- agriculture, mining, manufacturing, timber and other natural resource-based industries -- experienced almost simultaneous recession and loss of employment. Because rural local economies are usually less diverse than the economies of cities, a downturn in even one of these sectors could have a major impact on rural employment and earnings. The cities which have felt the biggest shocks -- Detroit, Flint, Youngstown, Houston, and so on -- are also cities where the economic base is heavily tied to one industry.

A second answer lies in the different role that services play in rural and urban economies. Services has been the big growth sector of the 1980s, providing an engine of economic renewal for cities such as Boston and Chicago through the addition of jobs in finance, corporate planning, computer-related activity, advertising, and the like. While the services sector has also grown in rural areas, by and large it has been in industries such as retail sales or food and entertainment -- industries which are at the lower end of the wage spectrum. Thus services rarely provide the same stimulus to development in rural areas that they

do in cities, nor are they as likely to offer the same opportunities for replacing better-paying jobs at a comparable wage.

The data presented in Table 3 show the share of all rural low earners found in each industry. For example, while the durable goods sector accounted for 12 percent of rural employment in 1987, it was responsible for only 6.3 percent of rural low earners. The consumer and social services sector, on the other hand, employed just under 44 percent of all rural workers but was responsible for 56 percent of all low earners. Thus, low earners are "under-represented" in durable goods manufacturing but "over-represented" in C&S services.

A development strategy aimed at minimizing low wage work should concentrate on expanding employment in those sectors where low earners are under-represented -- natural resources, construction, durable goods and nondurable goods manufacturing, business and distribution services, and the public sector. With the exception of a small increase (1.6 percentage points) in the share of rural workers employed in B&D services, however, each of these sectors accounted for a declining share of rural workers between 1979 and 1987. Since services are the main growth source of in both rural and urban areas, at least at present, a development strategy which would result in a higher share of better-paying jobs must either emphasize the expansion of higher wage B&D services industries or increase the percentage of better-paying jobs in all services industries. The latter could be

TABLE 3
RURAL LOW WAGE EMPLOYMENT* BY INDUSTRY
1979 AND 1987

	Agric.	Nat'l Res.	Construc.	Durable Mftg.	Nondurable Mftg.	Bus/Dist Serv.	Cons/Soc Serv.	Public
% Low Earners in Ind								
1979	71.2	9.6	21.6	14.2	25.3	20.3	43.8	19.2
1987	76.2	18.7	30.2	22.0	36.5	32.3	53.7	22.0
Change 1979-87	5.0	9.1	8.6	7.8	11.2	12.0	9.9	2.8
% of All Low Earners								
1979	9.3	0.6	4.8	6.2	9.3	9.1	57.7	3.0
1987	8.1	0.8	4.6	6.3	9.5	12.2	56.0	2.3
Change 1979-87	(1.2)	0.2	(0.2)	0.1	0.2	3.1	(1.7)	(0.5)

*ANNUAL EARNINGS ADJUSTED FOR WKS & HRS OF WORK
 Source: Authors's estimates from Census Bureau
 Data

accomplished by greater unionization, raising the minimum wage substantially, and improving the education and skills of the workforce to improve productivity.

The data in Table 4, which show high wage employment by sector, confirm the importance of the business and distribution services sector in providing better jobs to rural workers. Unfortunately as shown in rows 4 through 6, all of our eight industry sectors experienced a decline in the percentage of high earners between 1979 and 1987 (roughly \$35,000 or more in 1987 dollars). However, the B&D services sector increased its share of rural employment over the same period to 15.9 percent of all rural employment and it had the second highest percentage of high wage workers (10.8 percent). As a result, by 1987 this sector accounted for more than 25 percent of all rural high wage workers.

The consumer and social services sector employed an additional 25 percent of all rural high wage workers in 1987. This is not because it is a relatively high wage industry like B&D services, but simply because it employs such a large number of rural workers. However, because the percentage of high earners is so much lower in this sector, to get the same number of high wage jobs would require creating three times the number of consumer and social services jobs as business and distribution services jobs. Since the B&D services sector is linked to other industries, of course, it is not as simple as choosing to encourage the development of this sector over others. But being aware of the consequences of growth in one sector versus another in terms of

TABLE 3
RURAL LOW WAGE EMPLOYMENT* BY INDUSTRY
1979 AND 1987

	Agric.	Nat'l Res.	Construc.	Durable Mftg.	Nondurable Mftg.	Bus/Dist Serv.	Cons/Soc Serv.	Public
% Low Earners in Ind								
1979	71.2	9.6	21.6	14.2	25.3	20.3	43.8	19.2
1987	76.2	18.7	30.2	22.0	36.5	32.3	53.7	22.0
Change 1979-87	5.0	9.1	8.6	7.8	11.2	12.0	9.9	2.8
% of All Low Earners								
1979	9.3	0.6	4.8	6.2	9.3	9.1	57.7	3.0
1987	8.1	0.8	4.6	6.3	9.5	12.2	56.0	2.3
Change 1979-87	(1.2)	0.2	(0.2)	0.1	0.2	3.1	(1.7)	(0.5)

*ANNUAL EARNINGS ADJUSTED FOR WKS & HRS OF WORK
Source: Authors's estimates from Census Bureau
Data

TABLE 4

RURAL HIGH WAGE EMPLOYMENT* BY INDUSTRY
1979 AND 1987

	Agric.	Nat'l Res.	Construc.	Durable Mftg.	Nondurable Mftg.	Bus/Dist Serv.	Cons/Soc Serv.	Public
% of High Earners in the Industry								
1979	2.7	30.9	16.4	13.1	9.4	15.2	5.7	12.0
1987	2.7	19.1	8.2	7.9	7.4	10.8	3.8	9.6
Change 1979-87	0.0	(11.8)	(8.2)	(5.2)	(2.0)	(4.4)	(1.9)	(2.4)
% of All Rural High Earners in Industry								
1979	1.1	6.2	11.6	18.3	11.1	21.8	23.9	6.0
1987	1.8	5.0	7.9	14.4	12.2	26.1	25.5	7.0
Change 1979-87	0.7	(1.2)	(3.7)	(3.9)	1.1	4.3	1.6	1.0

*ANNUAL EARNINGS ADJUSTED FOR WKS & HRS OF WORK

Source: Authors' estimates from Census Bureau

Data

wages (and thus family incomes) can only enhance local planning efforts.

The Impact on Sex and Race Inequality

Our earlier research documented the growing percentage of low earners among rural men and women and among rural Whites and Blacks, as well as the widening gap between White and Black workers.²⁰ For example, between 1979 and 1987, the percentage of rural women with low earnings increased from 43.7 percent to 53.9 percent. The equivalent figures for rural men were 22.2 percent in 1979 rising to 31.6 percent in 1987, an increase that, while substantial, was less than half that for women.

For rural Whites and Blacks, the increases in the percentage of low earners were also disturbing. For rural Whites, 4 out of 10 workers were low earners in 1987, compared with 3 out of 10 in 1979. But for rural Blacks, the situation was far worse. In 1987, 6 out of ten rural Blacks were low earners, up from 5 out of 10 in 1979. What insight into these trends can we gain by examining industrial change?

Beginning with an examination of the earnings trends among men and women, let's look at how the distribution of employment by industry differs for these two groups (Table 5).²¹ First, it's important to keep in mind how important women are to the rural

economy. In spite of the stereotype of the rural worker as a male farmer or lumberjack, in 1987 women comprised almost half (47 percent) of the rural labor force. Women's labor, both paid and unpaid, has always been of vital importance in maintaining the living standards of rural families. With economic opportunities narrowing and many women becoming the sole source of support for their families, this is more true today than ever.

The first thing to note in Table 5 is the concentration of women in the consumer and social services sector, an industry with a high percentage of low wage workers. The C&S sector employed over 60 percent of rural women workers in both 1979 and 1987, over twice the percentage of rural men. Not only were rural men more evenly distributed across industries in both years, they were much more likely to find jobs in the higher-paying sectors of durable manufacturing and business and distribution services.

Looking at table 5, which shows the percentage point change in each sector's share of women's and men's employment between 1979 and 1987, it is clear that for both men and women, the composition of employment between industries has not undergone dramatic change. Both durable and nondurable goods manufacturing show a small drop in their share of rural workers among both men and women, while both services categories show small increases. However, these shifts between industries are not large enough to account for the large growth of low earners among both rural women and men.

As was the case for all rural workers, the key to understanding the growth in the percentage of women and men low

TABLE 5
DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL EMPLOYMENT BY SEX
1979 AND 1987

	Durables	Nondurables	B&D Services	C&S Services	Public
% IN INDUSTRY					
Women					
1979	8.2	12.2	11.1	60.8	3.9
1987	7.1	10.8	12.6	61.1	4.5
Change 79-87	(1.1)	(1.4)	1.5	0.3	0.6
Men					
1979	18.5	11.4	16.9	26.5	5.8
1987	16.3	11.0	18.9	28.4	5.0
Change 79-87	(2.2)	(0.4)	2.0	1.9	(0.8)

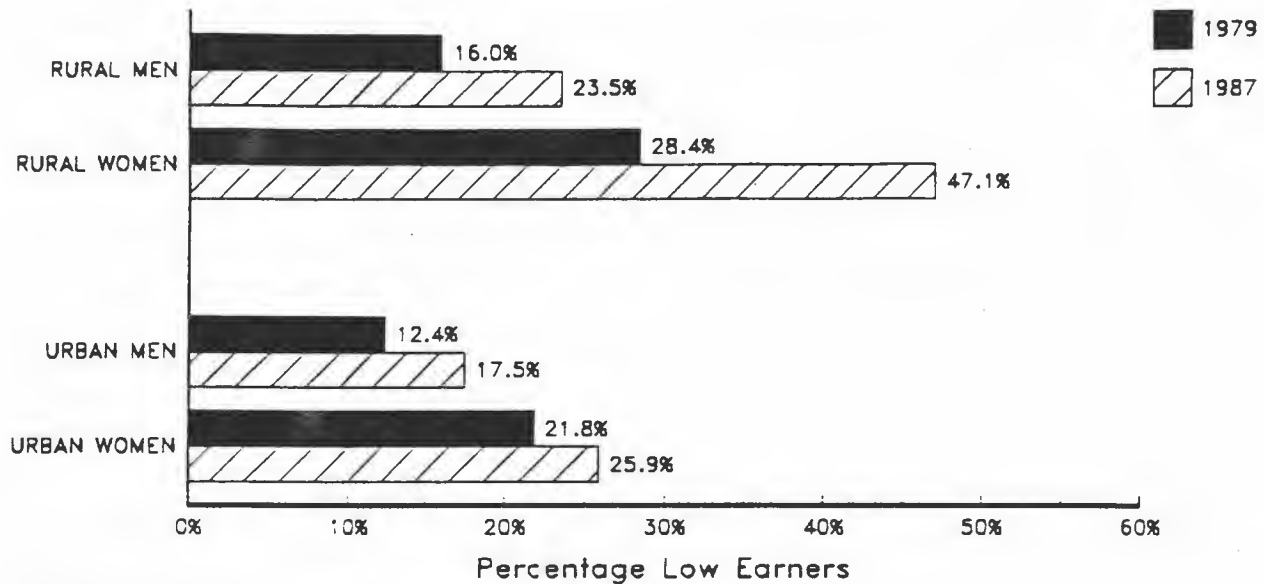
Source: Authors's estimates from Census Bureau Data

earners lies more in changes within industries, than in changes between them. Figures 4 through 8 show the change in the percentage of low earners within industrial sectors for rural and urban men and women. Within every industry, the share of women low earners grew substantially between 1979 and 1987, the most dramatic increases being found in B&D services (18.7 percentage points) and in nondurable manufacturing (12.8 percentage points). Rural women workers also had a much higher absolute level of low earners in each of these five sectors than did rural and urban men or urban women.

Turning now to a discussion of differences between Blacks and Whites²², we again start by looking at where both groups are employed in rural industries (Table 6). A larger share of rural Blacks are employed in the durable and nondurable manufacturing sectors, while Whites are more heavily concentrated in business and distribution services. Roughly an equal share of both Blacks and Whites worked in consumer and social services.

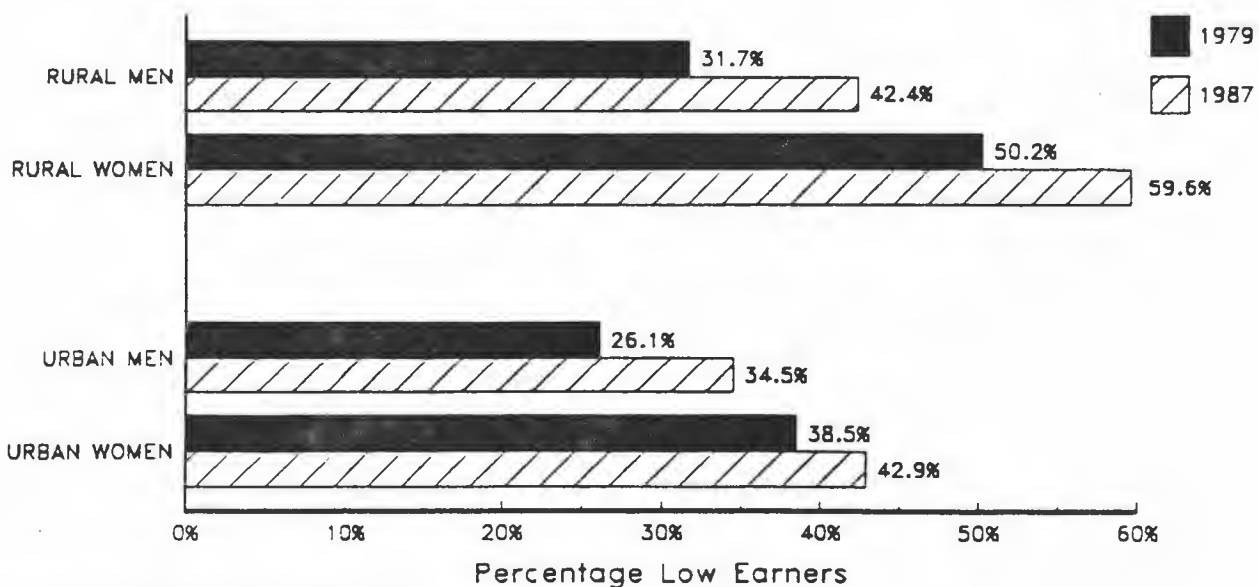
As was true for both men and women, the distribution of employment among these four industries between 1979 and 1987 has not changed dramatically, for either Blacks or Whites, with one exception. The share of Black workers employed in the nondurable manufacturing sector (e.g. textiles, clothing, food processing) increased 8.8 percentage points over this period, at the same time that the share of White workers employed in the sector declined slightly. If nondurable manufacturing were a high wage sector, this shift would bode well for improving racial equality in wages.

FIGURE 4
LOW EARNERS* IN BUSINESS & DISTRIBUTION SERVICES
RURAL AND URBAN WORKERS BY SEX, 1979-87



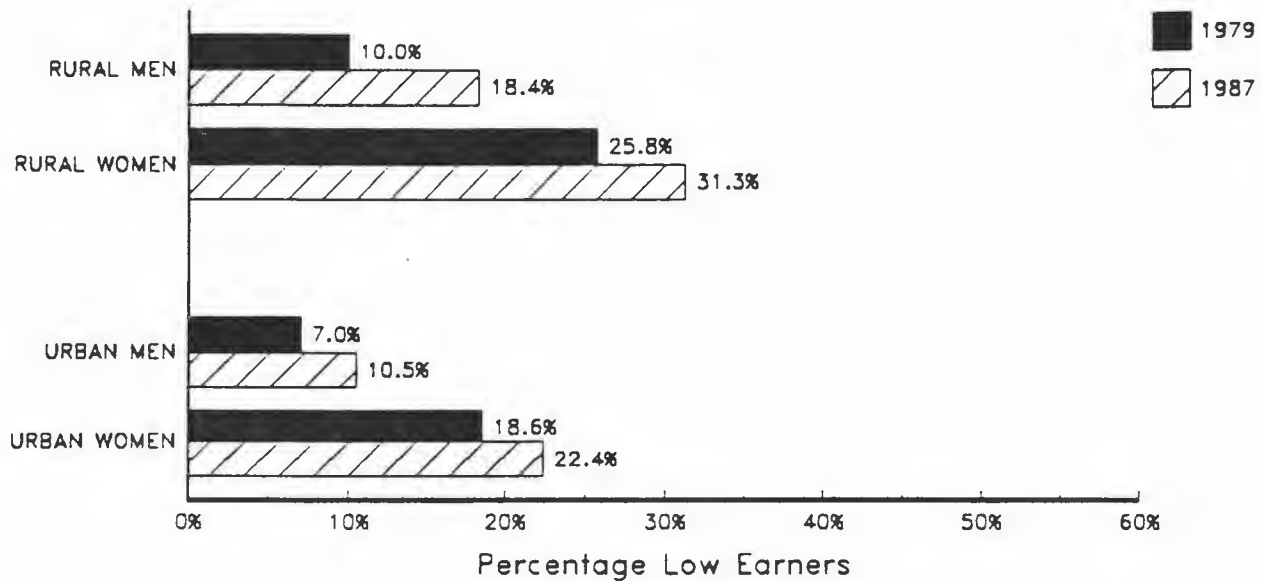
*ANNUAL EARNINGS ADJUSTED FOR WKS & HRS OF WORK
 Source: authors' estimates, Census Bureau Data

FIGURE 5
LOW EARNERS* IN CONSUMER AND SOCIAL SERVICES
RURAL AND URBAN WORKERS BY SEX, 1979-87



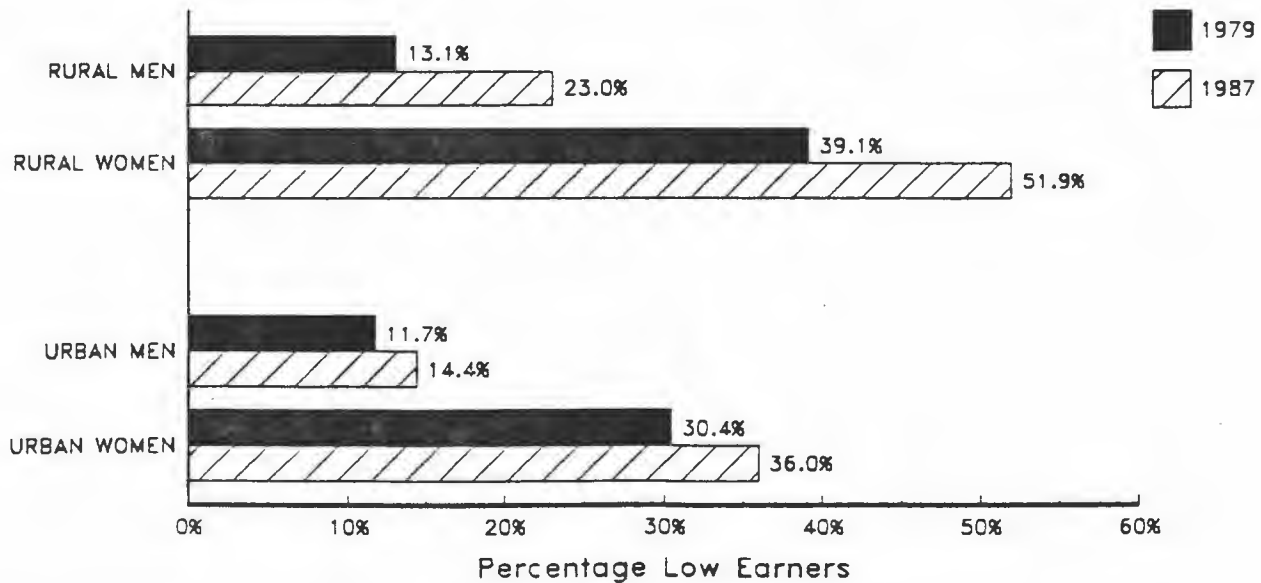
*ANNUAL EARNINGS ADJUSTED FOR WKS & HRS OF WORK
 Source: authors' estimates, Census Bureau Data

FIGURE 6
LOW EARNERS* IN DURABLE GOODS MANUFACTURING
RURAL AND URBAN WORKERS BY SEX, 1979-87



*ANNUAL EARNINGS ADJUSTED FOR WKS & HRS OF WORK
 Source: authors' estimates, Census Bureau Data

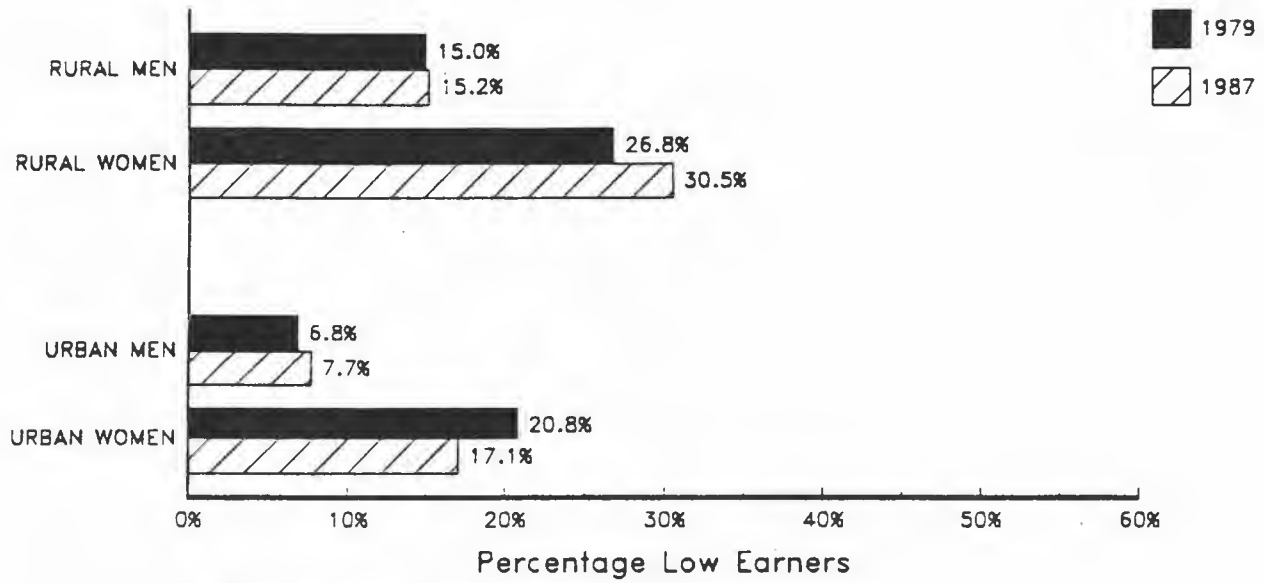
FIGURE 7
LOW EARNERS IN NONDURABLE GOODS MANUFACTURING*
RURAL AND URBAN WORKERS BY SEX, 1979-87



*ANNUAL EARNINGS ADJUSTED FOR WKS & HRS OF WORK
 Source: authors' estimates, Census Bureau Data

FIGURE 8

LOW EARNERS* IN GOVERNMENT
RURAL AND URBAN WORKERS BY SEX, 1979-87



*ANNUAL EARNINGS ADJUSTED FOR WKS & HRS OF WORK
Source: authors' estimates, Census Bureau Data

TABLE 6
DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL EMPLOYMENT BY RACE
1979 AND 1987

	Durables	Nondurables	B&D Services	C&S Services
% IN INDUSTRY				
Whites				
1979	13.8	11.6	14.8	42.1
1987	12.0	9.7	17.0	44.1
Change 79-87	(1.8)	(1.9)	2.0	2.0
Blacks				
1979	16.9	14.5	9.6	40.5
1987	13.8	23.3	7.5	41.5
Change 79-87	(3.1)	8.8	(2.1)	1.0

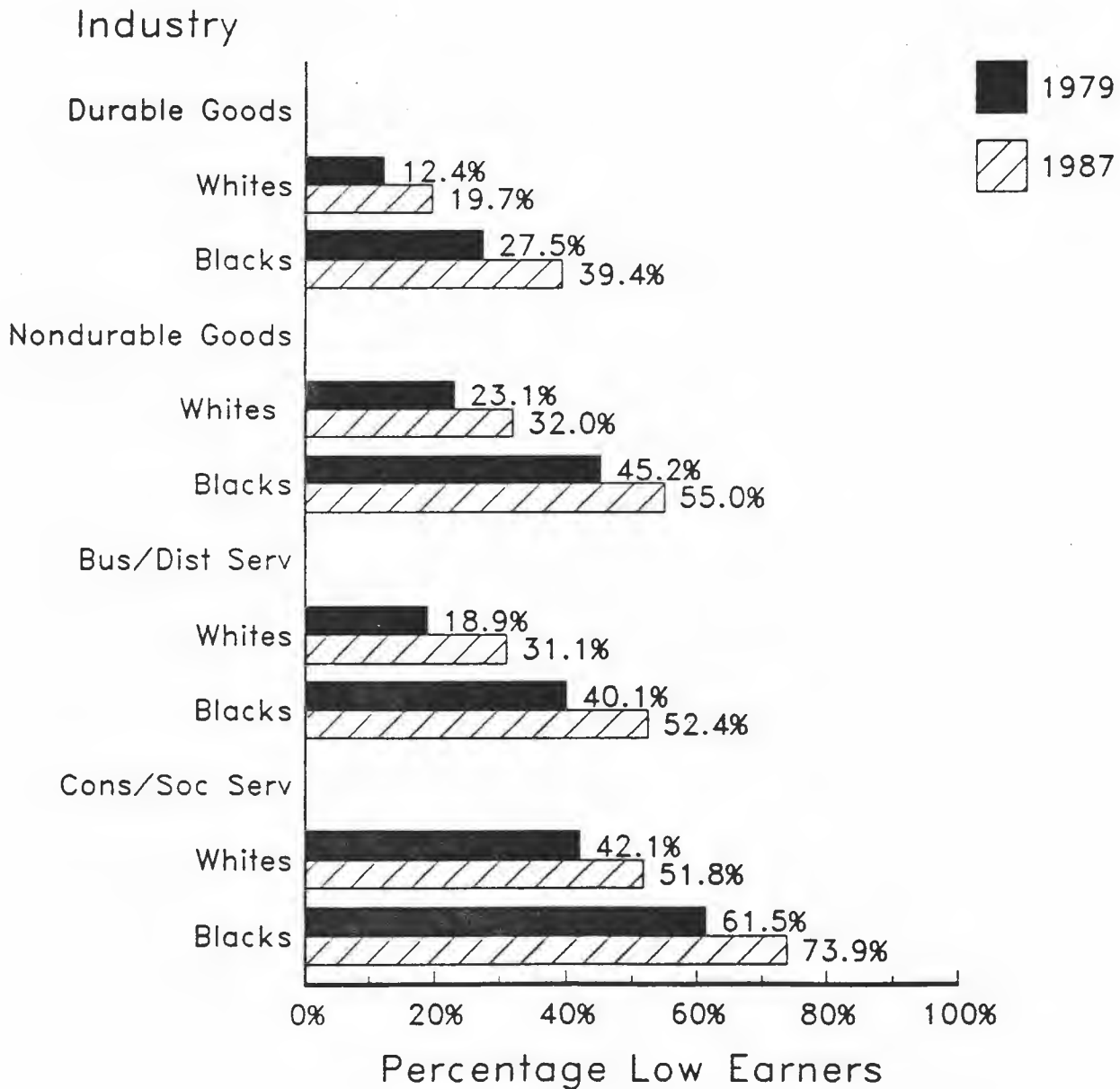
Source: Authors's estimates from Census Bureau Data

However, as we can see from Figure 9, nondurable manufacturing has a high percentage of low earners, particularly for Blacks. Moreover, the likelihood of earning low wages in the industry if you were Black increased substantially from 1979 to 1987 -- from 45 to 55 percent. While the share of White low earners in the industry also increased, still less than a third of Whites in the industry were earning low wages in 1987.

A second disturbing trend for rural Blacks is that the share of workers finding employment in the business and distribution services sector showed a slight decline of 2.1 percentage points between 1979 and 1987, while the share of Whites rose 2.2 percentage points over the same period. This is troubling not only because this is a relatively high-paying sector, but also because it is one showing growth in rural areas. For both Blacks and Whites, the share of low earners in the industry rose substantially -- by roughly 12 percentage points for both groups. But for Blacks who were employed in this sector in 1987, over half were low earners, compared with less than a third of Whites.

While the shift of Blacks out of durable manufacturing and business and distribution services and into nondurable manufacturing is certainly responsible for some of the increase in the growing gap between Black and White workers, changes within each of these sectors is equally, if not more, important. Again in Figure 9, we see that in each sector, the percentage of low wage Black workers increased and that these increases matched or exceeded the increases for Whites.

FIGURE 9
PERCENTAGE OF RURAL WORKERS WITH LOW EARNINGS*
BY INDUSTRY AND RACE, 1979 AND 1987



*ANNUAL EARNINGS ADJUSTED FOR WKS & HRS OF WORK
 Source: authors's estimates, Census Bureau Data

These industry wage trends for Blacks and Whites carry a number of implications for efforts to reduce racial wage inequality in rural areas. First, efforts to increase the share of rural Blacks earning better wages need to place equal emphasis on strategies for changing where Blacks are employed both within and between industries. Strategies within industries include more vigorous implementation of affirmative action; training and education programs which are tied to specific ladders for upward mobility within firms and industries; and vigorous enforcement of the laws and regulations that protect workers who seek to form unions.²³

Improving higher wage opportunities could also be aided by conducting assessments of the industrial structure of a specific area and identifying which segments of an industry's activities provide better-paying jobs. Then, opportunities for expanding these activities can be pursued, through export promotion or assisting local firms to produce goods and services which are currently being imported from outside the area. Of course, such a strategy must be coupled with a strong affirmative action program if it is to benefit Black (and women) workers.

In addition to these within-industries strategies, increasing employment opportunities for Blacks in the better-paying segments of the services sector should be a priority. Barring a major reversal in the decline of manufacturing employment in the U.S., services will continue to be the area of employment growth for both rural and urban areas. This means increasing the share of Blacks

employed in the business and distribution services sector. In 1987, only 7.5 percent of rural Blacks worked in the B&D services sector, compared with 17 percent of Whites.

CONCLUSION

The economic turbulence of the 1980s has been a time of tremendous difficulty for rural America. This is reflected clearly in the growth in the share of rural workers earning too little to raise a family of four above poverty, regardless of their region, sex, race, age, or educational attainment. Rather than being confined to one or two industrial sectors in the rural economy, we find that the growth in the share of low earners cuts across each of eight major industrial sectors.

Equally disturbing is the fact that we appear to be moving farther away from the goal of economic equality. The rural/urban gap in earnings has widened, as has that between rural men and women, and between rural Blacks and Whites. One consequence of these developments is that more rural workers lived in poor families in 1987 than was the case in 1979 -- 9.4 percent of all rural workers in 1987 compared with 6.6 percent in 1979.²⁴ This represents an increase in the number of rural workers living in poor families of over twenty percent in less than a decade. As disheartening as this statistic is, it significantly understates the extent of the problem because it excludes all those rural workers who are unemployed or who have left the labor force

altogether.

The broader economic changes which have helped generate all this turmoil in rural America do not show signs of a reversal in the short-term, and longer-term prospects are impossible to predict. Eventually the United States will have to balance its huge trade deficit, which may bring some manufacturing employment back to rural locations. Even after the present (fall 1990) brouhaha in the Middle East is resolved, global overproduction of oil and other natural resources commodities such as copper is not likely to abate in the near future, which will continue to depress domestic production in these industries.

Certainly having global economic trends swing back in favor of the rural economy would help. But rather than wait for such uncertain developments, we would be better off assisting rural workers and communities to make needed economic adjustments now.

ENDNOTES

1. To control for the effects of part-time and part-year work, we estimated each worker's hourly earnings, then multiplied this figure by (52 weeks per year X 40 hours per week) to get a full time and year round equivalent. This is discussed in greater depth in the section which reports our findings on industry earnings trends.
2. See Gorham and Harrison, 1990, forthcoming.
3. The nine Census subregions of the U.S. consist of New England (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut); the Middle Atlantic (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania); the East North Central (Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin); the West North Central (Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota); the South Atlantic (Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida); the East South Central (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi); the West South Central (Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas); Mountain (Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona); and Pacific (Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, Hawaii).
4. Gorham and Harrison, 1990.
5. Unfortunately, data on Hispanics in the source we are using -- the Census Bureau's March Current Population Survey -- are not reliable when desegregated by urban/rural, gender, etc.
6. See, for example, Henry Drabenstott, and Gibson, 1987; Fuguitt and Beale, 1984; Till, 1981; Garnick, 1984, 1985; Summers and Branch, 1984.
7. See Hoppe, 1987; Garnick, 1982; Henry, Drabenstott, and Gibson, 1986.
8. See, for example, Henry, Drabenstott, and Gibson, 1986; Brown and Deavers, 1987; Galston, 1985; Reimund and Petrulis, 1987.
9. See Goodwin and Jones, 1986.
10. See Henry, Drabenstott, and Gibson, 1986; Hoppe, 1987.
11. See Henry, Drabenstott, and Gibson, 1986.
12. See, among others, Brown and Deavers, 1987; McGranahan, 1987; Miller and Bluestone, 1987; Bloomquist, 1987; Killian and Hady, 1987.

13. Brown and Deavers, 1987.
14. Ibid.
15. In an effort to minimize distortions caused by the business cycle, the year 1979 was chosen as a starting point because it was the last business cycle peak. The year 1987 was the latest year of continued economic growth for which CPS data were available at the start of the research project.
16. The Current Population Survey has the limitation that the boundaries of rural and urban areas, i.e. the official definitions of nonmetropolitan and metropolitan, were changed by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget in the 1985 CPS. This means that the metro/nonmetro data can be compared from CPS years 1963 to 1984, but only with (unknown) error to any year after that. Data from the years 1986 onward can be compared, but only with error to any previous year. Because 1985 was a transition year in the definition, its data cannot be compared to any year before or after without error. Accordingly, the reader should exercise caution when comparing metro/nonmetro results from 1979 to 1987.
17. The poverty line standard for both 1979 and 1987 was adjusted for inflation by the now-standard CPI-X1 deflator of the U.S. Census Bureau.
18. Obviously such a procedure deliberately masks differences in the underlying sources of variation: hours, weeks of week, and hourly wage rates. For a systematic decomposition of gross changes in inequality in annual WSI into its components for the period 1978-1984, see Harrison, Tilly, and Bluestone, 1988; also Burtless, 1989.
19. Natural resources includes: forestry, fishing, and mining. Business and Distribution Services includes: agricultural services; finance, insurance, and real estate; business services; legal services; engineering and accounting services; wholesale trade; and transportation, communications, and utilities. Consumer and Social Services includes retail trade, personal services, automotive services, entertainment and recreation, and health and education.
20. Gorham and Harrison, 1990.
21. Because of the limitation of sample size in the CPS, the agriculture, natural resources, and construction sectors could not be included in the analysis.
22. Due to inadequate sample sizes, it was impossible to compare Blacks and Whites in all eight industrial sectors or -- as we said earlier -- to include Hispanics in the analysis.

23. That unionized workers systematically earn higher wages and experience greater protection from environmental hazards and arbitrary supervision is by now a well-established fact. cf. Freeman and Medoff, 1983.
24. Gorham and Harrison, 1990

APPENDIX

DETAILED TABLES FOR EARNINGS TRENDS BY INDUSTRY SECTOR

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APPENDIX

DETAILED TABLES FOR EARNINGS TRENDS BY INDUSTRY SECTOR

APPENDIX TABLE I DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY FOR ALL RURAL WORKERS, 1979 AND 1987
 Annual Earnings Adjusted for Weeks and Hours of Work
 All Workforce Numbers are in 1000's

Agriculture	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	812	71.2%	801	76.2%	(11)	5.0
pov - < 2 x pov	266	23.3%	192	18.3%	(74)	-5.0
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	32	2.8%	30	2.9%	(2)	0.1
3 x pov & above	31	2.7%	28	2.7%	(3)	0.0
Total	1,140	100.0%	1,051	100.0%	(89)	

Natural Resources	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	53	9.6%	75	18.8%	22	9.2
pov - < 2 x pov	157	28.5%	150	37.6%	(7)	9.1
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	171	31.0%	98	24.6%	(73)	-6.4
3 x pov & above	170	30.9%	76	19.0%	(94)	-11.9
Total	551	100.0%	399	100.0%	(152)	

Construction	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	419	21.6%	450	30.2%	31	8.6
pov - < 2 x pov	796	41.1%	673	45.2%	(123)	4.1
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	403	20.8%	244	16.4%	(159)	-4.4
3 x pov & above	318	16.4%	122	8.2%	(196)	-8.2
Total	1,936	100.0%	1,489	100.0%	(447)	

Durable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	542	14.2%	617	22.1%	75	7.9
pov - < 2 x pov	1,779	46.7%	1,412	50.5%	(367)	3.8
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	988	25.9%	546	19.5%	(442)	-6.4
3 x pov & above	501	13.1%	221	7.9%	(280)	-5.2
Total	3,810	100.0%	2,796	100.0%	(1,014)	

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS

Change
1979 to 1987
Number % Point

Nondurable Mftg.

	1979		1987		Change	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	816	25.2%	931	36.6%	115	11.4
pov - < 2 x pov	1,456	45.0%	1,070	42.0%	(386)	-3.0
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	657	20.3%	358	14.1%	(299)	-6.2
3 x pov & above	304	9.4%	188	7.4%	(116)	-2.0
Total	3,233	100.0%	2,547	100.0%	(686)	

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS

Change
1979 to 1987
Number % Point

Business/Distribution

	1979		1987		Change	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
Services						
< poverty	798	20.3%	1,203	32.3%	405	12.0
pov - < 2 x pov	1,699	43.3%	1,493	40.1%	(206)	-3.2
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	831	21.2%	629	16.9%	(202)	-4.3
3 x pov & above	597	15.2%	402	10.8%	(195)	-4.4
Total	3,925	100.0%	3,727	100.0%	(198)	

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS

Change
1979 to 1987
Number % Point

Consumer/Social

	1979		1987		Change	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
Services						
< poverty	5,047	43.8%	5,512	53.7%	465	9.9
pov - < 2 x pov	4,508	39.1%	3,415	33.3%	(1,093)	-5.8
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	1,314	11.4%	945	9.2%	(369)	-2.2
3 x pov & above	654	5.7%	393	3.8%	(261)	-1.9
Total	11,523	100.0%	10,265	100.0%	(1,258)	

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS

Change
1979 to 1987
Number % Point

Public Sector

	1979		1987		Change	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	261	19.3%	247	22.0%	(14)	2.7
pov - < 2 x pov	576	42.5%	547	48.8%	(29)	6.3
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	355	26.2%	220	19.6%	(135)	-6.6
3 x pov & above	163	12.0%	108	9.6%	(55)	-2.4
Total	1,355	100.0%	1,122	100.0%	(233)	

APPENDIX TABLE II DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY FOR ALL URBAN WORKERS, 1979 AND 1987
 Annual Earnings Adjusted for Weeks and Hours of Work
 All Workforce Numbers are in 1000's

Agriculture	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	496	57.9%	681	68.6%	185	10.7
pov - < 2 x pov	274	32.0%	224	22.6%	(50)	-9.4
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	47	5.5%	40	4.0%	(7)	-1.5
3 x pov & above	40	4.7%	47	4.7%	7	0.0
Total	857	100.0%	992	100.0%	135	

Natural Resources	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	58	11.5%	54	10.8%	(4)	-0.7
pov - < 2 x pov	168	33.4%	177	35.3%	9	1.9
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	137	27.2%	129	25.7%	(8)	-1.5
3 x pov & above	140	27.8%	142	28.3%	2	0.5
Total	503	100.0%	502	100.0%	(1)	

Construction	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	724	16.4%	1,282	23.1%	558	6.7
pov - < 2 x pov	1,510	34.2%	2,138	38.5%	628	4.3
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	1,117	25.3%	1,174	21.1%	57	-4.2
3 x pov & above	1,066	24.1%	961	17.3%	(105)	-6.8
Total	4,417	100.0%	5,555	100.0%	1,138	

Durable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	1,080	10.1%	1,456	13.9%	376	3.8
pov - < 2 x pov	3,701	34.6%	3,878	36.9%	177	2.3
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	3,341	31.2%	2,837	27.0%	(504)	-4.2
3 x pov & above	2,570	24.0%	2,341	22.3%	(229)	-1.7
Total	10,692	100.0%	10,512	100.0%	(180)	

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS

Nondurable Mftg.

	1979		1987		Change 1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	1,234	19.2%	1,579	23.1%	345	3.9
pov - < 2 x pov	2,543	39.6%	2,683	39.3%	140	-0.3
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	1,512	23.5%	1,491	21.8%	(21)	-1.7
3 x pov & above	1,140	17.7%	1,077	15.8%	(63)	-1.9
Total	6,429	100.0%	6,830	100.0%	401	

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS

Business/Distribution

	1979		1987		Change 1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	2,566	16.2%	4,967	21.1%	2,401	4.9
pov - < 2 x pov	6,574	41.4%	9,300	39.6%	2,726	-1.8
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	3,691	23.2%	5,189	22.1%	1,498	-1.1
3 x pov & above	3,045	19.2%	4,053	17.2%	1,008	-2.0
Total	15,876	100.0%	23,509	100.0%	7,633	

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS

Consumer/Social

	1979		1987		Change 1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	11,200	33.8%	16,689	39.6%	5,489	5.8
pov - < 2 x pov	13,698	41.3%	15,486	36.8%	1,788	-4.5
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	5,200	15.7%	6,010	14.3%	810	-1.4
3 x pov & above	3,084	9.3%	3,906	9.3%	822	0.0
Total	33,182	100.0%	42,091	100.0%	8,909	

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS

Public Sector

	1979		1987		Change 1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	553	12.1%	559	11.8%	6	-0.3
pov - < 2 x pov	1,603	35.2%	1,907	40.2%	304	5.0
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	1,458	32.0%	1,334	28.1%	(124)	-3.9
3 x pov & above	941	20.7%	948	20.0%	7	-0.7
Total	4,555	100.0%	4,748	100.0%	193	

APPENDIX TABLE III DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY FOR WOMEN RURAL WORKERS, 1979 AND 1
Annual Earnings Adjusted for Weeks and Hours of Work
All Workforce Numbers are in 1000's

Durable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	263	25.8%	247	31.3%	(16)	5.5
pov - < 2 x pov	638	62.5%	469	59.4%	(169)	-3.1
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	92	9.0%	50	6.3%	(42)	-2.7
3 x pov & above	27	2.6%	23	2.9%	(4)	0.3
Total	1,020	100.0%	789	100.0%	(231)	

Nondurable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	592	39.1%	618	51.9%	26	12.8
pov - < 2 x pov	802	52.9%	498	41.8%	(304)	-11.1
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	100	6.6%	56	4.7%	(44)	-1.9
3 x pov & above	22	1.5%	19	1.6%	(3)	0.1
Total	1,516	100.0%	1,191	100.0%	(325)	

Business/Distribution Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	390	28.4%	654	47.1%	264	18.7
pov - < 2 x pov	822	59.9%	569	40.9%	(253)	-19.0
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	121	8.8%	119	8.6%	(2)	-0.2
3 x pov & above	39	2.8%	48	3.5%	9	0.7
Total	1,372	100.0%	1,390	100.0%	18	

Consumer/Social Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	3,780	50.2%	4,026	59.6%	246	9.4
pov - < 2 x pov	2,933	38.9%	2,141	31.7%	(792)	-7.2
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	588	7.8%	467	6.9%	(121)	-0.9
3 x pov & above	230	3.1%	122	1.8%	(108)	-1.3
Total	7,531	100.0%	6,756	100.0%	(775)	

Public Sector	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	130	26.7%	153	30.5%	23	3.8
pov - < 2 x pov	258	53.1%	267	53.3%	9	0.2
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	70	14.4%	59	11.8%	(11)	-2.6
3 x pov & above	28	5.8%	22	4.4%	(6)	-1.4
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Total	486	100.0%	501	100.0%	15	

APPENDIX TABLE IV DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY FOR MEN RURAL WORKERS, 1979 AND 1987
 Annual Earnings Adjusted for Weeks and Hours of Work
 All Workforce Numbers are in 1000's

Durable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	279	10.0%	370	18.4%	91	8.4
pov - < 2 x pov	1,140	40.9%	944	47.0%	(196)	6.1
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	896	32.1%	495	24.7%	(401)	-7.4
3 x pov & above	474	17.0%	198	9.9%	(276)	-7.1
Total	2,789	100.0%	2,007	100.0%	(782)	

Nondurable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	225	13.1%	312	23.0%	87	9.9
pov - < 2 x pov	654	38.1%	572	42.2%	(82)	4.1
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	556	32.4%	302	22.3%	(254)	-10.1
3 x pov & above	283	16.5%	169	12.5%	(114)	-4.0
Total	1,718	100.0%	1,355	100.0%	(363)	

Business/Distribution Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	408	16.0%	549	23.5%	141	7.5
pov - < 2 x pov	877	34.4%	924	39.5%	47	5.1
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	709	27.8%	510	21.8%	(199)	-6.0
3 x pov & above	558	21.9%	354	15.1%	(204)	-6.8
Total	2,552	100.0%	2,337	100.0%	(215)	

Consumer/Social Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	1,267	31.7%	1,486	42.4%	219	10.7
pov - < 2 x pov	1,575	39.5%	1,274	36.3%	(301)	-3.2
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	726	18.2%	478	13.6%	(248)	-4.6
3 x pov & above	424	10.6%	270	7.7%	(154)	-2.9
Total	3,992	100.0%	3,508	100.0%	(484)	

Public Sector	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	130	15.0%	94	15.2%	(36)	0.2
pov - < 2 x pov	318	36.6%	280	45.2%	(38)	8.6
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	285	32.8%	161	26.0%	(124)	-6.8
3 x pov & above	136	15.7%	85	13.7%	(51)	-2.0
Total	869	100.0%	620	100.0%	(249)	

APPENDIX TABLE V DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY FOR WOMEN URBAN WORKERS, 1979 AND 1987
 Annual Earnings Adjusted for Weeks and Hours of Work
 All Workforce Numbers are in 1000's

Durable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	536	18.6%	658	22.4%	122	3.8
pov - (2 x pov	1,700	58.9%	1,506	51.2%	(194)	-7.7
2 x pov - (3 x pov	545	18.9%	545	18.5%	0	-0.4
3 x pov & above	105	3.6%	231	7.9%	126	4.3
Total	2,886	100.0%	2,940	100.0%	54	

Nondurable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	786	30.4%	991	36.0%	205	5.6
pov - (2 x pov	1,369	52.9%	1,261	45.8%	(108)	-7.1
2 x pov - (3 x pov	336	13.0%	386	14.0%	50	1.0
3 x pov & above	95	3.7%	117	4.2%	22	0.5
Total	2,586	100.0%	2,755	100.0%	169	

Business/Distribution Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	1,386	21.8%	2,644	25.9%	1,258	4.1
pov - (2 x pov	3,636	57.1%	4,910	48.1%	1,274	-9.0
2 x pov - (3 x pov	954	15.0%	1,838	18.0%	884	3.0
3 x pov & above	389	6.1%	810	7.9%	421	1.8
Total	6,365	100.0%	10,202	100.0%	3,837	

Consumer/Social Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	7,865	38.5%	11,071	42.9%	3,206	4.4
pov - (2 x pov	8,896	43.6%	10,025	38.9%	1,129	-4.7
2 x pov - (3 x pov	2,672	13.1%	3,285	12.7%	613	-0.4
3 x pov & above	994	4.9%	1,411	5.5%	417	0.6
Total	20,427	100.0%	25,792	100.0%	5,365	

Public Sector	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	361	20.8%	353	17.1%	(8)	-3.7
pov - < 2 x pov	867	50.0%	1,096	53.0%	229	3.0
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	371	21.4%	415	20.1%	44	-1.3
3 x pov & above	136	7.8%	205	9.9%	69	2.1
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Total	1,735	100.0%	2,069	100.0%	334	

APPENDIX TABLE VI DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY FOR MEN URBAN WORKERS, 1979 AND 1987
 Annual Earnings Adjusted for Weeks and Hours of Work
 All Workforce Numbers are in 1000's

Durable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	544	7.0%	798	10.5%	254	3.5
pov - < 2 x pov	2,001	25.6%	2,372	31.3%	371	5.7
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	2,795	35.8%	2,292	30.3%	(503)	-5.5
3 x pov & above	2,464	31.6%	2,111	27.9%	(353)	-3.7
Total	7,804	100.0%	7,573	100.0%	(231)	

Nondurable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	448	11.7%	588	14.4%	140	2.7
pov - < 2 x pov	1,174	30.5%	1,422	34.9%	248	4.4
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	1,176	30.6%	1,104	27.1%	(72)	-3.5
3 x pov & above	1,045	27.2%	960	23.6%	(85)	-3.6
Total	3,843	100.0%	4,074	100.0%	231	

Business/Distribution Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	1,180	12.4%	2,323	17.5%	1,143	5.1
pov - < 2 x pov	2,938	30.9%	4,390	33.0%	1,452	2.1
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	2,737	28.8%	3,351	25.2%	614	-3.6
3 x pov & above	2,656	27.9%	3,243	24.4%	587	-3.5
Total	9,511	100.0%	13,307	100.0%	3,796	

Consumer/Social Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	3,334	26.1%	5,618	34.5%	2,284	8.4
pov - < 2 x pov	4,801	37.6%	5,461	33.5%	660	-4.1
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	2,528	19.8%	2,725	16.7%	197	-3.1
3 x pov & above	2,090	16.4%	2,495	15.3%	405	-1.1
Total	12,753	100.0%	16,299	100.0%	3,546	

Public Sector	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	191	6.8%	206	7.7%	15	0.9
pov - < 2 x pov	736	26.1%	812	30.3%	76	4.2
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	1,088	38.6%	919	34.3%	(169)	-4.3
3 x pov & above	804	28.5%	743	27.7%	(61)	-0.8
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Total	2,819	100.0%	2,680	100.0%	(139)	

APPENDIX TABLE VII DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY FOR BLACK RURAL WORKERS, 1979 AND 1987
 Annual Earnings Adjusted for Weeks and Hours of Work
 All Workforce Numbers are in 1000's

Durable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	100	27.6%	107	39.3%	7	11.7
pov - < 2 x pov	191	52.8%	145	53.3%	(46)	0.5
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	50	13.8%	18	6.6%	(32)	-7.2
3 x pov & above	21	5.8%	2	0.7%	(19)	-5.1
Total	362	100.0%	272	100.0%	(90)	

Nondurable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	140	45.3%	253	55.1%	113	9.8
pov - < 2 x pov	131	42.4%	177	38.6%	46	-3.8
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	31	10.0%	23	5.0%	(8)	-5.0
3 x pov & above	7	2.3%	6	1.3%	(1)	-1.0
Total	309	100.0%	459	100.0%	150	

Business/Distribution Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	82	40.0%	78	52.3%	(4)	12.3
pov - < 2 x pov	80	39.0%	51	34.2%	(29)	-4.8
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	32	15.6%	17	11.4%	(15)	-4.2
3 x pov & above	11	5.4%	3	2.0%	(8)	-3.4
Total	205	100.0%	149	100.0%	(56)	

Consumer/Social Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	533	61.5%	605	73.9%	72	12.4
pov - < 2 x pov	242	27.9%	169	20.6%	(73)	-7.3
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	62	7.2%	31	3.8%	(31)	-3.4
3 x pov & above	29	3.3%	14	1.7%	(15)	-1.6
Total	866	100.0%	819	100.0%	(47)	

APPENDIX TABLE VIII DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY FOR WHITE RURAL WORKERS, 1979 AND 1987
 Annual Earnings Adjusted for Weeks and Hours of Work
 All Workforce Numbers are in 1000's

Durable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	419	12.5%	483	19.7%	64	7.2
pov - < 2 x pov	1,546	46.0%	1,238	50.5%	(308)	4.5
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	923	27.4%	516	21.1%	(407)	-6.3
3 x pov & above	475	14.1%	213	8.7%	(262)	-5.4
Total	3,363	100.0%	2,450	100.0%	(913)	

Nondurable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	653	23.1%	638	32.0%	(15)	8.9
pov - < 2 x pov	1,275	45.2%	848	42.6%	(427)	-2.6
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	605	21.4%	326	16.4%	(279)	-5.0
3 x pov & above	288	10.2%	180	9.0%	(108)	-1.2
Total	2,821	100.0%	1,992	100.0%	(829)	

Business/Distribution Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	682	19.0%	1,084	31.1%	402	12.1
pov - < 2 x pov	1,567	43.6%	1,412	40.5%	(155)	-3.1
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	772	21.5%	600	17.2%	(172)	-4.3
3 x pov & above	577	16.0%	389	11.2%	(188)	-4.8
Total	3,598	100.0%	3,485	100.0%	(113)	

Consumer/Social Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	4,322	42.1%	4,677	51.8%	355	9.7
pov - < 2 x pov	4,132	40.2%	3,117	34.5%	(1,015)	-5.7
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	1,211	11.8%	886	9.8%	(325)	-2.0
3 x pov & above	602	5.9%	357	4.0%	(245)	-1.9
Total	10,267	100.0%	9,037	100.0%	(1,230)	

APPENDIX TABLE IX DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY FOR BLACK URBAN WORKERS, 1979 AND 1987
 Annual Earnings Adjusted for Weeks and Hours of Work
 All Workforce Numbers are in 1000's

Durable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	128	12.0%	187	21.6%	59	9.6
pov - < 2 x pov	454	42.7%	367	42.4%	(87)	-0.3
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	348	32.7%	230	26.6%	(118)	-6.1
3 x pov & above	133	12.5%	81	9.4%	(52)	-3.1
Total	1,063	100.0%	865	100.0%	(198)	

Nondurable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	163	25.4%	211	30.1%	48	4.7
pov - < 2 x pov	301	46.9%	315	45.0%	14	-1.9
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	124	19.3%	124	17.7%	0	-1.6
3 x pov & above	54	8.4%	50	7.1%	(4)	-1.3
Total	642	100.0%	700	100.0%	58	

Business/Distribution Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	314	20.5%	741	28.1%	427	7.6
pov - < 2 x pov	734	47.8%	1,193	45.2%	459	-2.6
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	350	22.8%	546	20.7%	196	-2.1
3 x pov & above	137	8.9%	160	6.1%	23	-2.8
Total	1,535	100.0%	2,640	100.0%	1,105	

Consumer/Social Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	1,578	40.8%	2,376	47.9%	798	7.1
pov - < 2 x pov	1,566	40.5%	1,816	36.6%	250	-3.9
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	524	13.5%	528	10.6%	4	-2.9
3 x pov & above	203	5.2%	240	4.8%	37	-0.4
Total	3,871	100.0%	4,960	100.0%	1,089	

APPENDIX TABLE X DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY FOR WHITE URBAN WORKERS, 1979 AND 1987
 Annual Earnings Adjusted for Weeks and Hours of Work
 All Workforce Numbers are in 1000's

Durable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	762	8.9%	924	11.2%	162	2.3
pov - < 2 x pov	2,750	32.0%	2,917	35.3%	167	3.3
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	2,761	32.1%	2,364	28.6%	(397)	-3.5
3 x pov & above	2,329	27.1%	2,068	25.0%	(261)	-2.1
Total	8,602	100.0%	8,273	100.0%	(329)	

Nondurable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	801	15.9%	886	17.4%	85	1.5
pov - < 2 x pov	1,901	37.8%	1,988	39.1%	87	1.3
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	1,278	25.4%	1,242	24.4%	(36)	-1.0
3 x pov & above	1,043	20.8%	967	19.0%	(76)	-1.8
Total	5,023	100.0%	5,083	100.0%	60	

Business/Distribution Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	2,041	15.4%	3,551	19.3%	1,510	3.9
pov - < 2 x pov	5,327	40.2%	7,034	38.2%	1,707	-2.0
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	3,105	23.4%	4,208	22.9%	1,103	-0.5
3 x pov & above	2,779	21.0%	3,598	19.6%	819	-1.4
Total	13,252	100.0%	18,391	100.0%	5,139	

Consumer/Social Services	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	8,694	32.4%	12,106	37.3%	3,412	4.9
pov - < 2 x pov	11,094	41.3%	12,050	37.1%	956	-4.2
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	4,360	16.2%	4,945	15.2%	585	-1.0
3 x pov & above	2,705	10.1%	3,344	10.3%	639	0.2
Total	26,853	100.0%	32,445	100.0%	5,592	

APPENDIX TABLE XI DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY FOR ALL U.S. WORKERS, 1979 AND 1987
 Annual Earnings Adjusted for Weeks and Hours of Work
 All Workforce Numbers are in 1000's

Agriculture	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	1,308	65.5%	1,481	72.5%	173	7.0
pov - < 2 x pov	539	27.0%	416	20.4%	(123)	-6.6
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	78	3.9%	70	3.4%	(8)	-0.5
3 x pov & above	72	3.6%	75	3.7%	3	0.1
Total	1,997	100.0%	2,042	100.0%	45	

Natural Resources	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	111	10.5%	129	14.3%	18	3.8
pov - < 2 x pov	325	30.8%	328	36.4%	3	5.6
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	308	29.2%	227	25.2%	(81)	-4.0
3 x pov & above	311	29.5%	218	24.2%	(93)	-5.3
Total	1,055	100.0%	902	100.0%	(153)	

Construction	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	1,143	18.0%	1,732	24.6%	589	6.6
pov - < 2 x pov	2,306	36.3%	2,811	39.9%	505	3.6
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	1,520	23.9%	1,418	20.1%	(102)	-3.8
3 x pov & above	1,385	21.8%	1,083	15.4%	(302)	-6.4
Total	6,354	100.0%	7,044	100.0%	690	

Durable Mftg.	DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS				Change	
	1979		1987		1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
< poverty	1,622	11.2%	2,073	15.6%	451	4.4
pov - < 2 x pov	5,479	37.8%	5,290	39.8%	(189)	2.0
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	4,329	29.9%	3,382	25.4%	(947)	-4.5
3 x pov & above	3,071	21.2%	2,562	19.3%	(509)	-1.9
Total	14,501	100.0%	13,307	100.0%	(1,194)	

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS

	1979		1987		Change 1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
Mondurable Mftg.						
< poverty	2,050	21.2%	2,510	26.8%	460	5.6
pov - < 2 x pov	3,998	41.4%	3,753	40.0%	(245)	-1.4
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	2,169	22.5%	1,849	19.7%	(320)	-2.8
3 x pov & above	1,444	14.9%	1,265	13.5%	(179)	-1.4
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Total	9,661	100.0%	9,377	100.0%	(284)	

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS

	1979		1987		Change 1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
Business/Distribution Services						
< poverty	3,364	17.0%	6,169	22.7%	2,805	5.7
pov - < 2 x pov	8,273	41.8%	10,793	39.6%	2,520	-2.2
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	4,521	22.8%	5,818	21.4%	1,297	-1.4
3 x pov & above	3,642	18.4%	4,454	16.4%	812	-2.0
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Total	19,800	100.0%	27,234	100.0%	7,434	

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS

	1979		1987		Change 1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
Consumer/Social Services						
< poverty	16,247	36.3%	22,201	42.4%	5,954	6.1
pov - < 2 x pov	18,206	40.7%	18,901	36.1%	695	-4.6
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	6,514	14.6%	6,955	13.3%	441	-1.3
3 x pov & above	3,738	8.4%	4,298	8.2%	560	-0.2
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Total	44,705	100.0%	52,355	100.0%	7,650	

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS

	1979		1987		Change 1979 to 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% Point
Public Sector						
< poverty	813	13.8%	806	13.7%	(7)	-0.1
pov - < 2 x pov	2,179	36.9%	2,454	41.8%	275	4.9
2 x pov - < 3 x pov	1,813	30.7%	1,554	26.5%	(259)	-4.2
3 x pov & above	1,104	18.7%	1,056	18.0%	(48)	-0.7
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Total	5,909	100.0%	5,870	100.0%	(39)	

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