

Providing Black Youth More Access to Enterprising Work

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During the last three decades, Black men have earned on the average only 50 percent as much as white men in comparable age and educational groups (Freeman 1973). This difference in income is largely the result of Blacks holding poorer jobs than do whites. Efforts by counselors or educators to help Blacks get better jobs have focused on increasing years of schooling and promoting entry into college. This strategy reflects the traditional belief that education is the road to upward social mobility. But there are problems with this strategy for improving the economic well-being of Blacks, one being simply that many Blacks cannot afford to postpone earning a living.

This article suggests another strategy for counselors that may more directly promote the economic advancement of the Black community. Specifically, evidence is presented indicating that one job family—sales, management, and other enterprising work—provides high income with less education than do most other job families. This job family constitutes a large source of employment for white men, and Black men are grossly underrepresented in this

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job family even at the lowest educational levels. This evidence suggests that counselors might attempt to develop more programs to expose Black youth to information about and experience in enterprising settings, and to do more research on the obstacles to Black entry into this kind of work.

METHOD

To examine the economic consequences of entering one type of work rather than another, mean incomes for white men in different occupational, educational, and age groups were determined. The proportion of white men and Black men in different categories of work was also determined to see how income differences by type of work might affect overall racial differences in income.

Data for 1,524 Black and 27,067 white men aged 26 to 65 and employed full time (35 hours or more per week) in civilian, nonfarm jobs were obtained from a stratified 1/1000 sample from the 1970 U.S. Census of Population. All men were classified into one of six broad categories according to Holland's (1973) classification of occupations: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional. Men were also grouped into one of five educational categories according to years of education completed: 8 or fewer, 9-11, 12, 13-15, or 16 or more years. Men with 12 years of education presumably have completed high school and those with 16 or more years have graduated from college.

The mean incomes of white men in different educational, occupational, and age groups were calculated. Mean incomes for Black men and for men in artistic work were not computed because there were few such men in many of the groups in the sample.

The sample of white men used here is large, so statistically significant income differences would be expected even for small differences, and therefore would be of little interest. The assumptions necessary for performing tests of significance are not met because the original census sample was constructed according to a stratified cluster design. In addition, the best evidence for the substantive significance of income differences among the categories of work is the consistent variation across age and educational groups. Estimates of confidence intervals of the means are provided in Gottfredson (1976).

RESULTS

Tables 1 and 2 present the analyses of income differences by age, education, and type of work, and they refer only to white men.

TABLE 1

Mean Income of White Men 36-65: By Education and Type of Work

Type of Work	Years of Education					Total
	8 or Fewer	9-11	12	13-15	16 or More	
Real	\$7,309	\$8,533	\$9,325	\$10,067	\$14,141	\$8,674
Inv	7,862	9,372	10,914	12,206	21,946	15,729
Soc	7,301	8,609	9,427	10,464	12,304	10,868
Ent	9,788	11,607	12,599	14,628	20,796	14,623
Conv	7,792	9,154	9,770	10,839	15,360	10,906
Total ^a	7,614	9,169	10,372	12,364	18,123	11,054

^a Includes men in artistic work.

Table 3 shows the proportions of men in each educational group who are employed in each of the six types of work, and this table refers to both Black and white males. Tables 1 and 3 include men aged 36-65; Table 2 includes men aged 26-35. All tables refer only to men employed full time.

Table 1 shows mean incomes for white men aged 36-65, an age group in which most men can be assumed to have established stable careers (Gottfredson 1977). This table shows the mean incomes for white men in different types of work and with different amounts of education. Mean income increased with education in all categories of work, but for given levels of education men earned much more on the average in some categories of work than in others. Incomes seemed particularly high for men in enterprising work.

Table 1 also shows that in all but the most highly educated group, white men in enterprising work earned from \$2,000 to \$4,000 more on the average than did men in the other categories. Only the most highly educated men (presumably college graduates) in investigative work surpassed the men in enterprising work in income. College graduates in enterprising and investigative work earned on the average from \$5,000 to \$9,000 more than the college graduates in other types of work.

Table 2 shows more dramatically than Table 1 that the monetary value of a higher education differs by type of work. It also shows that the differences are consistent across all age groups. Table 2 gives the ratios of group means to the grand mean income for all 27,067 white men in the sample (\$10,599). For example, men aged 26-35 with 12 years of education and who are in realistic work earned a mean income of \$8,616. The ratio for this group is therefore .81, as shown in the first row of Table 2. A ratio of 1.00 means

TABLE 2

Ratios of the Mean Incomes of Specific Groups to the Grand Mean for All Men: White Men By Age, Education, and Type of Work

Type of Work	Years of Education					Total
	≤8	9-11	12	13-15	16+	
Ages 26-35						
Real	.63	.72	.81	.88	1.12	.79
Inv	.75	.75	.91	.96	1.29	1.10
Soc	^a	.69	.84	.70	.87	.84
Ent	.75	.83	.95	1.08	1.32	1.07
Conv	.59	.61	.74	.81	1.05	.84
Total ^b	.65	.74	.84	.95	1.15	.89
Ages 36-45						
Real	.70	.82	.89	1.01	1.29	.85
Inv	.71	.92	1.00	1.12	1.98	1.50
Soc	.70	.90	.86	.94	1.07	1.00
Ent	.80	1.05	1.14	1.29	1.87	1.35
Conv	.66	.89	.91	.93	1.40	1.02
Total ^b	.71	.87	.96	1.14	1.63	1.06
Ages 46-55						
Real	.69	.81	.90	.95	1.48	.83
Inv	.72	.86	1.05	1.25	2.19	1.51
Soc	.65	.71	.91	1.04	1.29	1.06
Ent	1.00	1.10	1.24	1.45	2.03	1.42
Conv	.82	.88	.95	1.11	1.55	1.07
Total ^b	.73	.86	1.01	1.22	1.82	1.07
Ages 56-65						
Real	.68	.78	.82	.81	1.16	.76
Inv	.78	.87	1.08	1.06	2.14	1.39
Soc	.72	.90	.90	.98	1.20	1.02
Ent	.93	1.15	1.19	1.43	2.09	1.35
Conv	.72	.83	.91	1.08	1.40	.97
Total ^b	.71	.87	.96	1.14	1.73	.97

^a Fewer than 10 cases.

^b Includes men in artistic work.

that the mean income of a group of men is equal to the grand mean for all men in the sample.

This table shows that men with fewer than 12 years of education earned from .6 to .9 the average for all men, regardless of their age or type of work. The one exception is men in enterprising work. In addition, the ratios for the 26-35 age group are generally below 1.00 unless the men have graduated from college.

The educational level at which a ratio of 1.00 is reached differs by category of work. Looking only at the men aged 36-45, 46-55, and 56-65, men in enterprising work who have 9-11 years of education (and even one of the less educated enterprising groups) have ratios equal to or greater than 1.00. In contrast, the investigative groups reach an average income only with high school graduation, and the groups in the other three categories reach an average income only with one or more years of college. The college graduates in investigative and enterprising work make twice the overall average. In contrast, the college graduates in the social category earn only somewhat more than the average for all men, and no more than high school graduates in enterprising work.

Enterprising jobs are an important segment of the labor market because enterprising workers earn relatively high incomes, and because these jobs constitute a large proportion of all jobs. About one quarter of all white men in the sample were employed in enterprising jobs, and only 25 percent of them had earned college degrees. In contrast, although investigative jobs also pay well, they constituted only seven percent of jobs and half of the workers in these jobs had college degrees.

Table 3 shows the proportions of men in each kind of work; proportions are calculated separately for different educational levels and for Blacks and whites. Half of all white men aged 36-65 were in realistic work, the proportion decreasing as education increases. One quarter of the white men were in enterprising work, this type of work comprising the largest group of workers with at least one year of college and being the second largest among men in general.

The distribution of Black men is quite different. Only five percent of all Blacks were in enterprising work. Whereas almost 20 percent of white men with 9-11 years of education were in enterprising work, less than four percent of similarly educated Blacks were in such work. Employment in enterprising work increased with educational level for white men, and 39 percent of the white male college graduates were in this type of work. In contrast, highly educated Black men tended to end up in social occupations as opposed to only 19 percent of the whites. As Tables 1 and 2 indicate, social jobs had the lowest mean income of all types of work.

TABLE 3

Percentage of Men Aged 36-65 in Each Type of Work: By Race and Educational Level

Type of Work	Years of Education					Total
	≤8	9-11	12	13-15	16+	
Whites						
Real	82.0	70.5	55.2	31.8	10.2	53.8
Inv	3.4	3.7	5.1	8.1	20.8	7.4
Art	0.2	0.6	1.4	2.8	4.0	1.6
Soc	1.9	2.7	3.7	5.1	19.2	5.8
Ent	10.6	18.4	27.6	41.8	38.6	25.6
Conv	2.0	4.0	7.0	10.4	7.2	5.8
(N)	(4,040)	(3,892)	(5,951)	(2,239)	(3,164)	(19,286)
Blacks						
Real	92.0	89.2	72.9	50.0	15.6	81.0
Inv	0.8	0.6	3.8	6.4	12.2	2.3
Art	—	—	0.8	2.1	4.4	0.5
Soc	2.2	2.6	6.1	13.8	46.7	6.3
Ent	3.7	3.7	8.0	10.6	12.2	5.4
Conv	1.2	4.0	8.4	17.0	8.9	4.5
(N)	(727)	(351)	(262)	(94)	(90)	(1,524)

DISCUSSION

The source of this racial difference in kinds of work held is not clear. To some extent the difference may be the result of past discrimination against Blacks, because more discrimination may have been directed to Black managers, administrators, and salesmen than to Black educational, health, religious, and other social service workers. These differences may also be maintained in part by current differences in the types of job activities and occupational rewards preferred by Blacks. Jobs do differ in the mixture of rewards they provide. Social jobs, such as teaching, are low-paying, but many are prestigious and secure. In contrast, managers and salespeople—enterprising workers—have higher average incomes, but their jobs are less prestigious. Although it is not clear that Blacks prefer different types of occupational rewards, it does seem clear that they prefer somewhat different types of jobs. Vocational interest inventories consistently reveal higher interests among Blacks in social occupations (Doughtie, Chang, Alston, Wakefield, & Yom 1976; Hager & Elton 1971; Kimball, Sedlacek, & Brooks 1973; Nafziger, Holland, Helms, & McPartland 1974), and recent data for college

students show that Black undergraduates major more often in social service and education and less often in natural science and engineering than do whites (El-Khawas & Bisconti 1974; Flanagan, Shaycoft, Richards, & Claudy 1971).

Whatever the reason for the racial difference in jobs held, the implication is clear. Blacks are economically disadvantaged—regardless of educational level—because they are so seldom employed in enterprising work, whether by choice or not. This racial difference affects not only the incomes of individual workers and the well-being of their families, but also the future of Black capitalism. It is probably among entrepreneurs (e.g., managers, salesmen, and business owners) that most wealth is created and controlled. It is in the entrepreneurial business setting that successful businessmen are trained and launched on their careers. But few Blacks have been systematically exposed to this setting. The educational gap between Blacks and whites is closing (Hauser & Featherman 1976), but if Blacks prefer or are channeled by discriminatory practices into socially desirable but less economically rewarding work, increased education may produce little growth in the economic strength of the Black community.

Income differences by category of work should be examined in more detail to verify that the economic well-being of workers does indeed differ substantially by category of work. Other important conditions of work, such as job security and income stability, should also be examined. These preliminary results have important implications for counselors, however. They imply that counselors should focus on providing Black youngsters more systematic exposure to information, training, and experience in sales, management, and other enterprising work. Although such exposure might be useful for all groups of youngsters, it is especially important for Blacks because they are less often exposed than whites to entrepreneurial work by family members actually working in enterprising jobs. It is important to provide such exposure before students leave high school because it may be less obvious to noncollege-going Blacks than to such whites how to enter enterprising work. High school counselors as well as college counselors, particularly in the two-year community colleges, might develop more work-study programs with local businesses. Providing more experiences in and access to entrepreneurial work will require considerable coordination with private businesses because most enterprising work, and probably most training for enterprising jobs, is located in private business.

The Appendix to this article is provided to help counselors locate jobs and organizations for potential programs. It lists all detailed occupational titles in the 1970 census that are enterprising occupations. A few occupations on the list are professional jobs that require extensive education—lawyers, judges, and law college teachers.

APPENDIX

Enterprising Occupations

Here are listed all detailed occupational titles in the 1970 census that are classified as enterprising occupations in Holland's (1973) scheme. The occupations are listed in descending order of occupational prestige. The number of workers employed in each occupation is also provided (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1973, pp. 585-592).

See Gottfredson and Brown (1978) for an explanation of how census titles were classified by Holland code and occupational prestige, and for a list of detailed titles in all Holland categories of work, together with their three-letter Holland codes and occupational prestige scores. See the *Classified Index of Industries and Occupations* (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1971) for all the specific occupational titles subsumed under the census titles.

The abbreviation n.e.c. stands for not elsewhere classified.

Occupational Title	Number of Workers in Occupation in 1970
Judges	12,943
Law college teachers	3,005
Lawyers	263,745
Stock and bond salesmen	98,135
Industrial engineers	191,063
Sales engineers	59,200
Managers, durable goods manufacturing; salaried	373,138
Finance, insurance, and real estate managers; salaried	153,600
Managers, nondurable goods manufacturing; salaried	271,323
Sales managers, except retail trade	254,494
Managers, all other industries; salaried	211,811
Bank officers and finance managers	313,338
Real estate appraisers	22,475
Operations and systems researchers and analysts	78,753
Personnel and labor relations workers	292,192
Finance, insurance, and real estate managers; self-employed	22,818
Office managers, n.e.c.	216,006
Communications, utilities, and sanitary service managers; salaried	101,347
Insurance adjusters, examiners, and investigators	96,289
Business and repair services managers; salaried	124,662
Officers and administrators, public administration	239,306
Wholesale trade managers; salaried	224,533
Construction managers; salaried	239,301
Transportation managers; salaried	131,265
Buyers, wholesale and retail trade	178,061
Retail managers, furniture; salaried	39,503
Wholesale trade managers; self-employed	56,093
Insurance agents, brokers, and underwriters	459,237
Purchasing agents and buyers, n.e.c.	162,256
Managers, nondurable goods manufacturing; self-employed	28,610
Retail managers, apparel; salaried	56,210
Managers, durable goods manufacturing; self-employed	38,102

For the other occupations, however, entrepreneurial experience and competencies may be more important than educational credentials.

The Appendix also provides the number of workers employed in each occupation in 1970 to indicate which occupations have provided the greatest number of jobs. The *Occupational Outlook Handbook* (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 1976) can be consulted to determine future prospects of employment in these occupations.

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Appendix (Continued)

Occupational Title	Number of Workers in Occupation in 1970
Postmasters and mail superintendents	34,572
Buyers and shippers, farm products	20,636
Radio and TV announcers	21,705
Retail managers, general merchandise; salaried	97,023
Managers, all other industries; self-employed	39,785
Retail managers, hardware; salaried	49,270
Sales managers and department heads, retail trade	211,870
Retail managers, motor vehicle; salaried	98,173
Real estate agents and brokers	261,300
Retail managers, other retail; salaried	111,404
Retail managers, apparel; self-employed	24,079
Sales representatives, manufacturing industries	413,983
Retail managers, motor vehicles; self-employed	24,749
Business and repair services managers; self-employed	51,428
Retail managers, furniture; self-employed	27,385
Retail managers, food stores; salaried	138,718
Personal services managers; salaried	91,105
Retail managers, hardware; self-employed	29,099
Retail managers, general merchandise; self-employed	23,885
Construction managers, self-employed	139,514
Transportation managers, self-employed	20,540
Airline stewardesses	33,795
Retail managers, other retail; self-employed	86,936
Restaurant, cafe, and bar managers	322,761
Sales representatives, wholesale trade	636,581
Communications, utilities, and sanitary services managers; self-employed	2,200
Personal services managers; self-employed	73,306
Salesmen of services and construction	226,541
Salesmen, retail trade	455,272
Retail managers, food stores; self-employed	116,040
Farm managers	60,366
Retail managers, gas stations; self-employed	100,308
Retail managers, gas stations; salaried	65,129
Auctioneers	5,203
Dispatchers and starters, vehicle	60,063
Boarding- and lodging-house keepers	7,481
Sales clerks, retail trade	2,262,192
Deliverymen and routemen	611,029
Demonstrators	39,046
Hucksters and peddlers	120,277
Newsboys	64,419