The Gender Pay Gap in the British cohort studies, past, present and future.

Heather Joshi, Dave Wilkinson, Francesca Foliano

UCL Institute of Social Research

Institute of Clinical Trials & Methodology Seminar, June 7th, 2021
Motivation

• Unequal pay for equal work by men and women is inequitable, inefficient, and since 1970, unlawful in UK
• It introduces bias against the use of female talent and reinforces unequal gender relations
• This talk reviews some evidence on whether a pay penalty for women is becoming a thing of the past.
Outline

• History of pay gap observed between women and men in national British data

• Components of pay gap
  • Explained by differences in characteristics and differences in remuneration

• Analysis of pay gap in birth cohort studies
  - extracts from several papers
  • Over life-cycle
  • Over the earnings distribution at given ages

• Comparison with recently published findings on pay gaps for doctors

• Future of gender pay gap
Secular trend in gender pay gap: various series and some policy landmarks

Gender Gap in hourly pay, 1921-2020, per cent of men's average

- Equal Pay Act
- National Minimum Wage
- Equalities Act
Falling trend with time: age pattern within cohorts

Gender pay gap for median gross hourly earnings, by generation: UK, 1975-2016

- Greatest gen (1911-1925)
- Silent gen (1926-1945)
- Baby boomers (1946-1965)
- Gen X (1966-1980)
Trend within the pay distribution since 1998: difference has fallen least among top earners

- Narrowing gap for low earners especially since National Minimum Wage of 1999
- Widening gender gaps at the top of the earnings distribution and some well-paid occupations.
- In this context we turn to recent studies of the pay gap in medicine at the end of this presentation to complement evidence within the national cohort studies.

**Figure 6: The difference in pay between the sexes is largest among higher earners**

Difference in gross hourly earnings (excluding overtime) for men and women at the top and bottom decile and median, UK, 1997 to 2020, full-time employees

Source: Office for National Statistics – Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE)
Notional components of the Gender Pay Gap

• EXPLAINED
  • ‘like for like’
  • **Personal (human capital) characteristics** contributing to productivity

• Job characteristics
  • ‘Equal work’ under Equal Pay Act
  • May contribute to unequal treatment if allocation to job type is discriminatory – subject of other equal opps law

• UNEXPLAINED
  • RESIDUAL/ ‘adjusted’ ‘standardized’ component
  **Unequal rewards** to a given characteristic for men and women
  • Could arise from omitted explanatory factors (eg data without work histories)
Contributions to components

• EXPLAINED
  • Human capital characteristics
    • Education
    • Skills
    • Age
    • Experience
    • Family responsibilities
  • Job characteristics
    • Full/part-time
    • Occupation
      • vertical or horizontal segregation
    • Employer characteristics
      • Sector, contract, bargaining, size, institutional structure

• UNEXPLAINED
  Unequal rewards to a given characteristic for men and women arising from:
  • Employer/ee preference against hiring, promoting, training or retaining women, institutional culture
  • Women’s preference for flexibility or female workmates
  • Lower bargaining power and travel range
  • Asymmetric social expectations of men’s and women’s family roles.

Some arguably discriminatory
Analysis

• Dependent Variable
  • Log of hourly wages at time of interview, all employees:
    • RPI deflated

• Blocks of controls
  • Education – highest qualification
    • plus controls for region etc
  • Work history
    • months in full and part-time jobs over all years since school leaving
    • (months in current job)

• Family composition
  • Presence of dependent children by age, presence of a partner, ever been a parent of co-resident child
Methods

• Analysis performed on log wages rather than ratios
  • gap in log and percentage points very similar up to around 15% of male wages but it can be added up)

An accounting exercise not an exploration of causality

Decomposition - Oaxaca-Blinder (Kitigawa)

• Explained gap, difference in characteristics;
• Parameter gap, differences in treatment
• Various formulae for weighting used here, some allow for an interaction of remuneration and attributes
• Explanatory variables with and without job characteristics
Data from the British Cohort Studies

- **1946 National Survey of Health and Development**
  - Continues into their 70s
  - We use age 26 sweep, 1972

- **National Child Development Survey (NCDS)**
  - 1958 Birth cohort, 9 sweeps to age 55
  - Originally ca 1800 births in GB
  - We use 6 sweeps 23-55, mostly omitting postal at age 46

- **British Cohort Survey (BCS)**
  - 1970 birth cohort, 9 sweeps to age 42
  - Originally ca 1800 births in GB
  - We use 5 sweeps 26 to 42 including postal at 26

- **Next Steps (NS)**
  - formerly Longitudinal Study of Young People in England, born 1989/90
  - We use data from interview in 2015, age 25
Gender differences in pay are underlain by gender difference in employment participation.

In NCDS the main employment gap (full-time), starts in childrearing ages.
The work experience of workers  NCDS

Years of work experience: wage samples

- Men: 23, 33, 42, 50, 55
- Women: 23, 33, 42, 50, 55

- Fulltime
- Part-time
Gender pay gap: NCDS 23 - 55, logs: raw and adjusted
Pay gaps from youth to midlife: two cohorts

Explained gap fell more than unexplained

NB NCDS reworked, Gaps adjusted for qualifications, work experience and region
Decomposition across the distribution at mid-life: encounters with a glass ceiling?

NCDS born 1958 at age 42

BCS born 1970 at age 42

NB Gaps adjusted for qualifications, work experience and region
Young adults across cohort studies 1972-2015, Gender pay gap adjusted for human capital*

* Quals, experience (all); cognitive scores @11 (NSHD); subject studied, family, (NCDS-NS); attitudes @16 (NCDS+NS)

No adjustment for selection into wage sample.
Young adults (23.26.25) GPG across the distribution Human capital adjustment*

* Quals, subject studied, experience, family, attitudes at 16 (NCDS+NS)
Next Steps Age 25 in 2015
Widening gaps within highest paid jobs

Adjusted for Human Capital

Adjusted also for Job Characteristics*

*Occupation at 1 digit; % female and % graduate in 4 digit occupation, hours
Recent studies of the gender pay gap within an elite occupation - medicine

- Dept of Health and Social Care (2020)
- Mend the Gap: The Independent Review into Gender Pay Gaps in Medicine in England
  - Chair - Professor Dame Jane Dacre,
  - Lead Researcher - Professor Carol Woodhams (U of Surrey Business School, et al)

NHS payroll Quoting here total pay, not just basic, from one set of earners.

Melanie Jones and Ezgi Kaya (2021)

The Gender Pay Gap in UK Medicine
- Cardiff University and Institute of Labor Economics (IZA discussion paper 14177), ASHE (tax) records, medical practitioners in public sector and other groups
Recent analyses of gender pay gap in medicine
Jones & Kaha 2021, hourly pay, public sector doctors (hospital and some salaried GPS)
Mend the Gap, FTE of total pay NHS mainly hospital doctors

Public sector doctors 2018, UK
NHS hospital doctors 2009-2018, England

log pay gap

explained, grade/speciality not included
explained including grade/speciality
unexplained

both control for age, and various other characteristics
Vertical segregation by NHS Grades

Figure 1. Gender composition across grades, September 2018 (%).

- Consultant: Male doctors 38.2%, Female doctors 61.8%
- Associate Specialty: Male doctors 39.9%, Female doctors 60.1%
- Specialty Doctor: Male doctors 45.9%, Female doctors 54.1%
- Staff Grade: Male doctors 33.8%, Female doctors 66.2%
- Specialty Registrar: Male doctors 52.3%, Female doctors 47.7%
- Core Training: Male doctors 49.5%, Female doctors 50.5%
- Foundation Year 1: Male doctors 54.5%, Female doctors 45.5%
- Foundation Year 2: Male doctors 65.8%, Female doctors 34.2%
- HP/CA: Male doctors 45.9%, Female doctors 54.1%
- Other & local grades: Male doctors 45.9%, Female doctors 54.1%
‘Glass ceiling’ within medicine
Jones and Kaha 2021, using ASHE 2018

[Graph showing public sector doctors with lines for observed GPG, explained GPG, and unexplained GPG]
Decomposition of log hourly pay gap at percentiles, depends on sector. Jones and Kaha 2021
The future?

• Over time, GPG has reduced, helped by a number of policies affecting unequal treatment of male and female workers and narrowing differences in their human capital.

• Differences remain, particularly among parents, higher earners and some elite occupations, including parts of medicine.

• Policies to tackle differences in culture in the workplace and some pay-setting institutions are still needed to speed the pipeline of cohort succession.

• Meanwhile the impact of the pandemic on the distribution of employment and future career records is likely to provide a new source of female disadvantage, differential employment records and differential rates of pay for male and female parents.

• Working from home may exacerbate or redress the unequal pay of mothers and fathers – but that is still under investigation in our project.
Thank you for your attention and comments

Please visit our website