WAGE | EQUITY | STUDY

Wage Equity for Non-Profit Human Services Workers: A study of work and pay in Seattle and King County

Executive Summary

Non-profit human services workers play a critical role in building and maintaining the human, social, and institutional strengths of communities. Yet, as documented elsewhere and confirmed by this study, pay for human services work lags behind compensation for other kinds of work. This report presents study findings that compare pay in non-profit human services organizations to pay in other sectors and industries and offers a series of recommendations to help provide a path to more equitable compensation for these workers.

Comparable worth, the principle of equal pay for equivalent work, guided this examination of the extent of wage inequity facing non-profit human services workers in Seattle and King County. This approach acknowledges that various forces have shaped employment patterns and suppressed wages in the non-profit human services sector over time, including race and gender discrimination, wage penalties for caring labor, and decisions made by federal and local policymakers. These factors continue to affect current wages for the local human services workforce, which is overwhelmingly female (roughly 80%) and in which workers of color are overrepresented.

There are different ways to define and assess wage equity and the extent of the wage gap experienced by non-profit human services workers. This study used two separate empirical approaches. First, the market analysis compared pay for human services workers and workers in other industries using state and federal quantitative employment data. Key findings from that analysis include:

- Holding constant worker characteristics such as education level or age, human services workers are paid less than workers in other care industries (education and healthcare) and at least 30% less than workers in non-care industries. For human services workers in the non-profit sector, median annual pay is 37% lower than in non-care industries.
- Workers who leave the human services industry for a job in a different industry see a net pay increase of 7% a year later (relative to workers who stay in human services) after accounting for observable worker and employer characteristics.

Second, a systematic job evaluation analysis allowed us to compare a subset of specific human services jobs to jobs in other industries using in-depth questionnaires and interviews (N=22) and analyzing results using a detailed, multi-factor, points-based classification method.

- The job evaluation results show that the work done by human services workers is undervalued relative to its required levels of skill and difficulty as measured by the job evaluation tool. The job evaluation comparisons demonstrate that the gaps revealed in the market analysis between human services workers and workers in other industries do not reflect lower pay because human services work is easier, less skilled, or less demanding than other jobs. Rather, the pay is less *despite* the high level of skill, responsibility, and difficulty of human services jobs.

These analyses inform our broad conclusion:

Achieving wage equity for workers at non-profit human services organizations requires substantially increasing wage rates.

Based on strong and consistent evidence that workers at non-profit human services organizations are underpaid, we recommend that these organizations and their funders work together to increase wages for human services employees. Our specific recommendations include four short-term and three longer-term steps.

By 2025:

RECOMMENDATION 1. Raise real wage rates by a minimum of 7% for non-profit human services workers in the near term.

Non-profit human services organizations and their governmental and non-governmental funders should increase human services workers' compensation by at least 7% (net of inflation) beginning in the next one to two years, while concurrently exploring how to design and implement a comprehensive overhaul of pay scales for the entire sector over the longer-term. This amount is based on the most conservative estimate in the market analysis, the multivariate analysis of the sub-set of workers who changed jobs, and was the net wage increase observed for human services workers leaving the human services industry. We believe this amount represents a starting point for the minimum increase needed immediately to reduce the number of workers leaving human services posts for significantly higher paying jobs in other industries.

RECOMMENDATION 2. Make adjustments for inflation separate from equity adjustments and build in future inflation adjustments.

Calculate wage increases to address pay inequity in addition to annual inflation adjustments. Wage adjustments to match inflation and wage adjustments for pay inequity are different issues and should be addressed separately.

RECOMMENDATION 3. Maintain or improve non-wage benefits and job characteristics throughout the wage equity increase process.

Decreasing the generosity of fringe benefits or increasing job demands to increase salaries will erode the value of any increase in pay and make it meaningless.

RECOMMENDATION 4. Consider wage increases as a necessary part of ongoing racial and gender equity work in the City of Seattle and King County.

Public agencies and non-profit organizations need to include wage equity – in addition to equal pay – as an action step within their anti-racism, gender equity, and diversity-equity-inclusion (DEI) plans. While organizations legally must make sure that they are paying women, persons of color, and other protected groups equivalently for the same jobs, equal pay measures alone are insufficient to achieving racial and gender equity. Race and gender discrimination shape the wage differentials between non-profit human services and other jobs in several interrelated ways.

By 2030:

RECOMMENDATION 5. Substantially increase wages for non-profit human services workers to align with those of workers doing comparable work in other sectors and industries.

While establishing a specific pay raise amount is necessarily a political task, the analysis in this report yields what we believe is a useful range of estimates of the magnitude of the current underpayment. The 30% - 37% wage gap found in our analysis imply that wage increases of 43% or more would be needed to align wages for non-profit human services workers with workers with similar job responsibilities and training in non-care work industries. Not increasing wages substantially and systematically equates to ignoring the most basic and severe inequities and further perpetuating the structural racial and gender inequities affecting this sector.

RECOMMENDATION 6. Create a salary grade system and establish minimum pay standards based on job characteristics.

Human services organizations should develop a broad salary grade system linking minimum salary requirements with job characteristics, including a job's knowledge and skills required, initiative and independence, effort, responsibilities, and environmental demands. The range of types of work and different sizes of organizations in the non-profit human services sector means that this grading system will need to have considerable flexibility.

RECOMMENDATION 7. Use public contracts to further wage equity.

City and county contracts for human services work should make sure that public contracts do not reinforce wage inequities in the economy as a whole. To avoid decreasing prevailing wages in more powerful industries, this means that government should adequately fund human services contracts so that employee wage levels do not fall below similar local jobs in the public sector.

This summary is based on the work of the Wage Equity Study team convened by the University of Washington. The full report is available at https://socialwork.uw.edu/wageequitystudy.

WAGE | EQUITY | STUDY

Wage Equity for Non-Profit Human Services Workers:

A study of work and pay in Seattle and King County

FEBRUARY 2023

Suggested citation: *Wage Equity Study Team, 2023. "Wage Equity for Non-profit Human Services Workers: A study of work and pay in Seattle and King County." Seattle, WA: University of Washington.*

The City of Seattle Human Services Department (HSD) commissioned and funded this work (Contract DC22-1108). The authors of this summary report (Jennie Romich, Emiko Tajima, Shannon Harper & Nicole Sadow-Hasenberg) and not HSD are responsible for the interpretations and conclusions contained herein.

Study Team

This report is based on the analysis of the Wage Equity Study team convened by the University of Washington. Team members, listed alphabetically, are:

Kim England, PhD, University of Washington
Nancy Folbre, PhD, University of Massachusetts Amherst (emerita)
Leila Gautham, PhD, University of Leeds (UK)
Shannon Harper, MA, University of Washington
Ariane Hegewisch, M.Phil, Institute for Women's Policy Research and American University
Chrishana Lloyd, MSW, PhD, Myles Ahead, LLC and Child Trends
Jennie Romich, PhD, University of Washington
Nicole Sadow-Hasenberg, MPH, University of Washington
Kristin Smith, MPH, PhD, Dartmouth College
Emiko Tajima, PhD, University of Washington
Nicole Vallestero-Keenan, MSW, independent researcher, Seattle, WA
Heather Wakefield, MSW, University of Greenwich (UK)

Affiliations given for identification purposes only.

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
UNIVERSITY of WASHINGTON

Acknowledgements

The team would like to acknowledge the Seattle Human Services Coalition, particularly Executive Director Emerita Julia Sterkovsky, and members of its Pay Equity Leadership Committee and Steering Committee for creating and advising this project.

The University of Washington School of Social Work under the direction of Dean Edwina Uehara provided partial support for Romich's and Tajima's time. At the University of Washington, Gail Colfax, Liz Deng, Elizabeth Pelletier, Maria Ponz, and Yuying Xie contributed to this project. Muriel Bergerson at the City of Seattle helped us through contract processes, and Joan van den Berg at van den Berg Design efficiently created the report graphics and formatting.

Partial support for this study came from a Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development research infrastructure grant, P2C HD042828, to the Center for Studies in Demography & Ecology at the University of Washington. The content is solely the responsibility of the authors and does not necessarily represent the official views of the National Institutes of Health.

Finally, we thank the workers and leaders at local organizations that helped recruit and make available interviewees for the job analysis, as well as the study participants who volunteered their time.

Table of contents

Executive Summary

Non-profit human services workers play a critical role in building and maintaining the human, social, and institutional strengths of communities. Yet, as documented elsewhere and confirmed by this study, pay for human services work lags behind compensation for other kinds of work. This report presents study findings that compare pay in non-profit human services organizations to pay in other sectors and industries and offers a series of recommendations to help provide a path to more equitable compensation for these workers.

Comparable worth, the principle of equal pay for equivalent work, guided this examination of the extent of wage inequity facing non-profit human services workers in Seattle and King County. This approach acknowledges that various forces have shaped employment patterns and suppressed wages in the non-profit human services sector over time, including race and gender discrimination, wage penalties for caring labor, and decisions made by federal and local policymakers. These factors continue to affect current wages for the local human services workforce, which is overwhelmingly female (roughly 80%) and in which workers of color are overrepresented.

There are different ways to define and assess wage equity and the extent of the wage gap experienced by non-profit human services workers. This study used two separate empirical approaches. First, the market analysis compared pay for human services workers and workers in other industries using state and federal quantitative employment data. Key findings from that analysis include:

- Holding constant worker characteristics such as education level or age, human services workers are paid less than workers in other care industries (education and healthcare) and at least 30% less than workers in non-care industries. For human services workers in the non-profit sector, median annual pay is 37% lower than in non-care industries.
- Workers who leave the human services industry for a job in a different industry see a net pay increase of 7% a year later (relative to workers who stay in human services) after accounting for observable worker and employer characteristics.

Second, a systematic job evaluation analysis allowed us to compare a subset of specific human services jobs to jobs in other industries using in-depth questionnaires and interviews (N=22) and analyzing results using a detailed, multi-factor, points-based classification method.

- The job evaluation results show that the work done by human services workers is undervalued relative to its required levels of skill and difficulty as measured by the job evaluation tool. The job evaluation comparisons demonstrate that the gaps revealed in the market analysis between human services workers and workers in other industries do not reflect lower pay because human services work is easier, less skilled, or less demanding than other jobs. Rather, the pay is less *despite* the high level of skill, responsibility, and difficulty of human services jobs.

These analyses inform our broad conclusion:

Achieving wage equity for workers at non-profit human services organizations requires substantially increasing wage rates.

Based on strong and consistent evidence that workers at non-profit human services organizations are underpaid, we recommend that these organizations and their funders work together to increase wages for human services employees. Our specific recommendations include four short-term and three longer-term steps.

By 2025:

RECOMMENDATION 1. Raise real wage rates by a minimum of 7% for non-profit human services workers in the near term.

Non-profit human services organizations and their governmental and non-governmental funders should increase human services workers' compensation by at least 7% (net of inflation) beginning in the next one to two years, while concurrently exploring how to design and implement a comprehensive overhaul of pay scales for the entire sector over the longer-term. This amount is based on the most conservative estimate in the market analysis, the multivariate analysis of the sub-set of workers who changed jobs, and was the net wage increase observed for human services workers leaving the human services industry. We believe this amount represents a starting point for the minimum increase needed immediately to reduce the number of workers leaving human services posts for significantly higher paying jobs in other industries.

RECOMMENDATION 2. Make adjustments for inflation separate from equity adjustments and build in future inflation adjustments.

Calculate wage increases to address pay inequity in addition to annual inflation adjustments. Wage adjustments to match inflation and wage adjustments for pay inequity are different issues and should be addressed separately.

RECOMMENDATION 3. Maintain or improve non-wage benefits and job characteristics throughout the wage equity increase process.

Decreasing the generosity of fringe benefits or increasing job demands to increase salaries will erode the value of any increase in pay and make it meaningless.

RECOMMENDATION 4. Consider wage increases as a necessary part of ongoing racial and gender equity work in the City of Seattle and King County.

Public agencies and non-profit organizations need to include wage equity – in addition to equal pay – as an action step within their anti-racism, gender equity, and diversity-equity-inclusion (DEI) plans. While organizations legally must make sure that they are paying women, persons of color, and other protected groups equivalently for the same jobs, equal pay measures alone are insufficient to achieving racial and gender equity. Race and gender discrimination shape the wage differentials between non-profit human services and other jobs in several interrelated ways.

By 2030:

RECOMMENDATION 5. Substantially increase wages for non-profit human services workers to align with those of workers doing comparable work in other sectors and industries.

While establishing a specific pay raise amount is necessarily a political task, the analysis in this report yields what we believe is a useful range of estimates of the magnitude of the current underpayment. The 30% - 37% wage gap found in our analysis imply that wage increases of 43% or more would be needed to align wages for non-profit human services workers with workers with similar job responsibilities and training in non-care work industries. Not increasing wages substantially and systematically equates to ignoring the most basic and severe inequities and further perpetuating the structural racial and gender inequities affecting this sector.

RECOMMENDATION 6. Create a salary grade system and establish minimum pay standards based on job characteristics.

Human services organizations should develop a broad salary grade system linking minimum salary requirements with job characteristics, including a job's knowledge and skills required, initiative and independence, effort, responsibilities, and environmental demands. The range of types of work and different sizes of organizations in the non-profit human services sector means that this grading system will need to have considerable flexibility.

RECOMMENDATION 7. Use public contracts to further wage equity.

City and county contracts for human services work should make sure that public contracts do not reinforce wage inequities in the economy as a whole. To avoid decreasing prevailing wages in more powerful industries, this means that government should adequately fund human services contracts so that employee wage levels do not fall below similar local jobs in the public sector.

Introduction

Non-profit human services organizations and their employees play important roles in the social infrastructure, in community health, and in the well-being of individuals and families in our region. Human services support persons across the lifespan, from growing young children's cognitive and social skills in high quality early learning settings, to equipping teens and adults with the creative and technical capabilities needed to succeed in life through development and employment programs, serving as emergency responders to families and persons in crisis, and supporting seniors to successfully age in place.

Despite the importance these jobs play in people's lives and the critical social foundation they provide, the pay for workers in human services organizations lags behind pay for workers in other parts of the economy. As this report will show, recent annual median earnings for a full-time human services worker were $33,995 in 2019 dollars; the median worker in non-caregiving industries was paid $54,831, almost 40% higher (Appendix 4, Table 2).

Non-profit and government leaders connect low wages to problems with hiring and retaining employees to perform crucial human services work. Recently, non-profit organizations in Seattle have experienced staffing shortages, some severe enough to restrict the City's capacity to open new housing units (Greenstone 2021; Patrick 2022). As one leader noted, "There are not enough people doing this work. And there are not enough people who can afford to do this work."

This report summarizes a study of human services wages in Seattle and King County. This study starts from the premise that human services jobs are essential to individual and community health and well-being, and that this work may be undervalued relative to work in other industries. However, this study confirms the findings of a wide body of research that human services workers are underpaid relative to other workers. We undertook a rigorous and multi-faceted examination of evidence to estimate the extent of that underpayment and to identify contributing factors. As the data consistently show, human services workers earn less than workers in other industries—for doing jobs that are complex, skilled, and demanding. The report concludes with recommendations for non-profit organizations, local government, and funders towards building a more equitable pay structure for human services.

About this study

The City of Seattle, in partnership with the Seattle Human Services Coalition, commissioned this report and study led by the University of Washington and conducted by a team of local and external experts. (See Box 1. About this Study and Appendix 1). The goals of the study are three-fold: to compare wages between non-profit human services work and other types of work; to empirically estimate the size of wage penalties involved; and to make recommendations about how to remedy inequities in Seattle and in King County, Washington.

We begin with an overview of the overall human services field and its contours in our region, followed by a discussion of factors that contribute to lower wages for human services workers in the non-profit sector.[1] As a supplement to that discussion, Appendix 2 provides an overview of selected major national and local historical and policy developments that have shaped wages and the conditions of work over the last century.

[1] This report summarizes work from a policy review and two sets of original empirical analyses. The complete text of these works appear as appendices to the report and can be found at https://socialwork.uw.edu/wageequitystudy along with an interactive wage equity timeline.

Pay structures reflect, in part, value-based judgements about worth, and – as such – pay practices are partially subjective. However, empirical study can yield solid evidence about the extent and nature of wage differences. With the goal of estimating the magnitude of human services wage penalties, this study used rigorous and complementary research methods and undertook two different empirical analyses:

- The **market analysis** draws on large-scale national, state, and local economic data to compare wages (median earnings) across occupations and industries. These statistical analyses estimate the extent to which workers may be "penalized" in the form of lower earnings by working in human services relative to other industries. Multivariate analyses allow us to compare workers net of their observable traits, including age, level of education, gender and race, but they cannot fully account for the ways in which discrimination and other subjective factors show up in market wages.
- The **job evaluation analysis** uses in-depth questionnaires and interviews with a small sample of employees working within and outside of the non-profit human services sector. By collecting and comparing detailed, comprehensive, and current data on the required knowledge, skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions of different jobs across different sectors and industries, the job evaluation analysis demonstrates whether compensation in human services equitably reflects the underlying nature and demands of the work.

This report includes summaries of the methods and key findings for each of these two analyses. (Appendices 3 and 4 present complete and detailed reports.) These findings inform a set of seven recommendations about human services pay structures.

Box 1. About the Wage Equity for Non-Profit Human Services Study

In May 2022, the City of Seattle, in partnership with the Seattle Human Services Coalition (SHSC), released an RFQ for a consultant to "conduct a comparable worth wage analysis of the City of Seattle and King County human services sector."[a] The RFQ sought a consultant who would work collaboratively with the City and the SHSC to design and implement an analysis that would cover multiple employers and sectors of human services work. The study is meant to complement prior work by King County and 501 Commons in their King County Nonprofit Wages and Benefits Survey Report.

The University of Washington (UW) was selected for the project. The UW team includes faculty and staff from a number of universities and research organizations in the U.S., a former local human services non-profit leader, and an expert from the United Kingdom versed in performing and implementing comparable worth/pay equity analyses. Appendix 1 details project personnel and responsibilities.

Beginning in August 2022 and continuing through February 2023, the UW project team met regularly with SHSC's Pay Equity Analysis Steering Committee, which includes City stakeholders, leaders of Seattle and King County-based non-profit agencies that provide a range of human services, and local and national policy experts.[b] The team finalized the project design and implementation in consultation with the Steering Committee. During the project, SHSC facilitated connections with human services agencies and workers from a range of organizations and provided background information on the human services sector in the City and County.

The Steering Committee provided feedback on recommendations and assistance interpreting preliminary findings, however the analyses and conclusions are the authors' alone.

In partnership with the SHSC, the UW team will present findings to and engage with local stakeholders throughout Spring 2023. Presentation audiences will include the Seattle Human Services Coalition's Wage Equity Funding Roundtable, City of Seattle and King County leadership, City of Seattle Mayor's Office and City Council, King County Executive and Council, Seattle and King County non-profits, and community members who engage with non-profit organizations.

[a] Funding from the study was provided by City Council (CBA HSD-002- B-001). The RFQ is available here: https:// www.seattle.gov/human-services/for-providers/funding-opportunities/2022-comp-worth-wage-analysis

[b] Steering Committee members are listed in Appendix 1.

Human services work

This report focuses on non-profit human services jobs in Seattle and throughout King County, Washington. Human services work is a type of caring labor, work that nurtures the well-being of others. This report and our recommendations focus on the non-profit sector, although our data and comparisons sometimes include human services workers in all sectors (see Box 2. Key terms and concepts), and our recommendations apply across the industry.

Human services organizations operate early childhood learning centers, special education programs, teen programs focused on youth behavioral health, job training and employment supports for young and less experienced workers, and supports for elders such as home health care. Human services workers also provide essential services to support the well-being of individuals, families and communities experiencing crises, such as domestic violence, homelessness, food insecurity, or living through environmental natural disasters.

In King County, human services employees comprise approximately two percent of the workforce; most work in individual and family services (50%) or child day care services (40%).[2] The remaining 10% are split between vocational rehabilitation and community food and housing and emergency services. In King County, the most common occupations among human services workers are childcare workers (15%), social workers (11%), and social and community service managers (6%).

Human services workers are employed in the public sector (in local city, county or state government, such as court social workers), in the for-profit sector, or in the non-profit sector. According to Census data for 2005-2019, just under half (48%) of human services workers in King County were employed in the non-profit sector. Much of this work is performed under contracts with local, county, and state governments to deliver services to residents. Of the remaining human services workers in King County, 10% worked in the public sector, and 42% worked in the for-profit sector (mostly in child care). As Figure 1 shows, human services workers in King County are less likely to work for the public sector and more likely to work for the non-profit sector compared to human services workers nationwide.

While the racial and ethnic composition of the human services workforce roughly matches the composition of the King County overall workforce, several other characteristics stand out (see Figure 2).

- Women are over-represented, making up almost 80% of workers in the industry.

[2] Unless otherwise noted, figures in this section draw from Table 1 of the market analysis found in Appendix 3.

- Black/African American workers are almost three times as likely to work in human services as they are to work in non-care industries.
- Overall, human services workers have a high level of formal education; 61% have a Bachelor's degree or other advanced degree.
- Fewer human services workers are employed full-time relative to other care or non-care workers.

Appendix 3, Table 1 shows more details on this workforce.

Box 2. Key terms and concepts

Care work is work that nurtures the well-being of others. Human services is one type of care industry. Other care work industries include education and health care.

Human services includes the following Census industry categories: individual and family services; community food and housing and emergency services; vocational rehabilitation services; and child day care services.

Industry refers to a group of enterprises engaged in providing the same goods or services. This report focuses on the human services industry.

Job refers to a paid position working for an employer. Workers who hold jobs typically have job titles that provide some indication of their role and responsibilities.

Occupation is another term for a profession or line of work. Common human services occupations include childcare worker, social worker, and program manager.

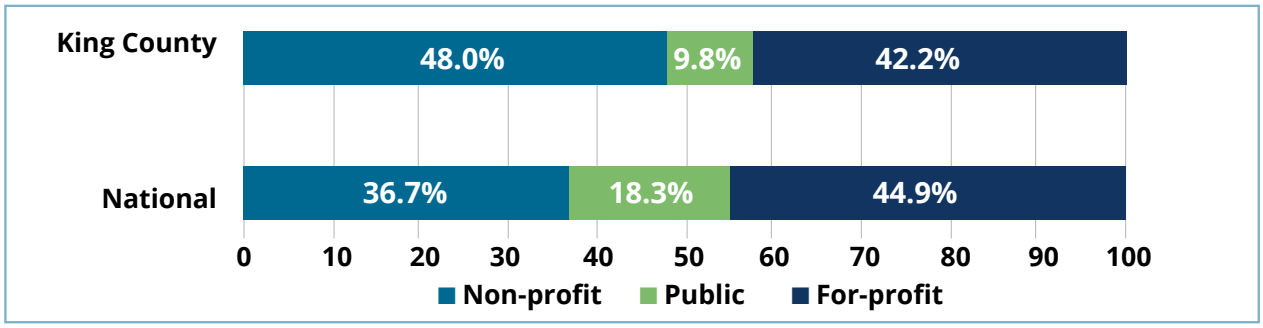
Sector, as used in this report, refers to parts of the economy as arranged by control and profit status. This includes the public sector (federal, state, and local governments), for-profit entities including businesses, and non-profit organizations.

STUDY COMPARISON GROUPS

The different data sources in this study include varying types of information on industry and sector, and hence require slightly different comparison groups. These comparison groups are specific combinations of the categories listed above.

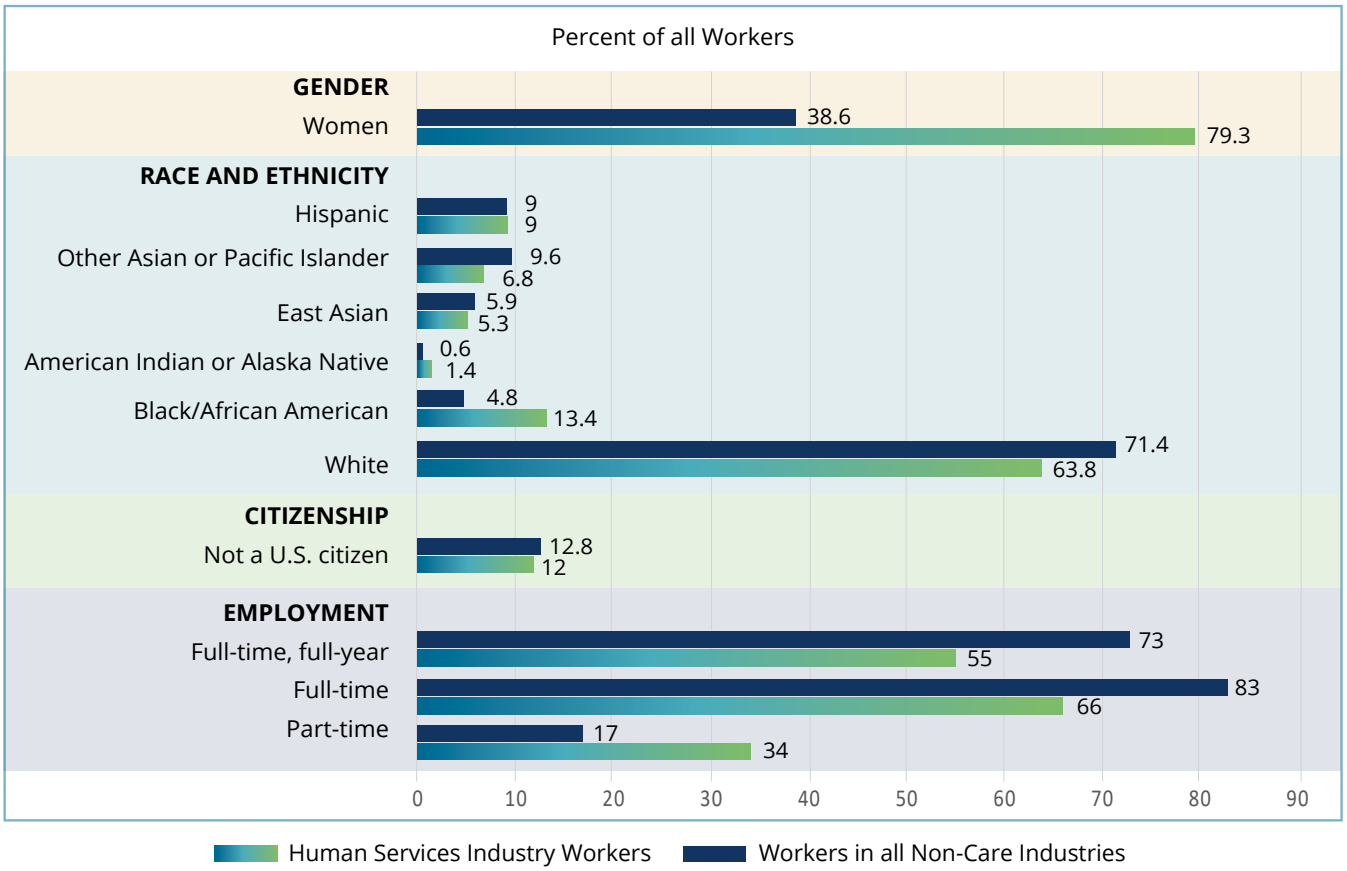
- **Other care industries** refers to education and health care. Some parts of the market analysis use this as a comparison group. Unless the non-profit sector is specified, comparisons in the market analysis refer to all sectors (non-profit, public, and for-profit).
- **Non-care industries** refers to industries other than human services, education, and health care. Some parts of the market analysis use this as a comparison group, and it includes all sectors unless non-profit is specified.
- **Other industries** refers to all industries other than human services. This combines the "other care" and "non-care" industries. Again, this includes the non-profit, public, and for-profit sectors unless otherwise specified.
- **Comparator jobs** refer to jobs not in non-profit human services. The job evaluation analysis uses this category, which includes a combination of public sector, education, and for-profit jobs in industries other than human services.

Figure 1. Human services employment by sector, King County and nationally



Source: Analysis of American Community Survey data, 2005-2019. All currently employed wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64. See Appendix 3, Table 1.

Figure 2. Selected characteristics of King County workers by industry category



Source: Analysis of American Community Survey data, 2005-2019. All currently employed wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64. See Appendix 3, Table 1.

Understanding wage inequity

Wages are shaped by many intersecting historical and societal forces. Ideas about how to think about equity in the context of wages, how wage levels are determined, and mechanisms for changing wage structures are foundational for understanding and interpreting the work of this report. In this section, we discuss these topics and their impact on wages in human services jobs.

Equity is the quality of being fair or just. No one arrangement is indisputably "equitable" or "inequitable"; rather, equity is a matter of contest or consensus. One common idea about wage equity is that people doing the same work should be paid the same. The concept of "equal pay for equal work," as codified in the federal Equal Pay Act of 1963, holds that persons in substantively the same jobs within the same organization should have equivalent pay.

Comparable worth theory

Comparable worth theory aims to address more deeply rooted differences in the economy. Comparable worth – also known as "pay equity" or "wage equity" – moves beyond a call for equal pay for equal work and moves to "equal pay for *equivalent* work." This approach rests on the understanding that prevailing pay levels are subject to the distortions and biases in society and asserts that workers ought to be paid the same for jobs that: require similar skills, knowledge, and initiative; take place in similarly demanding environments; and have comparable levels of responsibilities.

Comparable worth as a concept was first developed to address gender-based pay inequities, and we will use gender examples to explain it here. However, the concept applies to racism and other structural forces, including the multiple factors leading to wage penalties in human services as discussed below.

Because of occupational segregation, women and men often do not work in the same occupations or industries.[3] Female-dominated industries tend to pay less than male-dominated industries. Comparable worth theory recognizes that work done by women has been systematically devalued, with women segregated into different occupations than men, and that this bias continues to affect current wages in jobs that are, or historically were, dominated by women.

A comparable worth approach addresses the pay disparity between "men's jobs" and "women's jobs" by systematically examining the dimensions of a job via a job evaluation tool that identifies the component parts of a job. For instance, jobs that involve similar levels of manual dexterity, should – all else held equal – have the same level of pay, regardless of whether the job was done by men (as is often the case with metal milling equipment) or women (as is the case with sewing machines). By analyzing and comparing the distinct tasks that make up a job, comparable worth job evaluations allow for a comparison between the pay of different jobs (England 1999).

The value of the comparable worth approach can go far beyond addressing gender-based inequities. Salary levels reflect multiple social forces, many of which give rise to systematic inequities. Before turning to the specific reasons why wages are lower in the non-profit human services field, this next section discusses academic theories about how salaries are determined in general.

How wages are set

Economic theory provides one entry-point into understanding wage determination. Standard economic theory informs many

[3] We recognize that gender-based inequities apply beyond the woman-man binary but use binary language to mirror the categories used in Census data. We also use Census terms for race and ethnicity.

people's perspectives about compensation, but in its basic form it cannot account for some important labor market forces. A classical economic model holds that a worker's compensation is in proportion to their skills and productive outputs. Generally, compensation rewards education or experience with higher pay, or links compensation in some way to productivity. In many ways, this theory presumes equal access to experience and education, and meritocracy.

While standard economic theory can explain some variation in individuals' salaries, it is limited in important ways. For instance, in a classical economic model, discrimination (based on race, gender, or other characteristics) is illogical because only workers' contributions should matter. In actuality, discrimination in the labor market is well-documented (see, for example, Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004; Small and Pager 2020).

Standard economic theory is also limited in its ability to explain variation in salaries across occupations or industries. In addition to differences in required levels of training and education, wage differences across occupations also reflect forces including the status of the individuals holding those jobs, the value placed on the work being done, historical patterns of pay and their remnants, and the power of employees relative to their employers (e.g., legislation governing the conditions of work, access to enforcement agencies, and unionization and collective bargaining). Wage inequities can arise through systematic discrimination linked to race or gender, through inequalities in worker power across industries, and through policies that advance or support strong wages in one sector or allow wages in another sector to languish (such as the policies detailed in Appendix 2).

Once wage inequities are created and established, inertia and emulation solidify them over space and time (Rosenfeld 2021). For example, wage scales tend to persist as new employees join an organization with an existing pay structure and accept and use that as a guideline for their own pay. This type of "organizational inertia is evident when we think of a job as 'naturally' paying a certain amount" (Rosenfeld 2021, p. 16). Common business practices – such as pegging the wages within a new organization to the industry standard – mean that wage structures also get replicated across locations. In time, wage levels in one locale or one organization spread from one place to another or one employer to another via such mimicry.

Labor market inequities become durable when these forces of inertia and emulation act on top of discrimination. Consider race and gender discrimination present in the labor market in the late 19th or early 20th century. Women were restricted to a small number of industries and occupations, and these paid lower wages than the jobs open to men. Similarly, African Americans, other racialized minorities, and immigrants were shunted into some jobs and kept out of others, with the best-paying jobs held primarily by U.S.-born White workers. As the economy evolved and discriminatory labor restrictions gradually loosened, the wages in these minority- and woman-dominated industries remained lower due to inertia. As such, discrimination from 100 years ago affects wage structures today, even if women and persons of color are not legally or strongly socially restricted to certain industries.

This is not to say that wage structures are immutable. As market dynamics, social dynamics, and laws change, relative wages change as well. Below and in Box 2, we discuss state and local policies attempting to interrupt inequitable processes.

Policy can change wage-setting practices

Government policies shape the conditions of work and commensurate wages through federal and state policy (e.g., minimum wage and work hour laws) and local rulemaking

(e.g., rules governing unions and collective bargaining). (For an overview of the historical and policy context relevant to human services work, see Appendix 2.) For example, federal laws, including the Equal Pay Act of 1963 prohibit discrimination in salaries based on gender or other ascribed characteristics. Despite decades of federal prohibitions on gender discrimination in employment and wages, the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009 was a reminder that some employers continue to pay women less than men for the same job.

Spurred by persistent gender and racial wage gaps, occupational segregation, and growing recognition of the role that structural factors play in setting wages across occupations, wage equity efforts acorss the U.S. have gained momentum over the past two decades (National Women's Law Center 2020). States and localities have undertaken various additional efforts to try to reduce pay disparities by gender and race that generally fall into two broad categories:

- **Pay transparency:** Some states, including Washington state,[4] have passed laws that prohibit companies from asking job applicants about their salary history and/or prohibit employers from restricting employees from disclosing their salaries. Some of these laws also require employers to provide salary ranges on posted job descriptions for potential employees.
- **Require employers to track and report pay disparities by gender and race:** Some states and localities have added requirements that contractors and/or governments report wages by gender and race on a regular basis. For example, San Francisco, California requires companies to report employment data by gender and race. New York City's Pay Equity Law requires the city to produce and share data on municipal employees' salaries by gender and race.[5]

These laws enable tracking of pay inequities and trends. Most of these efforts are targeted at ensuring equal pay for the same or similar work. While they are a step towards remedying some barriers to pay inequity, they do not address other major causes of pay inequity, including occupational segregation and the differentiated values and pay on work based on factors such as gender, race, and ethnicity.

Wages for human services work

Explanations of how employers set compensation need to recognize the influence of the relative power of workers and the role of factors such as individual and structural discrimination, cultural norms, institutional factors, and the ability to capture and monetize the value of services provided. All these factors, which influence the relative bargaining power of workers, come into play in human services wage levels. From the literature and previous work of some contributing scholars to the Wage Equity report, we know that "penalties" exist regarding wages in the following domains: gender, race, care, client power, and sectoral (see Figure 3 and Appendix 2). These factors act individually and interactively to drive wages down.

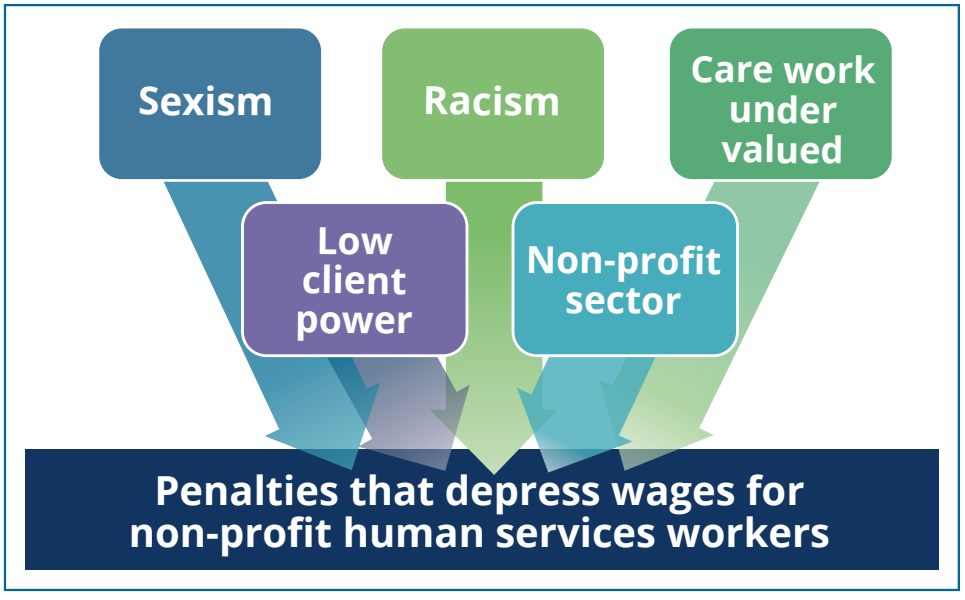
- **Gender penalty:** Human services workers are overwhelmingly women today and historically. Today's human services workers face lower wages because industry wages have carried forward historic gender discrimination and because women's labor market prospects are still affected by gender-based discrimination.

[4] Washington State's Equal Pay and Opportunities Act (RCW 49.58.005-110) addresses pay transparency. It requires employers to post salary ranges to job seekers, prohibits employers from requiring that applicants provide salary histories, and protects the rights of workers to disclose and discuss salaries without employer retaliation.
[5] San Francisco Administrative Code Section 12B.2(f)(2); New York City Council 2019 Local Law 18.

- **Racial penalty:** Workers of color have historically experienced and still experience discrimination in employment that constricts their opportunities and reduces their bargaining power. Discrimination is also associated with a cultural devaluation of skills and commitments of people of color that shows up in lower wages. Furthermore, workers of color are over-represented in the lowest-paid human services jobs, including frontline care work.
- **Care penalty:** Employers may undervalue the knowledge and skills embedded in "emotional labor," often gained through mothering and caring within households and voluntary school-based activities, as well as formal qualifications. While these skills are utilized in many human services jobs, they are not reflected in pay and conditions of work.
- **Low client power penalty:** Non-profit human services workers' wages may be depressed because the clients they serve and the populations receiving social services lack political or economic power.
- **Outsourcing/Sector penalty:** Non-profit human services workers face lower wages than their peers in the for-profit and public sectors. This penalty may have been exacerbated by the increased reliance on public subcontracting to human services non-profit organizations since the 1980s (Smith and Lipsky 1993; National Council of Nonprofits 2022), which has put additional downward pressures on wages.

In addition to these penalties, many human services workers do not have full-time employment. Part-time workers face lower wages, and access to benefits may be limited relative to full-time workers. Unionization is one way for workers within an industry to gain power and increase pay. Almost a century ago, social workers were heavily involved with unions (Leighninger 2001). Today, however, unionization rates among human service workers are low, and fiscal pressures contributing to new management practices have tended to reduce workers' participation in management (Cunningham et al. 2017), both of which may contribute to wage stagnation. In sum, workers in human services are vulnerable to intersecting pay penalties related to their individual and collective bargaining power that result in systematically lower wages.

Figure 3. Conceptual model of factors depressing wages for non-profit human services work



Box 3. Comparable worth/wage equity in other contexts

Comparable worth analyses move beyond "equal pay for equal work" to try to determine how we would compensate jobs typically done by less powerful groups (such as racialized minorities or women) if the work they did was valued in the same way as comparable jobs performed by members of more powerful groups (such as White workers or men).

One state, Minnesota, implemented a comparable worth system in the 1980s for both its state and local government. Separate equal pay rules in Minnesota prohibit employers from paying women employees less than men for equal work or for jobs that require equal skill, effort, responsibility, and have similar working conditions. A more recent reform requires that businesses with large contracts with the State and more than 40 employees apply for a certificate of compliance declaring that they have no gender wage gap within occupational categories and describing how they set wages. Certificates must be updated every four years.

The Minnesota efforts were intended to address gender pay inequities, and the State reports that the comparable worth system has resulted in an average increase in salaries for women of roughly 11% after the four-year phase-in period (Minnesota Legislative Office on the Economic Status of Women 2016) The law applies to classes of jobs and to equity in the pay structure within the state and local government, not to individual jobs (Rothchild, Watkins, and Faith 2016). In the 1980s, efforts in Washington state to narrow the gender wage gap and mandate comparable worth pay for women state workers were unsuccessful in court. While comparable worth efforts have been limited in the U.S. in recent years, such methods are used in various contexts in other countries, including New Zealand; Ontario, Canada; the European Union; and the United Kingdom. The experiences of places that have used comparable worth approaches suggest that this approach is not easy or straightforward, but that it can yield gains for less powerful workers.

Market analysis

To better understand the wages of human services workers relative to other workers in our region, we conducted three types of original data analyses using existing Census and Washington state administrative data. Appendix 3 contains full details of this work.[6] The overarching goal of this market analysis is to understand the wages paid to human services workers relative to two different comparison groups: other care industry workers (in education and health care), and workers in non-care industries (the remaining parts of the economy, including retail, business services, manufacturing, and others).

We first calculated median earnings using the most local data available. Second, we estimated the pay penalty faced by workers in human services relative to other industries; these estimates are based on multivariate statistical analyses that allow us to estimate the wage gap net of any observable worker characteristics, such as age, gender, or race. We also analyze changes in wages among the sub-set of

[6] Appendix 3 also contains a fourth analysis, a comparison of specific occupations in human services, other care work industries, and non-care industries. These comparisons parallel and confirm the findings of the more localized and detailed Job Evaluation, so for brevity we do not discuss them in this summary report.

Table 1. Purpose of analysis and data sources for market analysis

Purpose of Analysis	Data source
Assess the human services pay penalties in Washington state • Median pay statistics • Multivariate analysis	The US Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS)
Assess the effects of switching jobs within and outside of human services jobs in Seattle and King County • Hourly and annual pay changes • Multivariate analysis	Earnings records from the Washington state Employment Security Department (ESD)

workers who switch jobs, which is a third way to understand the differences in pay between industries.

Table 1. summarizes the data used for these analyses. While the overall report focuses on non-profit human services work in Seattle and King County, limitations in available data mean that this analysis often takes a slightly broader angle. Except when noted, analyses in this section focus on the human services industry regardless of sector, meaning we combine non-profit, for-profit, and governmental human services providers. In some cases, further data limitations mean that we conduct analyses at the state level, rather than for King County or Seattle specifically. Finally, the small annual samples in the Census' American Community Survey (ACS) data require combining data across years in order to have sufficient sample sizes to estimate our models.[7]

Median earnings are lower in human services than in other industries

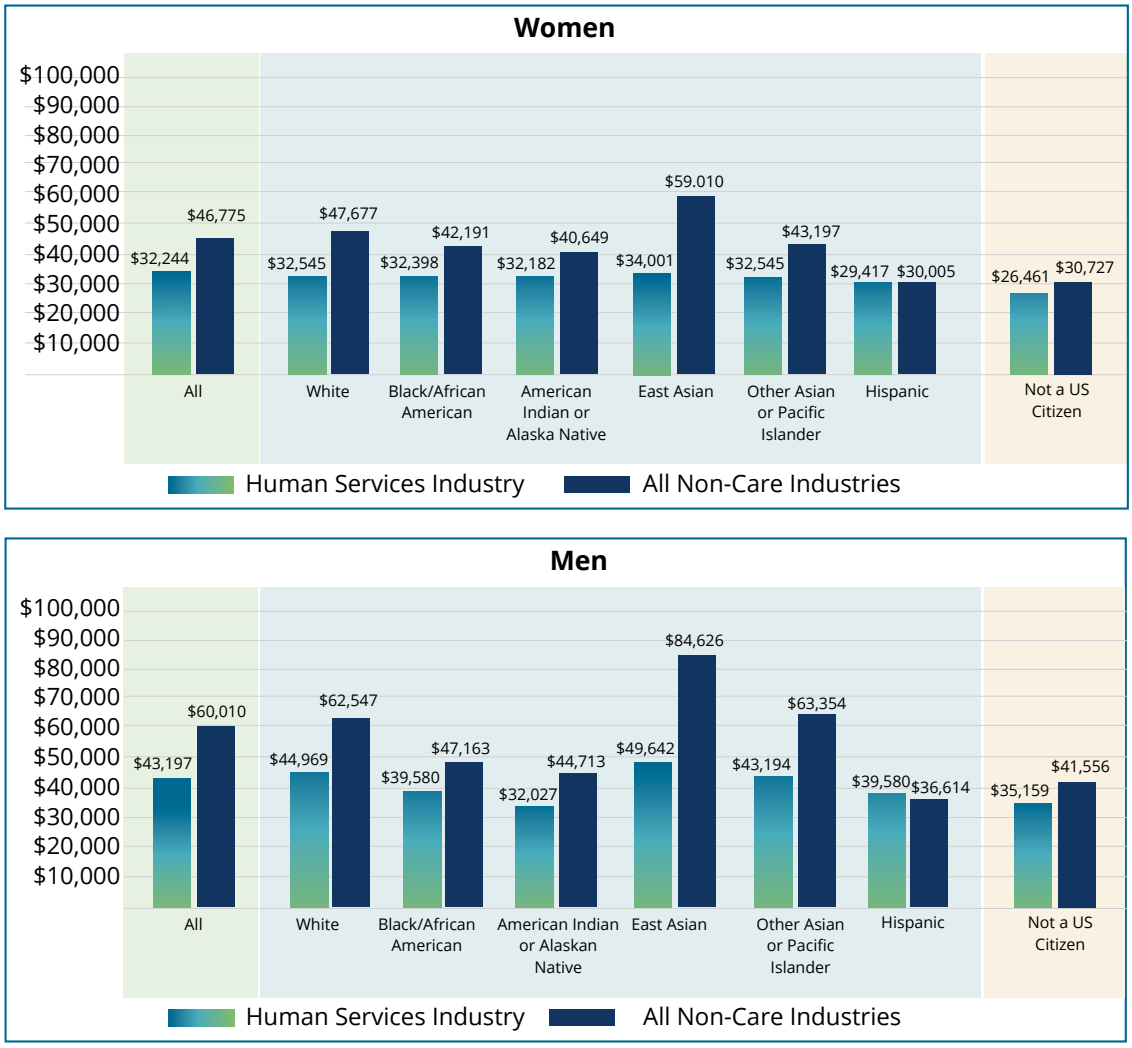
Median annual earnings among all full-time human services workers (all sectors) in Washington state were $33,995 over the study observation period of 2005-2019 (all figures are in 2019 dollars).[8] This is 38% less than the $54,831 median paid to full-time workers in non-care industries. Median annual earnings for full-time workers in other care industries (education and healthcare) were $52,331 (all figures from Appendix 3, Table 2).

These differences between human services and other industries show up across combinations of gender with race, ethnicity, and citizenship. Figure 4 shows median annual earnings for full-time human services and non-care industry workers for women (panel a/top panel) and men (panel b/bottom panel). Human services workers are paid less than workers in other industries in every demographic sub-group except one (Hispanic men are paid slightly more in human services than they are in other industries). Within human services, women's earnings are similar across several racial groups, with median annual earnings of around $32,000 for White, Black, and American Indian/Alaska Native, and other Asian or Pacific Islander women.

[7] We combined data over the period 2005-2019 with inflation adjustments so that all figures are in 2019 dollars. We do not use 2020 or later data due to pandemic-related disruptions in both the economy and in public data collection procedures.

[8] We compare earnings across sectors for only those workers who work full-time (35+ hours per week) and have earnings in at least 50 weeks of the year. Wage differences between industries would be even larger if we considered all workers because human services workers are more likely than workers in other industries to work part-time and/or part-year.

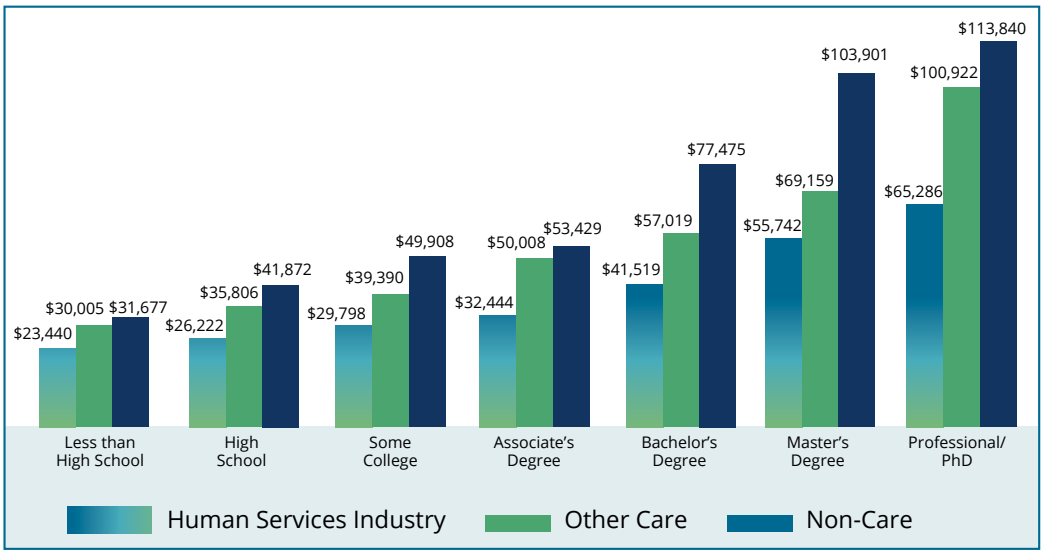
Figure 4. Median annual wages for Washington workers by industry category, gender, race/ethnicity, and citizenship



Source: Analysis of American Community Survey data, 2005-2019. All full-time, full-year wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64. Figures in 2019 dollars. See Appendix 3, Table 3.

Differences between human services and other industries also show up at all levels of education. As shown in Figure 5, as education levels increase, wages increase. As with overall earnings, median annual earnings in human services are lower than in both other care industries and non-care industries, across all educational categories. Median annual wages for full-time Washington workers in human services with a bachelor's degree (but no higher degree) are about $41,500 per year, compared to $57,000 for similarly educated workers in other care industries, and $77,500 for similarly educated workers in non-care industries. These numbers translate into a 27% wage penalty relative to other care workers and a 46% wage penalty relative to workers in non-care industries among bachelor's degree holders.

Figure 5. Median annual earnings by industry and education, Washington workers



Source: Analysis of American Community Survey data, 2005-2019. All full-time, full-year wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64. Figures in 2019 dollars.See Appendix 3, Table 4.

The consistency of the gaps between human services and other industries provides strong evidence of a human services pay penalty, but factors other than inequities may contribute to these differences in medians. For instance, workers in human services may be younger than workers in other industries. Thus, differences in median wages might overstate the difference between sectors because wages tend to rise with experience. For reasons like this, we conducted multivariate analyses that can estimate differences net of possible observable correlated factors.

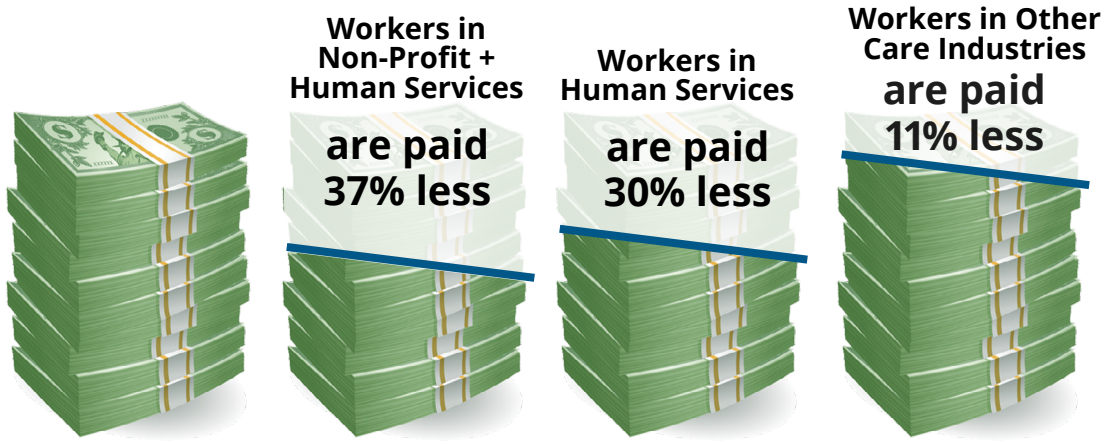
Multivariate analyses show wage gaps controlling for worker characteristics

Using econometric approaches, we looked more closely at differences between human services employees, other employees in care work industries, and employees in all other non-care industries to estimate the pay penalty when observable individual and job characteristics are accounted for in the analysis.[9] Net of these control variables, Washington state human services workers are paid 30% less than workers in non-care industries. Non-profit workers face an additional 7% penalty relative to workers at for-profit employers. Taken together, this means that non-profit human services workers experience a wage penalty of 37% relative to observably similar workers in for-profit, non-care industries. Workers in other care industries are paid more than human services workers but less than workers in non-care industries. Figure 6 illustrates these differences.

[9] These analyses control for sector (for-profit, non-profit, public), education, gender, whether married, presence of own child in the household, race, Hispanic ethnicity, citizenship, occupation, usual hours worked per week, age in years, and year of data. The methods used in this and the following analysis parallel the approach used in the study team members' recent peer-reviewed publication on care work penalties (Folbre, Gautham, and Smith 2023).

Figure 6. Wage penalties by industry and sector, Washington state

Relative to workers in non-care industries...



Source: Multivariate analysis of American Community Survey data, 2005-2019. Analysis controls for individual worker characteristics and time trends

Leaving human services jobs increases pay

Lastly, we examine the impact on wages of changing jobs within and across industries using more detailed data for workers that allows us to zero in on employers located or headquartered in Seattle.[10] This provides different insight into wage penalties because we can observe the exact same workers in different jobs and see how their pay changes. As such, things that are unobservable in the analyses above – like individual skills, dedication, or work habits – are held constant.

This method offers a way to confirm the findings above but takes a different approach in several ways. Workers change jobs for reasons, and the reasons for changing jobs may also affect wages. In some cases, workers switch jobs to get better pay or more challenge, reasons that should increase wages. In other cases, changes in workers' health or family circumstances make a job not sustainable; such switches may lead to lower pay. We cannot know why workers switch, only that they do. Second, by design, this analysis cannot tell us about wage penalties for workers who stay in their jobs. Finally, leaving a job or industry is particularly difficult for longer tenured or more highly trained workers who have expertise and experience that are specific to human services. As such, although there are complexities to studying how job changes affect wages, this analysis offers a different and complementary approach to the prior estimates.

We created and analyzed six categories of workers in human services and other industries based on whether they: remained with their employer; switched employers but stayed within their industry type; or switched both employer and industry from the previous quarter.[11] For both "stayers" and "switchers," we calculated changes in their hourly wage rates one year after switching or staying.

---

[10] This work uses the full population Employment Security Department (ESD) data, which allows us to look within Seattle rather than statewide. As Appendix 3 details, we replicated all the prior analyses as closely as possible with the ESD data, and overall earnings ratios were very similar. ESD data do not contain demographic, occupational, or education information, which is why we did not use this data source for all analyses. Appendix 3 also contains these same analyses for employers based within King County. Findings for King County are similar to the Seattle findings presented in this summary.

[11] For this analysis, other care work was combined with all other industries yielding two industrial grouping, the human services industry and all other industries. The six categories were: 1. Stay with an other industry employer, 2. Switch from one other-than-human services employer to another, 3. Switch from another industry to the human services industry, 4. Stay with a human services employer, 5. Switch employers but remain in human services, and 6. Switch from human services to another industry.

On average, workers' hourly wages go up over the course of a year, regardless of whether they stay at an employer or move. However, wage rate changes vary depending on whether a worker begins in or stays in human services.

Seattle workers who stay in human services, whether at a new employer or the same employer see annual increases of 6.1% and 6.3%, respectively. For workers in all industries other than human services, staying with the same employer yields a raise of 4.5% whereas switching to another employer not in human services leads to an increase of 9.1% in hourly pay.

However, moving into or out of human services yields different patterns. Workers who leave a job not in human services and move into a human services industry job see a wage increase of 5.9%. In contrast, workers who leave human services for a job in another industry get paid 14.2% more per hour than they were paid in human services.

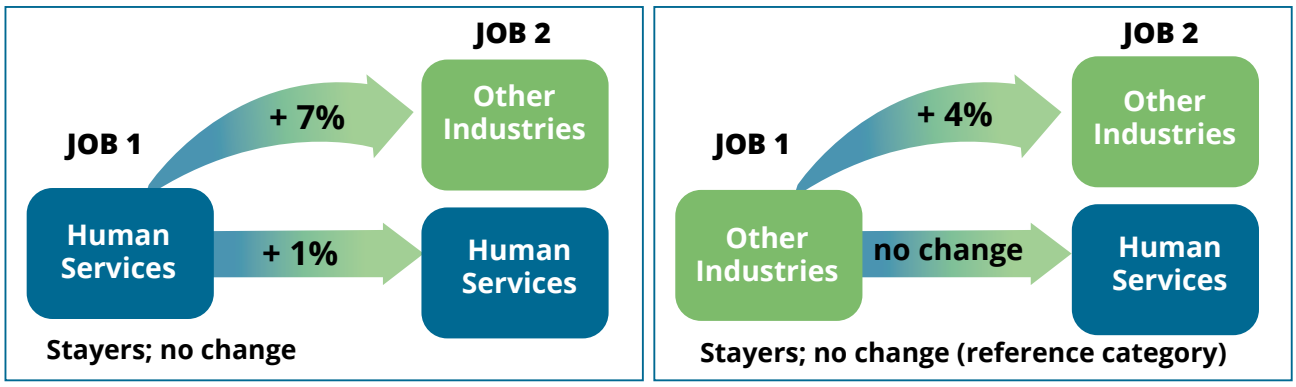
The largest gains go to workers who leave human services. Furthermore, the percentage point hourly wage gains by leaving the human services industry are 56% higher than the next highest gain from switching employers.

We also performed a multivariate version of this switching analysis, summarized in Figure 7. This allows us to estimate changes in hourly wages not otherwise accounted for by observable characteristics such as hours worked and employer size. This analysis confirms the prior finding that leaving the Seattle human services industry yields increases in pay.

- Switching jobs and leaving the human services industry is associated with an hourly wage increase premium of 7% relative to the reference category of staying at the same job not in human services.
- In contrast, workers who enter the human services industry from another industry see no change in pay beyond what "stayers" report, nor do workers who stay with the same human services employer.

Note that both the calculated wage change and the multivariate estimates of wage change premiums refer to hourly wages; actual earnings gains from switching are larger because switching jobs also is associated with more total hours of work. Switching out of human services, where part-time work is common, into work in a different industry yielded a 31% total earnings premium relative to the reference category of workers who stayed with the same employer in another industry.

Figure 7. Hourly wage rate change premium for Seattle job stayers and switchers, within and across industries (from multivariate analysis)



Source: Analysis of 2010-2017 Washington State Employment Security Department earnings records. See Appendix 3, Exhibit M2 for details.

These findings provide additional insight into the relative wages of human services work versus work in other industries. As noted above, this switching analysis should not be interpreted as a general estimate of the full penalties affecting human services pay levels. We believe that this is better thought of as a lower-bound estimate because it is most generalizable to workers most likely to switch jobs, those at the beginning of their careers who are also often the lowest paid workers.

All three market data analyses show wage gaps

All three approaches – the descriptive wage tabulations, multivariate analysis, and the switching analysis – yield consistent results. **Workers in human services get paid substantially less than workers in non-care services industries and even less than workers in other care industries**. Controlling for worker characteristics, human services workers face a wage penalty of 30% and an additional non-profit wage penalty of 7%. Wage gaps are found even when we follow the same workers over time as they switch jobs, suggesting that the differences are not due to characteristics of the worker.

One reading of these findings is as confirming that wages for non-profit human services work are indeed depressed by the set of the penalties outlined above. An opposing view might hold that the lower pay for human services work relative to other industries is a function of the nature of the work itself. The job evaluation analysis that follows provides a detailed and comparative look at the nature of human services jobs.

Job Evaluation Analysis

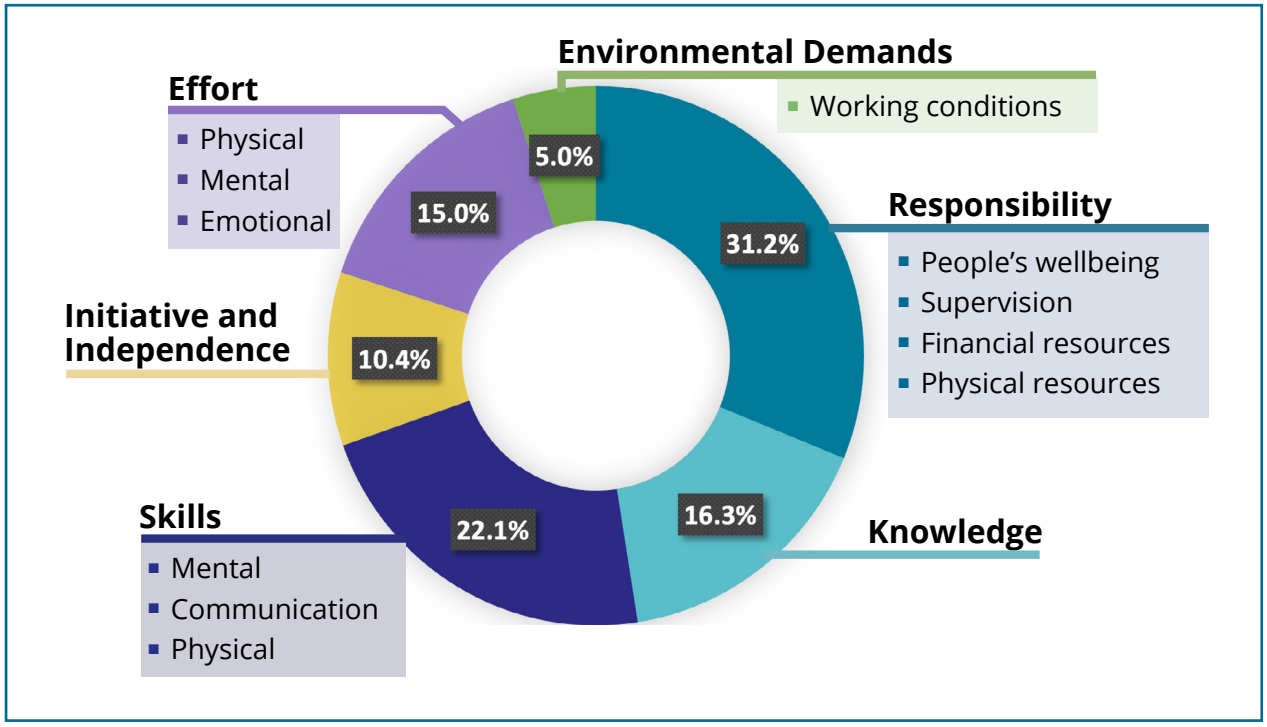
The job evaluation analysis portion of the study was designed to complement the market analysis of large-scale national and regional data. The job evaluation analysis uses a different approach from the market analysis, directly assessing a small number of jobs on a comprehensive range of factors to assess the relative levels of knowledge, skills, responsibility, effort, initiative, and demands. Job evaluation methods hence more precisely capture the "equivalent work" component within the comparable worth principle of "equal pay for equivalent work."

The job evaluation uses in-depth data from a small, purposive sample of current jobholders within King County and Seattle. These data allow us to directly compare jobs in the non-profit human services industry to jobs in other industries and sectors.

About the job evaluation instrument

To assess comparable worth, this study used a purpose-built job evaluation questionnaire and scoring rubric, the National Joint Council Scheme (NJCS), developed by UK-wide local governments, unions, and leading job evaluation experts. The NJCS was developed to comply with UK legislation requiring "equal pay for work of equal value" – the equivalent of "comparable worth" in the U.S. – and also with regard to the protected characteristics in the UK's Equality Act 2010, "age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage/civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, and sexual orientation" (Equality Act 2010). Unlike other widely used job evaluation tools, the NJCS is specifically designed to address gender bias by accounting for job demands that might be devalued in the labor market, including relating to interpersonal and communication skills, emotional demands, responsibility for people, and knowledge related to people and human behavior.

Figure 8. Job evaluation factors



Source: NJCS job evaluation instrument, see text for details

The NJCS instrument is a points-based, analytical tool that is designed to be used across sectors and levels of hierarchy. As shown in Figure 8, the NJCS is based on 13 weighted factors within six major categories: Knowledge, Skills, Responsibility, Effort, Initiative and Independence, and Environmental Demands (Working Conditions). Each factor has up to 8 different point levels, with a maximum total score of 1,000 possible points for a given job. Box 4 shows an example of how these factors are scored, and Appendix 4 contains more information about the NJCS instrument, including a full copy of the questionnaire used in this study.

In the present study, job holders completed a slightly modified version of the NJCS Job evaluation questionnaire, adapted to use U.S. terminology and with questions relating to the Working Conditions factor slightly amended to reflect the impact of Covid and the potential for micro-aggressions in the workplace.

Participants

The Job Evaluation portion of the Wage Equity study used purposive sampling to recruit non-profit human services workers in Seattle and King County with jobs in commonly occurring "benchmark" positions (N=12) as well as a sample of "comparison job" holders (N=10) in jobs outside of the non-profit sector and human services industry. The human services benchmark jobs in this study include four common positions:

- Caseworker
- Director
- Coordinator
- Child Care Worker

These jobs were selected to represent an array of job types at different levels of responsibility.

Box 4. How the job evaluation instrument works

To be reliable and meaningful, job ratings need to be done systematically using set criteria. The NJCS is an established, structured, and comprehensive system for rating jobs on multiple factors. Data from completed questionnaires and interview transcripts are analyzed to assess and rate the job on each of the 13 factors measured by the NJCS. Points for each factor are totaled to allow for comparisons of jobs both within and across sectors.

For each factor, there are multiple levels and the NJCS has specific guidelines for rating and assigning points to indicate the level of a given job characteristic. For example, the factor "Responsibility for People – Well-being" measures the responsibility of the jobholder for individual, or groups of, people (members of the public, service users and recipients, clients), other than employees supervised or managed by the jobholder. This factor emphasizes the job holder's responsibilities for the physical, mental, social economic and environmental well-being of people, including their health and safety.

For this factor, the NJCS scoring rubric assesses the job on a scale of 1-6, depending on the level at which the job is assessed. The following summary guidance illustrates the substantive differences between levels for the factor "Responsibility for People--Well-being"

Level 1: Limited, or no direct impact on well-being of individuals or groups.

Level 2: Some direct impact on well-being through tasks or duties which are to their direct benefit, or impact directly on their health and safety.

Level 3: Considerable direct impact on well-being through either a) an assessment of needs and implementation of appropriate care for those reliant on jobholder for their basic needs or b) implementing regulations with direct impact on health, safety, or well-being.

Level 4: High direct impact on well-being through either a) an assessment of needs and implementation of appropriate programs of care for those reliant on the jobholder; or b) enforcing regulations which have high direct impact on the health, safety or well-being.

Level 5: Major direct impact on well-being of people reliant on the jobholder; involves assessment of their complex needs and arranging for delivery of appropriate programs of care; responsibility for making decisions which may affect future well-being and circumstances of clients.

Level 6: Very major direct impact on well-being of substantial numbers of people reliant on services for their care; involves assessment of needs of relevant groups of people and determining how appropriate programs of care should be delivered; responsibility for making decisions which will affect future well-being of individual, and groups of clients.

For the factor "Responsibility for People," each level contributes 13 points, meaning that a job scoring at level 3 in the above example would contribute 39 points to the overall job evaluation score. Other factors have up to 8 levels, and each level contributes 10, 13, or 20-21 points, depending on the weight of the factor. This summary is based the NJC Green Book collective agreement (Local Government Association, 2022, p. 79-80) which also provides scoring criteria for the other factors that comprise the job evaluation.

The Seattle Human Services Coalition helped with recruitment of benchmark job holders. The range of types of human services organizations represented include those providing support services for housing and for unsheltered people, domestic violence services, multi-service community centers, and early learning care providers. The sample also represents jobs in different-sized organizations.

To identify comparators, the Job Evaluation team sought individuals from a range of occupations outside of the non-profit, human services sector. The goal was to include occupations either predominantly performed by men – such as construction or IT – or administrative and professional occupations, from entry to senior executive level. The team also aimed to include individuals from a range of organizations, including smaller and larger employers, and from the for-profit as well as the public sector. The research team, Steering Committee, and SHSC networks identified potential comparator job interviewees via direct outreach, including a snowball principle drawing on pre-existing relationships and acquaintances. Six comparator job holders in the sample work in the for-profit sector, one works in the public sector, one works in a private school (a non-profit), and two are trade union workers.

With the support of the Steering Committee, a locally based member of the Job Evaluation team oversaw recruitment, obtained informed consent, ensured that participants completed the NJCS questionnaire, and conducted most of the interviews. Appendix 4 provides additional information on the data collection and analysis.

Data and analysis

Data collected for the job evaluation includes the modified NJSC questionnaire, and simultaneous transcription of the interviews which were conducted virtually from October through December 2022. In addition, job holders or their supervisors provided copies of their contracts, personnel policies, benefits information, and organizational charts where possible.

Transcripts and completed questionnaires were analyzed to assess and score the job on each of the 13 factors measured by the NJCS, following a structured scoring rubric and protocol. Analysis and scoring of the NJCS job evaluation questionnaire and interview transcript data was carried out by a member of the team who was involved in establishing the original NJCS job evaluation tool and who has twenty years of experience applying the scoring rubric in job evaluation analyses across local government, schools, and the non-profit sector in the UK. Points for each factor were totaled to allow for comparison of salaries across job evaluation scores both within and across sectors.

Job evaluation study findings

The non-profit human services jobs included in this analysis rate at different point levels based on the NJCS job evaluation instrument; the same is true for the comparator jobs. Tables 2 and 3 show job evaluation scores for the benchmark jobs and the comparator jobs, respectively. As shown, the twelve benchmark job evaluation scores range from 404 to 716. Eight of the 12 (67%) fall between 400 and 600 points. The ten comparator scores range from a low of 367 – lower than the lowest benchmark score of 404 – to a high of 710, which is marginally lower than the highest benchmark score of 716. Seven of the 10 comparator jobs (70%) fall between 400 and 600 points.

Table 2. Job evaluation (JE) scores and median King County salaries, non-profit human services jobs

JE score	Job title	Area median salary
404	Teaching Assistant	$39,177
430	School Age Enrichment Worker	$45,752
447	Youth Advocate	$43,663
460	Office Assistant/Intake Coordinator	$41,600
505	Early Learning Director/Site Coordinator	$66,048
522	Case Manager	$60,099
528	Program Manager	$66,048
581	Manager – Housing Services	$58,033
601	Coalition Director Programs and Membership	$66,048
669	Children's Advocate	$55,059
684	HR Director, Housing Organization	$140,442
716	Director – Housing Services	$78,162

Source: Job evaluation scores from study analysis (see text and Appendix 4 for details). Salary data from 2021 King County Nonprofit Wage and Benefit Report (501 Commons, 2021).

Table 3. Job evaluation (JE) scores and median area salaries, comparator jobs

JE score	Job title	Area median salary
367	Office Manager	$62,710
370	Public Sector Administrator/Project Manager	$76,860
427	Journey Electrician	$79,020
449	Dispatcher/Office Manager	$55,070
492	Business Representative	$130,750
512	Facilities Manager/Administrator	$81,465
577	Private School Equity Director	$133,243
593	Attorney	$129,147
599	Compliance Director	$132,230
710	Construction Project Manager	$104,458

*Source: Job evaluation scores from study analysis (see text and Appendix 4 for details). Salary data from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data reported via the O*Net system (National Center for O*NET Development, n.d.).*

Tables 2 and 3 also show the area median salaries for the job title closest to the evaluated job. Within the category of non-profit human services jobs, higher job evaluation scores roughly align with higher wages. The lowest-paid non-profit human services worker, the teaching assistant, is also the lowest, and the two highest paid jobs, the HR Director and the Housing Services Director also ranked the highest. The higher relative pay for the HR director reflects the immediate transferability of human resources work outside of the industry and sector.

The side-by-side comparison of Tables 2 and 3 also shows that pay for the human services benchmark jobs is lower than that of comparator jobs for all similar job evaluation scores. The median pay of the lowest-scoring comparator – Office Manager – is 60% higher than that of the lowest-scoring human services benchmark job – Teaching Assistant, despite the latter job scoring higher on the job evaluation. The pay of the highest job evaluation scoring comparator – Construction Project Manager – is over a third higher than the highest scoring benchmark job – Director, Housing Services even though the Housing Services job scores six points higher on the evaluation. Salary differences are even larger when workers' actual pay, rather than the area median, is considered. After an annual bonus is applied, the for-profit sector construction manager makes well over twice what the Housing Services Director makes (shown in Appendix 4).

The gaps between scores and pay illustrate the devaluation of the types of work done by non-profit human services workers. For jobs rated as similarly complex and demanding, human services workers are paid less than other workers in this sample. See Figure 9 and Figure 10 for examples of job-to-job comparisons. These comparisons suggest that the gaps revealed in the market analysis between human services workers and workers in other industries do not reflect lower pay because human services work is easier, less skilled, or less demanding than other jobs. Rather, the pay is less *despite* the high level of skill, responsibility, and difficulty of the jobs.

Figure 9. Teaching Assistant Job Comparison

Comparing job evaluation factor scores and pay for a non-profit human services job and a similarly-scored job not in human services

TEACHING ASSISTANT
NON-PROFIT SECTOR
Median Pay **$39,177/year**
Job Evaluation Score **404**

ADMINISTRATOR/PROJECT MANAGER
PUBLIC SECTOR
Median Pay **$76,860/year**
Job Evaluation Score **370**

FACTOR	SCORE	
Knowledge	80	60
Skills		
Mental	39	39
Interpersonal Communication	52	52
Physical	26	26
Demands		
Physical	20	10
Mental	30	20
Emotional	20	10
Responsibility		
For People	39	26
For Supervision	13	26
For Financial Resources	13	26
For Physical Resources	13	26
Working Conditions	20	10
Initiative/Independence	39	39
TOTAL	**404**	**370**

Source: Job evaluation scores from study analysis (see text and Appendix 4 for details). Human services salary data from 2021 King County Nonprofit Wage and Benefit Report (501 Commons, 2021). Comparison salary data from Bureau of Labor Standards (2022) for Seattle-Bellevue-Tacoma metro area.

Figure 10. Director of Housing Services Job Comparison

Comparing job evaluation factor scores and pay for a non-profit human services job and a similarly-scored job not in human services

DIRECTOR OF HOUSING SERVICES
NON-PROFIT SECTOR
Median Pay **$78,162/year**
Job Evaluation Score **716**

CONSTRUCTION PROJECT MANAGER
FOR-PROFIT SECTOR
Median Pay **$104,458/year**
Job Evaluation Score **710**

FACTOR	SCORE	
Knowledge	121	142
Skills		
Mental	65	78
Interpersonal Communication	65	65
Physical	26	39
Demands		
Physical	20	20
Mental	40	40
Emotional	40	20
Responsibility		
For People	65	52
For Supervision	65	39
For Financial Resources	52	65
For Physical Resources	39	52
Working Conditions	40	20
Initiative/Independence	78	78
TOTAL	**716**	**710**

Source: Job evaluation scores from study analysis (see text and Appendix 4 for details). Human services salary data from 2021 King County Nonprofit Wage and Benefit Report (501 Commons, 2021). Comparison salary data from Bureau of Labor Standards (2022) for Seattle-Bellevue-Tacoma metro area.

Additional observations from the Job Evaluation analysis

Our key finding, as noted, is that non-profit human services job salaries are lower than those of comparator jobs for all similar job evaluation scores. Our interviews and analysis also revealed other observations with implications for plans to raise wages in the non-profit sector, including:

- Job descriptions are not a clear indicator of what jobs entail nor the complexity of the role.
- Non-profit human services workers seem unaware of the pay structure and grade classification systems operating in their organizations; in particular, confusion exists about whether there is a defined pay scale for each grade level or job classification.
- Non-profit human service workers who cover for vacant jobs must often exercise an even wider range of skills than required by their job descriptions.

These observations are not surprising, given both the diversity of clients, constituents, and issue areas with which human services organizations work and the current staffing shortages that helped motivate this study. However, the current variation in job titles and lack of defined salary grade classification systems will make it harder to establish and monitor uniformly equitable higher wages for human services non-profits. These considerations inform our recommendation below to create a common salary grade system.

Summary

Wage equity is important to stabilize the human services workforce and shore up the capacity of the non-profit human services organizations that build and maintain the social infrastructure that Seattle and King County residents rely on. Human services wages reflect prior policy decisions as well as historical and structural race and gender discrimination, all of which contribute to systemic inequities between human services wage levels and those in the public sector and other industries.

Informed by a deep understanding of the multiple and interacting wage penalties experienced by human services workers, the Wage Equity study used different and complementary methods of analysis. The study report describes findings which provide evidence of systematic inequity in wages for non-profit human services workers and provides estimates of adjustments needed to advance wage equity.

Comparable worth, the principle of equal pay for equivalent work, guided our two-part empirical investigation. First, we estimated the gap between market pay for human services workers and workers in other industries using large-scale state and national quantitative labor market data.

- The market analysis found that human services workers are systematically paid less than workers in non-care industries, with estimated pay gaps of 30% or more across different econometric models.
- While switching jobs generally results in a pay increase, exiting human services for a job in a different industry garners a net pay premium of 7% a year later after accounting for observable worker and employer characteristics.

Second, we conducted a focused job evaluation analysis in which we compared a set of benchmark human services jobs to jobs in other industries by using in-depth surveys and interviews and analyzing results via a detailed, multi-factor, points-based classification method designed to ensure comparability across very different types of jobs.

- The job analysis found that human services workers are paid less than workers in other industries or sectors whose tasks are rated as comparable by the job evaluation process. While the sample size is small, the job evaluation analysis finding of a substantial non-profit human services wage gap is consistent with findings from other analyses and measures in this study.

These consistent and strong findings inform the conclusion and recommendations below. We also want to note several limitations of the type that are common to empirical studies.

Limitations

Several constraints on the analysis are detailed within the appendices. We highlight three limitations below:

Pandemic effects on long-term labor market trends are not yet knowable. The market analyses used Census and state administrative data from 2005-2019. Because the Covid-19 pandemic disrupted both the economy as a whole and the collection of survey data, we did not think that data from 2020 and early 2021 would be informative. Standard delays in the public release of labor market data mean that sufficient post-peak pandemic data are not yet available. While these data are not old, the pandemic was consequential for human services workers in ways that we cannot capture well here but are noted often elsewhere (see, for example, Magruder et al 2022). We think the core findings of the market analysis would be consistent if this study was replicated with post-peak-pandemic data, but we cannot rule out the possibility of different findings. See Appendix 3 for additional discussion of limitations of the data

and analytic approaches used in the market analysis.

Current inflation levels limit the durability of specific findings. After years of annual inflation of less than three percent, inflation has recently more than doubled. The Bureau of Labor Statistics calculates inflation every two months. As of December 2022 (the most recent available data as of this writing), annual inflation for the Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue area was estimated at 8.4% (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2023). High and ongoing inflation means that the nominal (dollar amount) figures in this report will quickly become outdated. High inflation should not affect our estimates of the wage gaps, as all workers in the economy are subject to inflation. However, inflation – especially the current inflation which is particularly high for food and energy costs – disproportionately affects lower-paid households because such households spend more of their income on core expenses. As far as the larger goal of creating more financially viable careers for non-profit human services workers, high inflation poses a real-world threat beyond its effects on the logic of this study's conclusions.

The job evaluation is based on a small sample and does not cover all human services jobs. By design, the job evaluation analysis focused on a small number of benchmark human services jobs that spanned different skill, responsibility and pay levels.[12] To achieve the study goal of comparing across different jobs in different sectors and industries, we prioritized gathering highly systematized and granular information on a small set of jobs in both the non-profit human services sector and in other industries. This strategy allowed for ranking and thereby direct comparisons across different industries and sectors, but we did not examine all jobs within the human services industry. For this reason, as noted below, we recommend that a pay scale policy be based on a complete job evaluation process covering all jobs within the sector.

These limitations are worth noting, and the results presented may not reflect very recent changes in wages brought about by the pandemic or recent increases in inflation [although more recent data suggest wages remain depressed for human services workers. See 501 Commons 2021].

Despite any limitations in the individual pieces of the project, the convergence of findings speaks to the overall credibility of this work. Because of the complexity of the study questions, we approached the study from multiple angles, triangulating across different sources of data, from detailed first-person interviews (the job evaluation data) to analyzing the full population of over a million King County workers covered by the state Unemployment Insurance system (the market analysis data). Our central findings are consistent across these different data sources. Moreover, we were cautious in making decisions regarding analysis strategies, and we report conservative estimates in this summary report.[13]

---

[12] The public Request for Qualifications that established this study outlined the strategy of extrapolating from a small set of "benchmark" jobs, defined as jobs "that [have] a relatively standard and consistent set of responsibilities from one organization to another" (City of Seattle 2022). While this idea guided our selection of human services interviewees for the job evaluation, the data instead showed a broad range of job duties within the same or similar titles. Hence our results can confirm the direction and magnitude of the wage gap found in the market analysis but cannot, as hoped, be used as the basis for a broader salary structure. Recommendation 6 proposes a way forward.

[13] For instance, the gap in median annual salaries between human services and non-care industries reported from the market analysis is 38%. Had we included part-time workers in this estimate and our other analyses, the gaps would have been higher: 45%. Similarly, in reporting wages alongside job evaluation scores, we used area salary medians from survey data rather than the actual salaries paid to our interviewees. Using actual salaries would have shown an even greater disparity. These choices follow standards common within peer-reviewed academic literature and reflect team members' scholarly training and affiliations.

Comparisons

Our key market analysis finding that human services workers are paid at least 30% less than workers in other industries – further validated by the job evaluation – suggest that an increase of more than 43% is required to fully counter the wage penalties faced by human services workers.[14] While this seems like a substantial wage increase, it is within the magnitude of other comparisons. For the purpose of illustration, this section compares the estimates from the current study to two other measures: living wages and public sector wages.

Comparison to living wages/Self Sufficiency Standard

Advocates for "living wages" maintain that workers should be able to afford the basic needs of living in the community in which they work. While this is a different basis for wage increases than the comparable worth approach used here, the use of living wage approaches is widespread enough to warrant a comparison.

We use the University of Washington Center For Women's Welfare's Self-Sufficiency Standard (SSS) as our living wage indicator (Pearce 2020). The Self-Sufficiency Standard uses fine-grained data to calculate the amount of pay that a worker needs to afford basic needs (food, shelter, childcare, transportation) without public assistance. We use figures for one-adult/one-child and two-adult/two-child families to illustrate the pay levels needed to maintain a stable community. The self-sufficiency income level for a Seattle household with a single adult and a preschooler is $69,215 in 2020; in a two-parent household with two children, each adult would need to earn $43,097. After adjusting for inflation, this suggests that non-profit human services Intake Coordinators (one of our benchmark job categories) would need a raise of 9% to be at the self-sufficiency level if they were one of two working parents and a raise of 75% if they were a single parent.[15] Another widely-used living wage estimator, the MIT Living Wage calculator, gives slightly higher figures than the SSS, meaning that even larger raises would be needed (Glasmeier 2022). Overall, the wage increases implied by the current analysis would get some - but not all – workers to a living wage level.

Comparisons to public sector wages

While not all non-profit human services jobs have parallels in the public sector, some do. As noted by others, public sector wages tend to be higher than wages in the non-profit sector (Non-profit Association of Washington 2022). The difference between non-profit sector and public sector jobs may be comparable to the wage increase implied by our findings. For instance, the King County Nonprofit Wage & Benefits survey estimates that the median salary for the title "Program coordinator, Social Services/ Mental Health" in 2022 is $57,468 (based on 2021 figure of $55,794 plus reported median annual increase of 3%). The City of Seattle 2022 salary schedule for "Human Services Coordinator" range is $68,931-$80,226 ($33.14-$38.57 per hour), which is 20%-40% higher than the non-profit median (Seattle Department of Human Resources, 2022). The City's "Assistant Human Services Coordinator" salary schedule is $60,382-$70,262, which is 5%-22% higher than the non-profit median pay for the "Coordinator" position. Not all non-profit human services jobs have parallels in the public sector, and we did not systematically track all possible parallels. However, for this example, the wage gap found in the current study's market analysis is of the same magnitude as the difference between these two comparable jobs.

---

[14] Because of the asymmetry of percentages, closing a 30% wage gap requires a 42.9% wage increase in the lower wage. To illustrate this, consider a worker paid $70,000 (worker A) and a worker paid $100,000 (worker B). Worker A is paid 30% less than worker B. For them to be paid the same, worker A would require a 42.9% wage increase (30,000 ÷ 70,000 = .429).

[15] The 2020 figures were adjusted for inflation using June-to-June figures for the Consumer Price Index for Urban consumers (CPI-U) (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2022). The CPI-U likely under-estimates the true local increase in costs over 2020 since housing costs were accelerated faster during this time-period in the Seattle metro area than in the nation as a whole. The full Self-Sufficiency Standard methodology would account for increases in all the essential expenses, but the 2020 report is the most recent available as of this report writing.

Conclusion and Recommendations

CONCLUSION: Achieving wage equity for workers at non-profit human services organizations requires substantially increasing wage rates.

Based on strong and consistent evidence that workers at non-profit human services organizations are underpaid, we recommend that these organizations and their funders work together to increase wages for human services employees.

We have seven specific recommendations about a path toward wage equity.

Recommendations 1-4 are short-term, and we believe they can be achieved by 2025; recommendations 5-7 are longer-term, and we suggest aiming to implement those by 2030.

By 2025:

RECOMMENDATION 1. Raise real wage rates by a minimum of 7% for non-profit human services workers in the near term.

Non-profit human services organizations and their governmental and non-governmental funders should increase human services workers' compensation by at least 7%, beginning in the next one to two years, while concurrently exploring how to design and implement a comprehensive overhaul of pay scales for the entire sector over the longer-term. This increase should be a real raise, net of inflation, which we address in the next recommendation.

Rationale: The longstanding wage disparities noted in this report date back at least to the early 2000s. Further, the gap between non-profit wages and the cost of living in Seattle and King County has grown substantially over the past 20 plus years. We recommend a short-term simplified pay increase because developing, funding, and implementing a comprehensive salary equity process will require several years. The 7% differential is based on the most conservative estimate in the market analysis, the multivariate analysis of the sub-set of workers who changed jobs, including those who left human services work. We believe this amount represents a starting point for the minimum increase needed immediately to reduce the number of workers leaving human services posts for significantly higher paying jobs in other industries. As noted below, future wage increases of a 7% or similar magnitude will be needed for several years to substantially counter the full 30%+ wage gap identified in this study's market analysis.

RECOMMENDATION 2. Make adjustments for inflation separate from equity adjustments and build in future inflation adjustments.

Calculate wage increases to address pay inequity in addition to annual inflation adjustments.

Rationale: Inflation, the general increase of prices within the economy, causes the value of a nominal (dollar amount) wage to decline in terms of buying power. Wage adjustments to match inflation and wage adjustments for pay inequity are different issues and should be addressed separately.

RECOMMENDATION 3. Maintain or improve non-wage benefits and job characteristics throughout the wage equity increase process.

Employers should commit to at a minimum maintaining their current non-wage benefit levels,

including health insurance quality and cost to employees, retirement contributions, paid time off, training benefits, and others. Furthermore, employers should ensure that the intensity of job demands do not increase because of a wage increase.

Rationale: Salary increases should not come at the cost of workers' benefits or job conditions. Wage increases need to be instituted in a way that makes workers practically better off. Decreasing the generosity of fringe benefits or increasing job demands to increase salaries will erode the value of any increase in pay and make it meaningless. When there are job vacancies, organizations will need to resist the pressures and expectations to maintain the same level of client service with a reduced workforce.

RECOMMENDATION 4. Consider wage increases as a necessary part of ongoing racial and gender equity work in the City of Seattle and King County.

Public agencies and non-profit organizations need to include wage equity – in addition to equal pay – as an action step within their anti-racism, gender equity, and diversity-equity-inclusion (DEI) plans.

Rationale: While organizations legally must make sure that they are paying women, persons of color, and other protected groups equivalently for the same jobs, equal pay measures alone are insufficient to achieving racial and gender equity. Race and gender discrimination shape the wage differentials between non-profit human services and other jobs in several interrelated ways. First, historic associations between care work and women – and women of color, in particular – established lower pay levels for any work that involves directly caring for others. Second, historic patterns of occupational segregation, in which women and persons of color were excluded from some jobs in the economy and over-represented in non-profit human services jobs, also suppressed the pay. These historic forces create a path-dependence that persists regardless of the characteristics of the current workforce. Additionally, non-profit human services jobholders continue to be disproportionately women and people of color, demographic groups who are paid less throughout the economy. These current workforce demographics limit potential upward pressure on wages, further perpetuating prevalent and longstanding inequities. Organizational commitments to DEI work that do not address wage equity are hence incomplete.

By 2030:

RECOMMENDATION 5. Substantially increase wages for non-profit human services workers to align with those of workers doing comparable work in other sectors and industries.

Non-profit human services organizations and their funders should commit to a substantial increase in worker pay over the next five years. One possible approach would be to continue the 7% increases recommended above for five years. With compounding, that would yield a 40% raise from current salary levels.[16]

Rationale: While establishing a specific pay raise amount is necessarily a political task, the analysis in this report yields what we believe is a useful range of estimates of the magnitude of the current

[16] Note that wage increases may trigger "benefit cliff" losses of publicly funded health coverage or child care supplements for some lower-paid workers with dependent children. Childcare program leaders brought this issue to our attention in the context of this report, although it is a longstanding recognized problem in our country's safety net (see, for example, Romich 2006). Such conditions arise in the context of means-tested (as opposed to universal) childcare and health insurance provision. While a full consideration of benefit cliffs is beyond the scope of this report, we note that employers who believe this is an issue for their employees may need to adapt compensation structures and employee work hours to avoid benefit cliffs in the short run.

underpayment. Market analysis estimates show that human services employees, particularly those at non-profit organizations) in Seattle and Washington state are paid 30% - 37% less than workers with similar job responsibilities and training requirements in non-care industries; wage increases of 43-59% would be needed to fully close this market wage gap. Increasing wages by more than 40% would most fully recognize the demands, complexity, and conditions of non-profit human services work. Not increasing wages substantially and systematically equates to ignoring the most basic and severe inequities and further perpetuating the structural racial and gender inequities affecting this sector.

RECOMMENDATION 6. Create a salary grade system and establish minimum pay standards based on job characteristics.

Human services organizations should develop a broad salary grade system linking minimum salary requirements with job characteristics including a job's knowledge and skills required, initiative and independence, effort, responsibilities, and environmental demands.

Rationale: Currently, fewer than half of non-profit organizations in King County use salary grade systems (501 Commons, 2021). Our job evaluation analysis revealed wide differences within job titles between organizations. To avoid having requirements "creep" up within a given job and pay level [and to allow for implementation and monitoring of a more equitable pay scale], we recommend a salary grade system to which organizations can peg their compensation levels. The job evaluation recommendation from the City of Seattle Gender Equity Task Force might provide a helpful starting point for this work (Gender Equity in Pay Taskforce 2014).

Attention must be paid to make sure the job evaluation method used has been designed to fully capture care-related tasks.[17] This is particularly important because the non-profit human services sector includes both human services occupations such as case managers, who are subject to all wage penalties noted above, as well as non-human services occupations, such as human resources specialists or information technology staff members, whose compensation is currently closer to levels found in other industries. Hence an across-the-board increase without a full salary grade system will not address within-sector inequities.

The range of types of work and different sizes of organizations in the non-profit human services sector means that this grading system will need to have considerable flexibility. Rather than aiming for a salary system that covers all jobs, as is the case in collective bargaining contracts or public sector plans, non-profit human services employers and workers might be better served by a general scale with several broad tiers linking job characteristics to minimum pay levels. The job evaluation tool used in this study could be used as a starting point for that work. Once a salary grade system based on job characteristics is developed and implemented, the rating scale could be publicized with information about scoring to allow workers to self-assess whether their job responsibilities match their pay level.

RECOMMENDATION 7. Use public contracts to further wage equity.

City and county contracts for human services work should make sure that public contracts do not reinforce wage inequities in the economy as a whole. To avoid decreasing prevailing wages in

[17] The study team gratefully acknowledges the input from leaders and workers at non-profit human services organizations that helped refine this recommendation.

more powerful industries, this means that government should adequately fund human services contracts so that employee wage levels do not fall below similar local jobs in the public sector.

Rationale: Our analysis shows that King County, including the City of Seattle, relies particularly heavily on non-profit organizations to deliver human services. This is significant because public sector pay rates are higher. Moreover, our job evaluation included several workers who also work for firms that obtain public contracts, including construction laborers and managers. In this male-dominated industry, workers at these contracting firms out-earn public sector employees. Insofar as public contracting rules allow some industries to pay sub-public sector wages and other industries to pay wages above the public sector, the existing gender and racial inequities caused by occupational segregation will be maintained. We recommend that the local governments, at a minimum, start collecting gender, race, and salary information for all sub-contractors and analyze the data for disparities across the full set of public-funded work.

Table 4. Steps for implementing the recommendations, by sector and timescale

By 2025			
Recommendation	**Steps for government**	**Steps for non-governmental funders**	**Steps for non-profit organizations**
1. Raise real wage rates by a minimum of 7% for non-profit human services workers in the near term.	Build an across-the-board wage increase into funding contracts as soon as possible. Plan for several years of similar wage increases.	Increase grants to provide for an across-the-board wage increase. Plan for several years of similar wage increases.	Pass through significant increases in funding fully to employee pay and benefit packages.
2. Make necessary adjustments for inflation separately from equity raises and build in future inflation adjustments.	Establish – if needed – and follow laws requiring inflation adjustments to match inflation for all human services contracts.	Include inflation increases grant agreements with non-profit human services providers.	Design and implement two-part salary adjustment policies that include performance adjustments as separate from inflation adjustments.
3. Maintain or improve non-wage benefits and job characteristics throughout the wage equity increase process.	Provide for adequate fringe benefit costs in funding levels.	Provide for adequate fringe benefit costs in funding levels.	Avoid cutting benefits or increasing job responsibilities as a mechanism for absorbing pay scale increases.
4. Consider wage increases as a necessary part of racial and gender equity work in the City of Seattle and King County.	Review and amend DEI and other strategic plans.	Examine how funding practices and contracting rules affect wages.	Review and amend DEI and other strategic plans.

By 2030			
Recommendation	**Steps for government**	**Steps for non-governmental funders**	**Steps for non-profit organizations**
5. Substantially increase wages for non-profit human services workers to align with those of workers doing comparable work in other sectors and industries	Adjust budgets to fund increased wages. Require that contractors pass along increased funding to workers.	Adjust budgets to fund increased wages.	Raise pay standards and dedicate additional funding to increasing worker compensation.
6. Create a salary grade system and establish minimum pay standards based on job characteristics.	Help create a set of job categories that organizations could draw upon when applying for funding. Eventually include adherence to the regional salary grade system as a contracting requirement.	Provide technical assistance to organizations (especially small ones) to create a salary grade system. Consider funding a public-facing salary grade information effort.	Work with existing coalitions, like the Seattle Human Services Coalition to come up with standard job categories
7. Use public contracts to further wage equity.	Examine how funding practices and contracting rules affect wages. Develop an occupational segregation analysis to determine how there may be disparities between contracts to human services non-profits and private contractors within the city's contracting practices.	Support non-profit human services staffing models that benchmark salaries to public sector.	Benchmark salaries to public sector salaries.

References

501 Commons. 2021. *Putting People First: King County Nonprofit Wage & Benefits Survey*. https://www.501commons.org/resources/putting-people-first/king-county-nonprofit-wage-benefits-survey-report

Bertrand, Marianne, and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2004. "Are Emily and Greg More Employable Than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination." *American Economic Review 94* (4): 991–1013. https://doi.org/10.1257/0002828042002561.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. n.d. "Consumer Price Index, Seattle Area — October 2022 : Western Information Office : U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics." Accessed January 7, 2023. https://www.bls.gov/regions/west/news-release/consumerpriceindex_seattle.htm.

City of Seattle. 2022. "Seattle and King County Comparable Worth Wage Analysis of Human Services Work." #RFQ-HSD-05-03-2022. Human Services Department.

Cunningham, Ian, Donna Baines, and John Shields. 2017. ""You've Just Cursed Us": Precarity, Austerity and Worker's Participation in the Non-Profit Social Services." *Relations Industrielles/Industrial Relations 72* (2): 370-393.

England, Paula. 1999. "The Case for Comparable Worth." *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance 39* (5): 743–55, https://doi.org/10.1016/S1062-9769(99)00026-5.

Equality Act 2010. 2010. UK Public General Acts. Vol. 2010 c 15. Statute Law Database. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents.

Folbre, Nancy, Leila Gautham, and Kristin Smith. 2023. "Gender Inequality, Bargaining, and Pay in Care Services in the United States." *ILR Review 76* (1): 86–111. https://doi.org/10.1177/00197939221091157.

Gender Equity in Pay Taskforce. 2014. *Gender Equity in Pay at the City of Seattle*. https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/CivilRights/Gender-Equity-In-Pay-Task-Force-Report.pdf.

Glasmeier, Amy K. 2022. "Living Wage Calculator - Living Wage Calculation for Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA." 2022. https://livingwage.mit.edu/metros/42660.

Greenstone, Scott. 2021. "Seattle Homelessness Nonprofits Struggle to Hire, Complicating Plans to Expand Shelters and Housing." *The Seattle Times*, 7 Sept. https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/homeless/seattle-homelessness-nonprofits-struggle-to-hire-complicating-plans-to-expand-shelters-and-housing/.

Leighninger, Leslie. 2001. "When Social Workers and Unions Allied in the 1930s." *Journal of Progressive Human Services 11*(2): 103-112.

Local Government Association. 2022. Local government terms and conditions (Green book). London, UK. https://www.local.gov.uk/local-government-terms-and-conditions-green-book.

Magruder, Lisa Langenderfer, Dina Wilke, Melissa Radey, Michae Cain, and Anna Yelick, 2022. "COVID-19's Social Ecological Impacts on Health and Human Services Worker Well-being." *Social Work in Public Health 37*: 233–243. https://doi.org/10.1080/19371918.2021.1997864

Minnesota Legislative Office on the Economic Status of Women. 2016. *Pay Equity: The Minnesota Experience* (Sixth Edition). St. Paul, MN.

National Council of Nonprofits. 2021. "The Scope and Impact of Nonprofit Workforce Shortages, " December 13. https://www.councilofnonprofits.org/sites/default/files/documents/nonprofitwork-force-shortages-report.pdf

National Women's Law Center, 2020. *Progress in the States for Equal Pay.* Washington, DC.

Patrick, Anna. 2022. "King County Wants to Add Homeless Housing While Many of Its Buildings Are Still Empty." *The Seattle Times*, September 29. https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/home-less/king-county-wants-to-add-homeless-housing-while-many-buildings-are-still-empty/.

Pearce, Diana. 2020. "Self-Sufficiency Standard: Washington." Center for Women's Welfare, Uni-versity of Washington School of Social Work. https://selfsufficiencystandard.org/washington/.

Romich, Jennifer L. 2006. "Difficult Calculations: Low-Income Workers and Marginal Tax Rates." *Social Service Review 80* (1): 27–66. https://doi.org/10.1086/499086.

Rosenfeld Jake. 2021. *You're paid what you're worth: and other myths of the modern economy*. Cam-bridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Rothchild, Nina, Bonnie Watkins, and Zwemke Faith. 2016. "SUMMARY Pay Equity: The Minnesota Experience." Minnesota Legislative Office on the Economic Status of Women, February, 8.

Seattle Department of Human Resources. 2022. "2022 Salary Schedule and Compensation Plan." City of Seattle. https://www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/HumanResources/Class%20 Comp/Salary Schedule-a_127684.pdf.

Small, Mario L., and Devah Pager. 2020. "Sociological Perspectives on Racial Discrimination." *Jour-nal of Economic Perspectives 34* (2): 49–67. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.34.2.49.

Smith, Steve R. and Lipsky, Michael. 1993. *Nonprofits for Hire: The Welfare State in the Age of Con-tracting*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2022. "CPI Inflation Calculator." U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2022. https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm.

Appendices

Available at https://socialwork.uw.edu/wageequitystudy

Appendix 1. Study personnel

Appendix 2. Overview of the historical and policy context for human services wages

Appendix 3. The relative earnings of human services workers in Washington state, King County, and Seattle: A market analysis

Appendix 4. Human services workers: A job evaluation study

WAGE | EQUITY | STUDY

For more information:
https://socialwork.uw.edu/wageequitystudy

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
UNIVERSITY of WASHINGTON

WAGE | EQUITY | STUDY

Wage Equity for Non-Profit Human Services Workers:

A study of work and pay in Seattle and King County

FEBRUARY 2023

Suggested citation: *Wage Equity Study Team, 2023. "Wage Equity for Non-profit Human Services Workers: A study of work and pay in Seattle and King County." Seattle, WA: University of Washington.*

The City of Seattle Human Services Department (HSD) commissioned and funded this work (Contract DC22-1108). The authors of this summary report (Jennie Romich, Emiko Tajima, Shannon Harper & Nicole Sadow-Hasenberg) and not HSD are responsible for the interpretations and conclusions contained herein.

Study Team

This report is based on the analysis of the Wage Equity Study team convened by the University of Washington. Team members, listed alphabetically, are:

Kim England, PhD, University of Washington
Nancy Folbre, PhD, University of Massachusetts Amherst (emerita)
Leila Gautham, PhD, University of Leeds (UK)
Shannon Harper, MA, University of Washington
Ariane Hegewisch, M.Phil, Institute for Women's Policy Research and American University
Chrishana Lloyd, MSW, PhD, Myles Ahead, LLC and Child Trends
Jennie Romich, PhD, University of Washington
Nicole Sadow-Hasenberg, MPH, University of Washington
Kristin Smith, MPH, PhD, Dartmouth College
Emiko Tajima, PhD, University of Washington
Nicole Vallestero-Keenan, MSW, independent researcher, Seattle, WA
Heather Wakefield, MSW, University of Greenwich (UK)

Affiliations given for identification purposes only.

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
UNIVERSITY of WASHINGTON

Acknowledgements

The team would like to acknowledge the Seattle Human Services Coalition, particularly Executive Director Emerita Julia Sterkovsky, and members of its Pay Equity Leadership Committee and Steering Committee for creating and advising this project.

The University of Washington School of Social Work under the direction of Dean Edwina Uehara provided partial support for Romich's and Tajima's time. At the University of Washington, Gail Colfax, Liz Deng, Elizabeth Pelletier, Maria Ponz, and Yuying Xie contributed to this project. Muriel Bergerson at the City of Seattle helped us through contract processes, and Joan van den Berg at van den Berg Design efficiently created the report graphics and formatting.

Partial support for this study came from a Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development research infrastructure grant, P2C HD042828, to the Center for Studies in Demography & Ecology at the University of Washington. The content is solely the responsibility of the authors and does not necessarily represent the official views of the National Institutes of Health.

Finally, we thank the workers and leaders at local organizations that helped recruit and make available interviewees for the job analysis, as well as the study participants who volunteered their time.

Table of contents

Executive Summary

Non-profit human services workers play a critical role in building and maintaining the human, social, and institutional strengths of communities. Yet, as documented elsewhere and confirmed by this study, pay for human services work lags behind compensation for other kinds of work. This report presents study findings that compare pay in non-profit human services organizations to pay in other sectors and industries and offers a series of recommendations to help provide a path to more equitable compensation for these workers.

Comparable worth, the principle of equal pay for equivalent work, guided this examination of the extent of wage inequity facing non-profit human services workers in Seattle and King County. This approach acknowledges that various forces have shaped employment patterns and suppressed wages in the non-profit human services sector over time, including race and gender discrimination, wage penalties for caring labor, and decisions made by federal and local policymakers. These factors continue to affect current wages for the local human services workforce, which is overwhelmingly female (roughly 80%) and in which workers of color are overrepresented.

There are different ways to define and assess wage equity and the extent of the wage gap experienced by non-profit human services workers. This study used two separate empirical approaches. First, the market analysis compared pay for human services workers and workers in other industries using state and federal quantitative employment data. Key findings from that analysis include:

- Holding constant worker characteristics such as education level or age, human services workers are paid less than workers in other care industries (education and healthcare) and at least 30% less than workers in non-care industries. For human services workers in the non-profit sector, median annual pay is 37% lower than in non-care industries.
- Workers who leave the human services industry for a job in a different industry see a net pay increase of 7% a year later (relative to workers who stay in human services) after accounting for observable worker and employer characteristics.

Second, a systematic job evaluation analysis allowed us to compare a subset of specific human services jobs to jobs in other industries using in-depth questionnaires and interviews (N=22) and analyzing results using a detailed, multi-factor, points-based classification method.

- The job evaluation results show that the work done by human services workers is undervalued relative to its required levels of skill and difficulty as measured by the job evaluation tool. The job evaluation comparisons demonstrate that the gaps revealed in the market analysis between human services workers and workers in other industries do not reflect lower pay because human services work is easier, less skilled, or less demanding than other jobs. Rather, the pay is less *despite* the high level of skill, responsibility, and difficulty of human services jobs.

These analyses inform our broad conclusion:

Achieving wage equity for workers at non-profit human services organizations requires substantially increasing wage rates.

Based on strong and consistent evidence that workers at non-profit human services organizations are underpaid, we recommend that these organizations and their funders work together to increase wages for human services employees. Our specific recommendations include four short-term and three longer-term steps.

By 2025:

RECOMMENDATION 1. Raise real wage rates by a minimum of 7% for non-profit human services workers in the near term.

Non-profit human services organizations and their governmental and non-governmental funders should increase human services workers' compensation by at least 7% (net of inflation) beginning in the next one to two years, while concurrently exploring how to design and implement a comprehensive overhaul of pay scales for the entire sector over the longer-term. This amount is based on the most conservative estimate in the market analysis, the multivariate analysis of the sub-set of workers who changed jobs, and was the net wage increase observed for human services workers leaving the human services industry. We believe this amount represents a starting point for the minimum increase needed immediately to reduce the number of workers leaving human services posts for significantly higher paying jobs in other industries.

RECOMMENDATION 2. Make adjustments for inflation separate from equity adjustments and build in future inflation adjustments.

Calculate wage increases to address pay inequity in addition to annual inflation adjustments. Wage adjustments to match inflation and wage adjustments for pay inequity are different issues and should be addressed separately.

RECOMMENDATION 3. Maintain or improve non-wage benefits and job characteristics throughout the wage equity increase process.

Decreasing the generosity of fringe benefits or increasing job demands to increase salaries will erode the value of any increase in pay and make it meaningless.

RECOMMENDATION 4. Consider wage increases as a necessary part of ongoing racial and gender equity work in the City of Seattle and King County.

Public agencies and non-profit organizations need to include wage equity – in addition to equal pay – as an action step within their anti-racism, gender equity, and diversity-equity-inclusion (DEI) plans. While organizations legally must make sure that they are paying women, persons of color, and other protected groups equivalently for the same jobs, equal pay measures alone are insufficient to achieving racial and gender equity. Race and gender discrimination shape the wage differentials between non-profit human services and other jobs in several interrelated ways.

By 2030:

RECOMMENDATION 5. Substantially increase wages for non-profit human services workers to align with those of workers doing comparable work in other sectors and industries.

While establishing a specific pay raise amount is necessarily a political task, the analysis in this report yields what we believe is a useful range of estimates of the magnitude of the current underpayment. The 30% - 37% wage gap found in our analysis imply that wage increases of 43% or more would be needed to align wages for non-profit human services workers with workers with similar job responsibilities and training in non-care work industries. Not increasing wages substantially and systematically equates to ignoring the most basic and severe inequities and further perpetuating the structural racial and gender inequities affecting this sector.

RECOMMENDATION 6. Create a salary grade system and establish minimum pay standards based on job characteristics.

Human services organizations should develop a broad salary grade system linking minimum salary requirements with job characteristics, including a job's knowledge and skills required, initiative and independence, effort, responsibilities, and environmental demands. The range of types of work and different sizes of organizations in the non-profit human services sector means that this grading system will need to have considerable flexibility.

RECOMMENDATION 7. Use public contracts to further wage equity.

City and county contracts for human services work should make sure that public contracts do not reinforce wage inequities in the economy as a whole. To avoid decreasing prevailing wages in more powerful industries, this means that government should adequately fund human services contracts so that employee wage levels do not fall below similar local jobs in the public sector.

Introduction

Non-profit human services organizations and their employees play important roles in the social infrastructure, in community health, and in the well-being of individuals and families in our region. Human services support persons across the lifespan, from growing young children's cognitive and social skills in high quality early learning settings, to equipping teens and adults with the creative and technical capabilities needed to succeed in life through development and employment programs, serving as emergency responders to families and persons in crisis, and supporting seniors to successfully age in place.

Despite the importance these jobs play in people's lives and the critical social foundation they provide, the pay for workers in human services organizations lags behind pay for workers in other parts of the economy. As this report will show, recent annual median earnings for a full-time human services worker were $33,995 in 2019 dollars; the median worker in non-caregiving industries was paid $54,831, almost 40% higher (Appendix 4, Table 2).

Non-profit and government leaders connect low wages to problems with hiring and retaining employees to perform crucial human services work. Recently, non-profit organizations in Seattle have experienced staffing shortages, some severe enough to restrict the City's capacity to open new housing units (Greenstone 2021; Patrick 2022). As one leader noted, "There are not enough people doing this work. And there are not enough people who can afford to do this work."

This report summarizes a study of human services wages in Seattle and King County. This study starts from the premise that human services jobs are essential to individual and community health and well-being, and that this work may be undervalued relative to work in other industries. However, this study confirms the findings of a wide body of research that human services workers are underpaid relative to other workers. We undertook a rigorous and multi-faceted examination of evidence to estimate the extent of that underpayment and to identify contributing factors. As the data consistently show, human services workers earn less than workers in other industries—for doing jobs that are complex, skilled, and demanding. The report concludes with recommendations for non-profit organizations, local government, and funders towards building a more equitable pay structure for human services.

About this study

The City of Seattle, in partnership with the Seattle Human Services Coalition, commissioned this report and study led by the University of Washington and conducted by a team of local and external experts. (See Box 1. About this Study and Appendix 1). The goals of the study are three-fold: to compare wages between non-profit human services work and other types of work; to empirically estimate the size of wage penalties involved; and to make recommendations about how to remedy inequities in Seattle and in King County, Washington.

We begin with an overview of the overall human services field and its contours in our region, followed by a discussion of factors that contribute to lower wages for human services workers in the non-profit sector.[1] As a supplement to that discussion, Appendix 2 provides an overview of selected major national and local historical and policy developments that have shaped wages and the conditions of work over the last century.

[1] This report summarizes work from a policy review and two sets of original empirical analyses. The complete text of these works appear as appendices to the report and can be found at https://socialwork.uw.edu/wageequitystudy along with an interactive wage equity timeline.

Pay structures reflect, in part, value-based judgements about worth, and – as such – pay practices are partially subjective. However, empirical study can yield solid evidence about the extent and nature of wage differences. With the goal of estimating the magnitude of human services wage penalties, this study used rigorous and complementary research methods and undertook two different empirical analyses:

- The **market analysis** draws on large-scale national, state, and local economic data to compare wages (median earnings) across occupations and industries. These statistical analyses estimate the extent to which workers may be "penalized" in the form of lower earnings by working in human services relative to other industries. Multivariate analyses allow us to compare workers net of their observable traits, including age, level of education, gender and race, but they cannot fully account for the ways in which discrimination and other subjective factors show up in market wages.
- The **job evaluation analysis** uses in-depth questionnaires and interviews with a small sample of employees working within and outside of the non-profit human services sector. By collecting and comparing detailed, comprehensive, and current data on the required knowledge, skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions of different jobs across different sectors and industries, the job evaluation analysis demonstrates whether compensation in human services equitably reflects the underlying nature and demands of the work.

This report includes summaries of the methods and key findings for each of these two analyses. (Appendices 3 and 4 present complete and detailed reports.) These findings inform a set of seven recommendations about human services pay structures.

Box 1. About the Wage Equity for Non-Profit Human Services Study

In May 2022, the City of Seattle, in partnership with the Seattle Human Services Coalition (SHSC), released an RFQ for a consultant to "conduct a comparable worth wage analysis of the City of Seattle and King County human services sector."[a] The RFQ sought a consultant who would work collaboratively with the City and the SHSC to design and implement an analysis that would cover multiple employers and sectors of human services work. The study is meant to complement prior work by King County and 501 Commons in their King County Nonprofit Wages and Benefits Survey Report.

The University of Washington (UW) was selected for the project. The UW team includes faculty and staff from a number of universities and research organizations in the U.S., a former local human services non-profit leader, and an expert from the United Kingdom versed in performing and implementing comparable worth/pay equity analyses. Appendix 1 details project personnel and responsibilities.

Beginning in August 2022 and continuing through February 2023, the UW project team met regularly with SHSC's Pay Equity Analysis Steering Committee, which includes City stakeholders, leaders of Seattle and King County-based non-profit agencies that provide a range of human services, and local and national policy experts.[b] The team finalized the project design and implementation in consultation with the Steering Committee. During the project, SHSC facilitated connections with human services agencies and workers from a range of organizations and provided background information on the human services sector in the City and County.

The Steering Committee provided feedback on recommendations and assistance interpreting preliminary findings, however the analyses and conclusions are the authors' alone.

In partnership with the SHSC, the UW team will present findings to and engage with local stakeholders throughout Spring 2023. Presentation audiences will include the Seattle Human Services Coalition's Wage Equity Funding Roundtable, City of Seattle and King County leadership, City of Seattle Mayor's Office and City Council, King County Executive and Council, Seattle and King County non-profits, and community members who engage with non-profit organizations.

[a] Funding from the study was provided by City Council (CBA HSD-002- B-001). The RFQ is available here: https:// www.seattle.gov/human-services/for-providers/funding-opportunities/2022-comp-worth-wage-analysis

[b] Steering Committee members are listed in Appendix 1.

Human services work

This report focuses on non-profit human services jobs in Seattle and throughout King County, Washington. Human services work is a type of caring labor, work that nurtures the well-being of others. This report and our recommendations focus on the non-profit sector, although our data and comparisons sometimes include human services workers in all sectors (see Box 2. Key terms and concepts), and our recommendations apply across the industry.

Human services organizations operate early childhood learning centers, special education programs, teen programs focused on youth behavioral health, job training and employment supports for young and less experienced workers, and supports for elders such as home health care. Human services workers also provide essential services to support the well-being of individuals, families and communities experiencing crises, such as domestic violence, homelessness, food insecurity, or living through environmental natural disasters.

In King County, human services employees comprise approximately two percent of the workforce; most work in individual and family services (50%) or child day care services (40%).[2] The remaining 10% are split between vocational rehabilitation and community food and housing and emergency services. In King County, the most common occupations among human services workers are childcare workers (15%), social workers (11%), and social and community service managers (6%).

Human services workers are employed in the public sector (in local city, county or state government, such as court social workers), in the for-profit sector, or in the non-profit sector. According to Census data for 2005-2019, just under half (48%) of human services workers in King County were employed in the non-profit sector. Much of this work is performed under contracts with local, county, and state governments to deliver services to residents. Of the remaining human services workers in King County, 10% worked in the public sector, and 42% worked in the for-profit sector (mostly in child care). As Figure 1 shows, human services workers in King County are less likely to work for the public sector and more likely to work for the non-profit sector compared to human services workers nationwide.

While the racial and ethnic composition of the human services workforce roughly matches the composition of the King County overall workforce, several other characteristics stand out (see Figure 2).

- Women are over-represented, making up almost 80% of workers in the industry.

[2] Unless otherwise noted, figures in this section draw from Table 1 of the market analysis found in Appendix 3.

- Black/African American workers are almost three times as likely to work in human services as they are to work in non-care industries.
- Overall, human services workers have a high level of formal education; 61% have a Bachelor's degree or other advanced degree.
- Fewer human services workers are employed full-time relative to other care or non-care workers.

Appendix 3, Table 1 shows more details on this workforce.

Box 2. Key terms and concepts

Care work is work that nurtures the well-being of others. Human services is one type of care industry. Other care work industries include education and health care.

Human services includes the following Census industry categories: individual and family services; community food and housing and emergency services; vocational rehabilitation services; and child day care services.

Industry refers to a group of enterprises engaged in providing the same goods or services. This report focuses on the human services industry.

Job refers to a paid position working for an employer. Workers who hold jobs typically have job titles that provide some indication of their role and responsibilities.

Occupation is another term for a profession or line of work. Common human services occupations include childcare worker, social worker, and program manager.

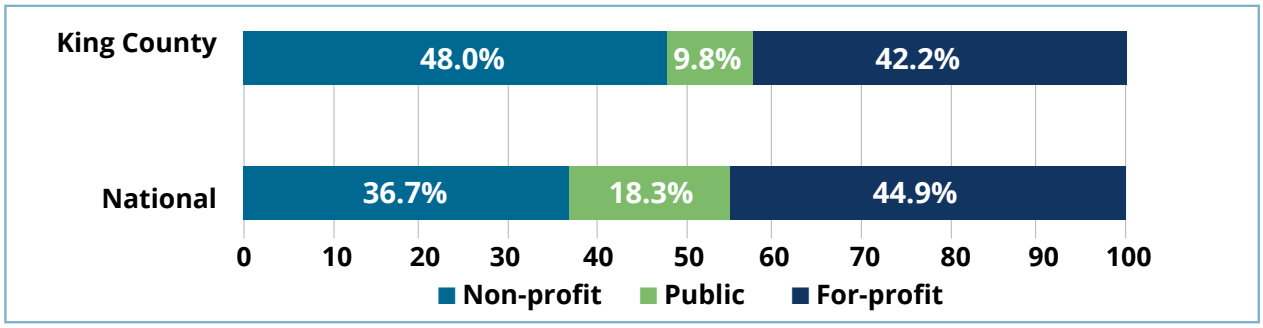
Sector, as used in this report, refers to parts of the economy as arranged by control and profit status. This includes the public sector (federal, state, and local governments), for-profit entities including businesses, and non-profit organizations.

STUDY COMPARISON GROUPS

The different data sources in this study include varying types of information on industry and sector, and hence require slightly different comparison groups. These comparison groups are specific combinations of the categories listed above.

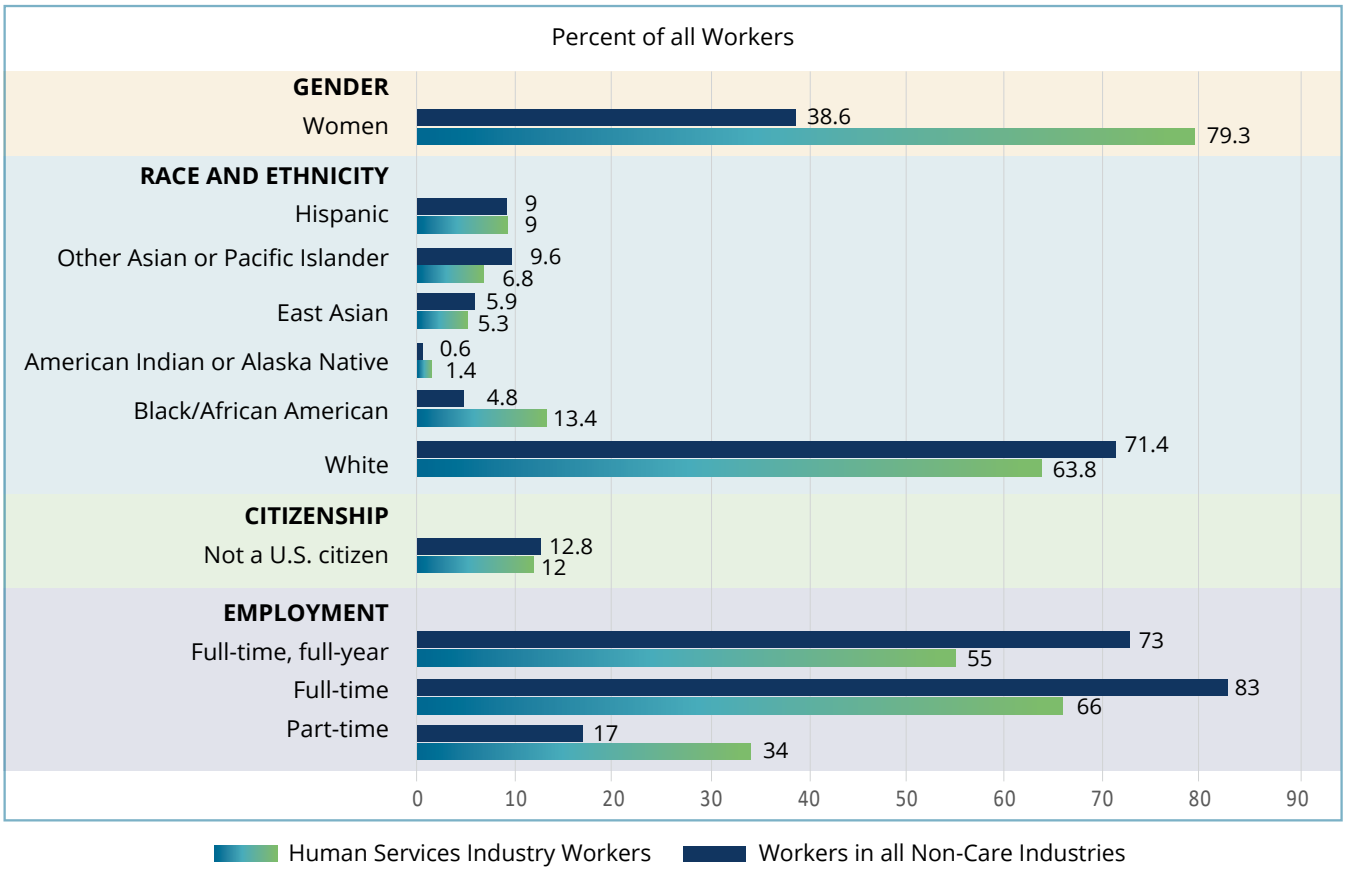
- **Other care industries** refers to education and health care. Some parts of the market analysis use this as a comparison group. Unless the non-profit sector is specified, comparisons in the market analysis refer to all sectors (non-profit, public, and for-profit).
- **Non-care industries** refers to industries other than human services, education, and health care. Some parts of the market analysis use this as a comparison group, and it includes all sectors unless non-profit is specified.
- **Other industries** refers to all industries other than human services. This combines the "other care" and "non-care" industries. Again, this includes the non-profit, public, and for-profit sectors unless otherwise specified.
- **Comparator jobs** refer to jobs not in non-profit human services. The job evaluation analysis uses this category, which includes a combination of public sector, education, and for-profit jobs in industries other than human services.

Figure 1. Human services employment by sector, King County and nationally



Source: Analysis of American Community Survey data, 2005-2019. All currently employed wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64. See Appendix 3, Table 1.

Figure 2. Selected characteristics of King County workers by industry category



Source: Analysis of American Community Survey data, 2005-2019. All currently employed wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64. See Appendix 3, Table 1.

Understanding wage inequity

Wages are shaped by many intersecting historical and societal forces. Ideas about how to think about equity in the context of wages, how wage levels are determined, and mechanisms for changing wage structures are foundational for understanding and interpreting the work of this report. In this section, we discuss these topics and their impact on wages in human services jobs.

Equity is the quality of being fair or just. No one arrangement is indisputably "equitable" or "inequitable"; rather, equity is a matter of contest or consensus. One common idea about wage equity is that people doing the same work should be paid the same. The concept of "equal pay for equal work," as codified in the federal Equal Pay Act of 1963, holds that persons in substantively the same jobs within the same organization should have equivalent pay.

Comparable worth theory

Comparable worth theory aims to address more deeply rooted differences in the economy. Comparable worth – also known as "pay equity" or "wage equity" – moves beyond a call for equal pay for equal work and moves to "equal pay for *equivalent* work." This approach rests on the understanding that prevailing pay levels are subject to the distortions and biases in society and asserts that workers ought to be paid the same for jobs that: require similar skills, knowledge, and initiative; take place in similarly demanding environments; and have comparable levels of responsibilities.

Comparable worth as a concept was first developed to address gender-based pay inequities, and we will use gender examples to explain it here. However, the concept applies to racism and other structural forces, including the multiple factors leading to wage penalties in human services as discussed below.

Because of occupational segregation, women and men often do not work in the same occupations or industries.[3] Female-dominated industries tend to pay less than male-dominated industries. Comparable worth theory recognizes that work done by women has been systematically devalued, with women segregated into different occupations than men, and that this bias continues to affect current wages in jobs that are, or historically were, dominated by women.

A comparable worth approach addresses the pay disparity between "men's jobs" and "women's jobs" by systematically examining the dimensions of a job via a job evaluation tool that identifies the component parts of a job. For instance, jobs that involve similar levels of manual dexterity, should – all else held equal – have the same level of pay, regardless of whether the job was done by men (as is often the case with metal milling equipment) or women (as is the case with sewing machines). By analyzing and comparing the distinct tasks that make up a job, comparable worth job evaluations allow for a comparison between the pay of different jobs (England 1999).

The value of the comparable worth approach can go far beyond addressing gender-based inequities. Salary levels reflect multiple social forces, many of which give rise to systematic inequities. Before turning to the specific reasons why wages are lower in the non-profit human services field, this next section discusses academic theories about how salaries are determined in general.

How wages are set

Economic theory provides one entry-point into understanding wage determination. Standard economic theory informs many

[3] We recognize that gender-based inequities apply beyond the woman-man binary but use binary language to mirror the categories used in Census data. We also use Census terms for race and ethnicity.

people's perspectives about compensation, but in its basic form it cannot account for some important labor market forces. A classical economic model holds that a worker's compensation is in proportion to their skills and productive outputs. Generally, compensation rewards education or experience with higher pay, or links compensation in some way to productivity. In many ways, this theory presumes equal access to experience and education, and meritocracy.

While standard economic theory can explain some variation in individuals' salaries, it is limited in important ways. For instance, in a classical economic model, discrimination (based on race, gender, or other characteristics) is illogical because only workers' contributions should matter. In actuality, discrimination in the labor market is well-documented (see, for example, Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004; Small and Pager 2020).

Standard economic theory is also limited in its ability to explain variation in salaries across occupations or industries. In addition to differences in required levels of training and education, wage differences across occupations also reflect forces including the status of the individuals holding those jobs, the value placed on the work being done, historical patterns of pay and their remnants, and the power of employees relative to their employers (e.g., legislation governing the conditions of work, access to enforcement agencies, and unionization and collective bargaining). Wage inequities can arise through systematic discrimination linked to race or gender, through inequalities in worker power across industries, and through policies that advance or support strong wages in one sector or allow wages in another sector to languish (such as the policies detailed in Appendix 2).

Once wage inequities are created and established, inertia and emulation solidify them over space and time (Rosenfeld 2021). For example, wage scales tend to persist as new employees join an organization with an existing pay structure and accept and use that as a guideline for their own pay. This type of "organizational inertia is evident when we think of a job as 'naturally' paying a certain amount" (Rosenfeld 2021, p. 16). Common business practices – such as pegging the wages within a new organization to the industry standard – mean that wage structures also get replicated across locations. In time, wage levels in one locale or one organization spread from one place to another or one employer to another via such mimicry.

Labor market inequities become durable when these forces of inertia and emulation act on top of discrimination. Consider race and gender discrimination present in the labor market in the late 19th or early 20th century. Women were restricted to a small number of industries and occupations, and these paid lower wages than the jobs open to men. Similarly, African Americans, other racialized minorities, and immigrants were shunted into some jobs and kept out of others, with the best-paying jobs held primarily by U.S.-born White workers. As the economy evolved and discriminatory labor restrictions gradually loosened, the wages in these minority- and woman-dominated industries remained lower due to inertia. As such, discrimination from 100 years ago affects wage structures today, even if women and persons of color are not legally or strongly socially restricted to certain industries.

This is not to say that wage structures are immutable. As market dynamics, social dynamics, and laws change, relative wages change as well. Below and in Box 2, we discuss state and local policies attempting to interrupt inequitable processes.

Policy can change wage-setting practices

Government policies shape the conditions of work and commensurate wages through federal and state policy (e.g., minimum wage and work hour laws) and local rulemaking

(e.g., rules governing unions and collective bargaining). (For an overview of the historical and policy context relevant to human services work, see Appendix 2.) For example, federal laws, including the Equal Pay Act of 1963 prohibit discrimination in salaries based on gender or other ascribed characteristics. Despite decades of federal prohibitions on gender discrimination in employment and wages, the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009 was a reminder that some employers continue to pay women less than men for the same job.

Spurred by persistent gender and racial wage gaps, occupational segregation, and growing recognition of the role that structural factors play in setting wages across occupations, wage equity efforts acorss the U.S. have gained momentum over the past two decades (National Women's Law Center 2020). States and localities have undertaken various additional efforts to try to reduce pay disparities by gender and race that generally fall into two broad categories:

- **Pay transparency:** Some states, including Washington state,[4] have passed laws that prohibit companies from asking job applicants about their salary history and/or prohibit employers from restricting employees from disclosing their salaries. Some of these laws also require employers to provide salary ranges on posted job descriptions for potential employees.
- **Require employers to track and report pay disparities by gender and race:** Some states and localities have added requirements that contractors and/or governments report wages by gender and race on a regular basis. For example, San Francisco, California requires companies to report employment data by gender and race. New York City's Pay Equity Law requires the city to produce and share data on municipal employees' salaries by gender and race.[5]

These laws enable tracking of pay inequities and trends. Most of these efforts are targeted at ensuring equal pay for the same or similar work. While they are a step towards remedying some barriers to pay inequity, they do not address other major causes of pay inequity, including occupational segregation and the differentiated values and pay on work based on factors such as gender, race, and ethnicity.

Wages for human services work

Explanations of how employers set compensation need to recognize the influence of the relative power of workers and the role of factors such as individual and structural discrimination, cultural norms, institutional factors, and the ability to capture and monetize the value of services provided. All these factors, which influence the relative bargaining power of workers, come into play in human services wage levels. From the literature and previous work of some contributing scholars to the Wage Equity report, we know that "penalties" exist regarding wages in the following domains: gender, race, care, client power, and sectoral (see Figure 3 and Appendix 2). These factors act individually and interactively to drive wages down.

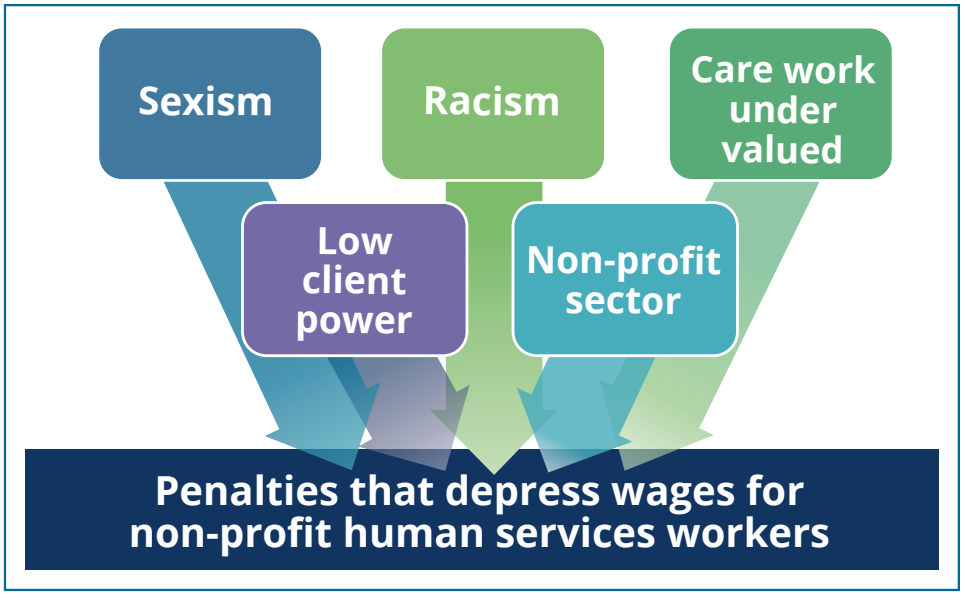
- **Gender penalty:** Human services workers are overwhelmingly women today and historically. Today's human services workers face lower wages because industry wages have carried forward historic gender discrimination and because women's labor market prospects are still affected by gender-based discrimination.

[4] Washington State's Equal Pay and Opportunities Act (RCW 49.58.005-110) addresses pay transparency. It requires employers to post salary ranges to job seekers, prohibits employers from requiring that applicants provide salary histories, and protects the rights of workers to disclose and discuss salaries without employer retaliation.
[5] San Francisco Administrative Code Section 12B.2(f)(2); New York City Council 2019 Local Law 18.

- **Racial penalty:** Workers of color have historically experienced and still experience discrimination in employment that constricts their opportunities and reduces their bargaining power. Discrimination is also associated with a cultural devaluation of skills and commitments of people of color that shows up in lower wages. Furthermore, workers of color are over-represented in the lowest-paid human services jobs, including frontline care work.
- **Care penalty:** Employers may undervalue the knowledge and skills embedded in "emotional labor," often gained through mothering and caring within households and voluntary school-based activities, as well as formal qualifications. While these skills are utilized in many human services jobs, they are not reflected in pay and conditions of work.
- **Low client power penalty:** Non-profit human services workers' wages may be depressed because the clients they serve and the populations receiving social services lack political or economic power.
- **Outsourcing/Sector penalty:** Non-profit human services workers face lower wages than their peers in the for-profit and public sectors. This penalty may have been exacerbated by the increased reliance on public subcontracting to human services non-profit organizations since the 1980s (Smith and Lipsky 1993; National Council of Nonprofits 2021), which has put additional downward pressures on wages.

In addition to these penalties, many human services workers do not have full-time employment. Part-time workers face lower wages, and access to benefits may be limited relative to full-time workers. Unionization is one way for workers within an industry to gain power and increase pay. Almost a century ago, social workers were heavily involved with unions (Leighninger 2001). Today, however, unionization rates among human service workers are low, and fiscal pressures contributing to new management practices have tended to reduce workers' participation in management (Cunningham et al. 2017), both of which may contribute to wage stagnation. In sum, workers in human services are vulnerable to intersecting pay penalties related to their individual and collective bargaining power that result in systematically lower wages.

Figure 3. Conceptual model of factors depressing wages for non-profit human services work



Box 3. Comparable worth/wage equity in other contexts

Comparable worth analyses move beyond "equal pay for equal work" to try to determine how we would compensate jobs typically done by less powerful groups (such as racialized minorities or women) if the work they did was valued in the same way as comparable jobs performed by members of more powerful groups (such as White workers or men).

One state, Minnesota, implemented a comparable worth system in the 1980s for both its state and local government. Separate equal pay rules in Minnesota prohibit employers from paying women employees less than men for equal work or for jobs that require equal skill, effort, responsibility, and have similar working conditions. A more recent reform requires that businesses with large contracts with the State and more than 40 employees apply for a certificate of compliance declaring that they have no gender wage gap within occupational categories and describing how they set wages. Certificates must be updated every four years.

The Minnesota efforts were intended to address gender pay inequities, and the State reports that the comparable worth system has resulted in an average increase in salaries for women of roughly 11% after the four-year phase-in period (Minnesota Legislative Office on the Economic Status of Women 2016) The law applies to classes of jobs and to equity in the pay structure within the state and local government, not to individual jobs (Rothchild, Watkins, and Faith 2016). In the 1980s, efforts in Washington state to narrow the gender wage gap and mandate comparable worth pay for women state workers were unsuccessful in court. While comparable worth efforts have been limited in the U.S. in recent years, such methods are used in various contexts in other countries, including New Zealand; Ontario, Canada; the European Union; and the United Kingdom. The experiences of places that have used comparable worth approaches suggest that this approach is not easy or straightforward, but that it can yield gains for less powerful workers.

Market analysis

To better understand the wages of human services workers relative to other workers in our region, we conducted three types of original data analyses using existing Census and Washington state administrative data. Appendix 3 contains full details of this work.[6] The overarching goal of this market analysis is to understand the wages paid to human services workers relative to two different comparison groups: other care industry workers (in education and health care), and workers in non-care industries (the remaining parts of the economy, including retail, business services, manufacturing, and others).

We first calculated median earnings using the most local data available. Second, we estimated the pay penalty faced by workers in human services relative to other industries; these estimates are based on multivariate statistical analyses that allow us to estimate the wage gap net of any observable worker characteristics, such as age, gender, or race. We also analyze changes in wages among the sub-set of

[6] Appendix 3 also contains a fourth analysis, a comparison of specific occupations in human services, other care work industries, and non-care industries. These comparisons parallel and confirm the findings of the more localized and detailed Job Evaluation, so for brevity we do not discuss them in this summary report.

Table 1. Purpose of analysis and data sources for market analysis

Purpose of Analysis	Data source
Assess the human services pay penalties in Washington state • Median pay statistics • Multivariate analysis	The US Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS)
Assess the effects of switching jobs within and outside of human services jobs in Seattle and King County • Hourly and annual pay changes • Multivariate analysis	Earnings records from the Washington state Employment Security Department (ESD)

workers who switch jobs, which is a third way to understand the differences in pay between industries.

Table 1. summarizes the data used for these analyses. While the overall report focuses on non-profit human services work in Seattle and King County, limitations in available data mean that this analysis often takes a slightly broader angle. Except when noted, analyses in this section focus on the human services industry regardless of sector, meaning we combine non-profit, for-profit, and governmental human services providers. In some cases, further data limitations mean that we conduct analyses at the state level, rather than for King County or Seattle specifically. Finally, the small annual samples in the Census' American Community Survey (ACS) data require combining data across years in order to have sufficient sample sizes to estimate our models.[7]

Median earnings are lower in human services than in other industries

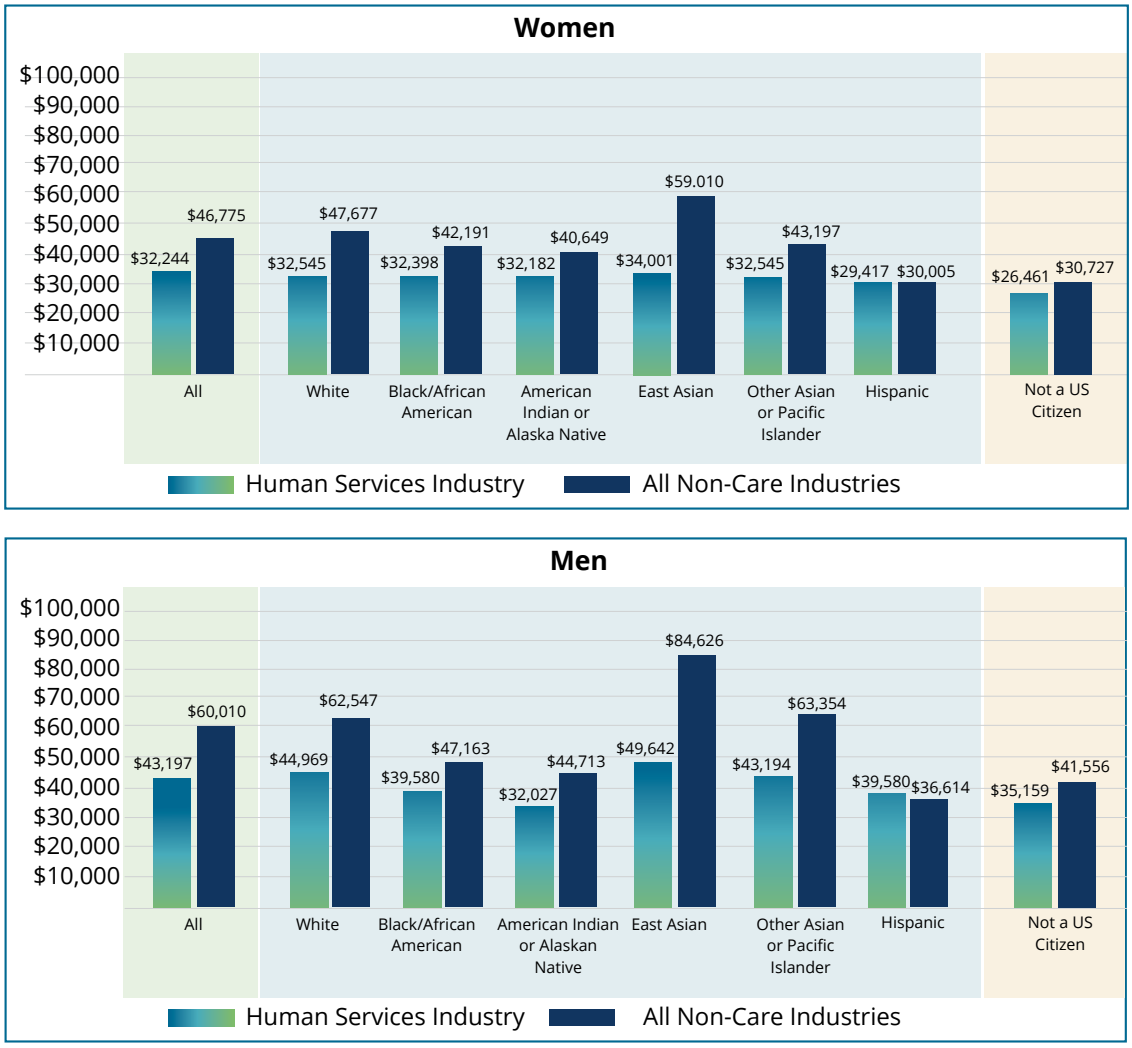
Median annual earnings among all full-time human services workers (all sectors) in Washington state were $33,995 over the study observation period of 2005-2019 (all figures are in 2019 dollars).[8] This is 38% less than the $54,831 median paid to full-time workers in non-care industries. Median annual earnings for full-time workers in other care industries (education and healthcare) were $52,331 (all figures from Appendix 3, Table 2).

These differences between human services and other industries show up across combinations of gender with race, ethnicity, and citizenship. Figure 4 shows median annual earnings for full-time human services and non-care industry workers for women (panel a/top panel) and men (panel b/bottom panel). Human services workers are paid less than workers in other industries in every demographic sub-group except one (Hispanic men are paid slightly more in human services than they are in other industries). Within human services, women's earnings are similar across several racial groups, with median annual earnings of around $32,000 for White, Black, and American Indian/Alaska Native, and other Asian or Pacific Islander women.

[7] We combined data over the period 2005-2019 with inflation adjustments so that all figures are in 2019 dollars. We do not use 2020 or later data due to pandemic-related disruptions in both the economy and in public data collection procedures.

[8] We compare earnings across sectors for only those workers who work full-time (35+ hours per week) and have earnings in at least 50 weeks of the year. Wage differences between industries would be even larger if we considered all workers because human services workers are more likely than workers in other industries to work part-time and/or part-year.

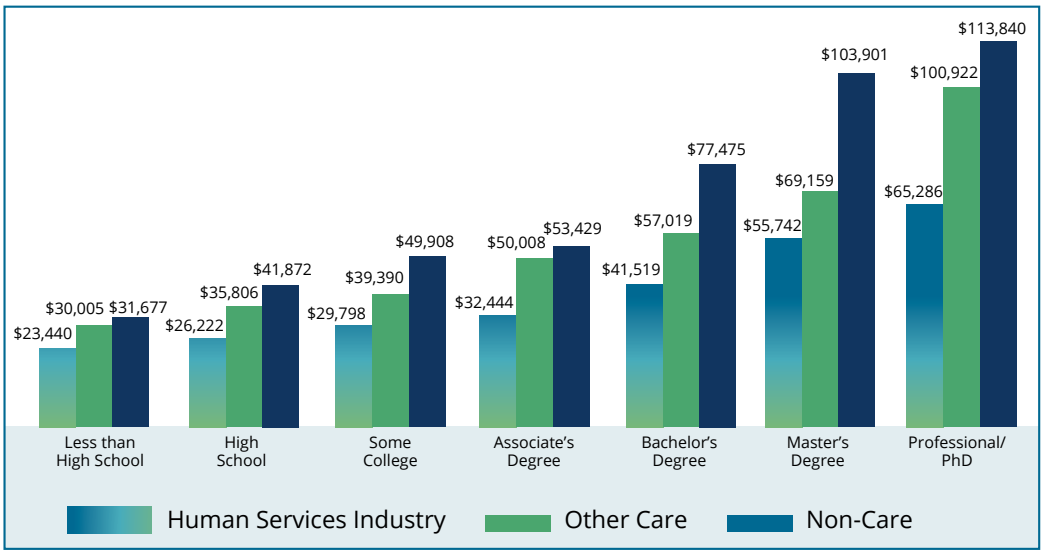
Figure 4. Median annual wages for Washington workers by industry category, gender, race/ethnicity, and citizenship



Source: Analysis of American Community Survey data, 2005-2019. All full-time, full-year wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64. Figures in 2019 dollars. See Appendix 3, Table 3.

Differences between human services and other industries also show up at all levels of education. As shown in Figure 5, as education levels increase, wages increase. As with overall earnings, median annual earnings in human services are lower than in both other care industries and non-care industries, across all educational categories. Median annual wages for full-time Washington workers in human services with a bachelor's degree (but no higher degree) are about $41,500 per year, compared to $57,000 for similarly educated workers in other care industries, and $77,500 for similarly educated workers in non-care industries. These numbers translate into a 27% wage penalty relative to other care workers and a 46% wage penalty relative to workers in non-care industries among bachelor's degree holders.

Figure 5. Median annual earnings by industry and education, Washington workers



Source: Analysis of American Community Survey data, 2005-2019. All full-time, full-year wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64. Figures in 2019 dollars.See Appendix 3, Table 4.

The consistency of the gaps between human services and other industries provides strong evidence of a human services pay penalty, but factors other than inequities may contribute to these differences in medians. For instance, workers in human services may be younger than workers in other industries. Thus, differences in median wages might overstate the difference between sectors because wages tend to rise with experience. For reasons like this, we conducted multivariate analyses that can estimate differences net of possible observable correlated factors.

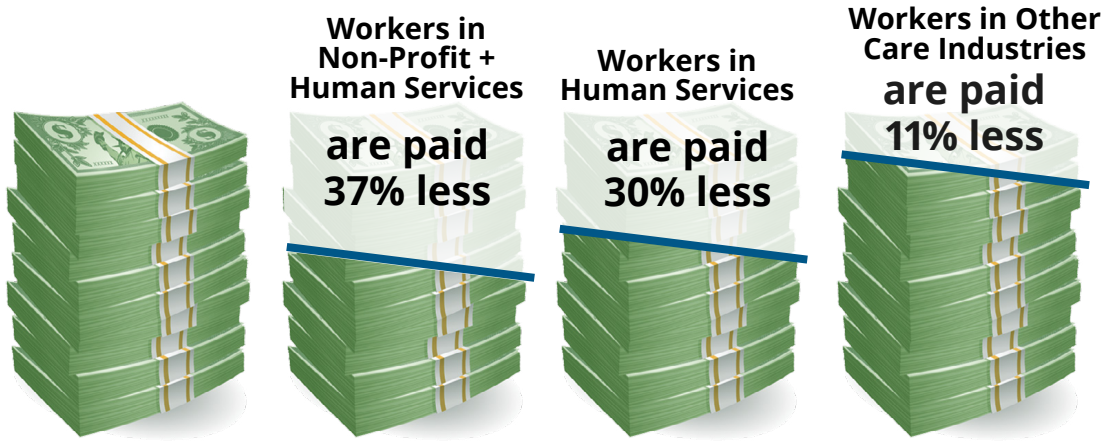
Multivariate analyses show wage gaps controlling for worker characteristics

Using econometric approaches, we looked more closely at differences between human services employees, other employees in care work industries, and employees in all other non-care industries to estimate the pay penalty when observable individual and job characteristics are accounted for in the analysis.[9] Net of these control variables, Washington state human services workers are paid 30% less than workers in non-care industries. Non-profit workers face an additional 7% penalty relative to workers at for-profit employers. Taken together, this means that non-profit human services workers experience a wage penalty of 37% relative to observably similar workers in for-profit, non-care industries. Workers in other care industries are paid more than human services workers but less than workers in non-care industries. Figure 6 illustrates these differences.

[9] These analyses control for sector (for-profit, non-profit, public), education, gender, whether married, presence of own child in the household, race, Hispanic ethnicity, citizenship, occupation, usual hours worked per week, age in years, and year of data. The methods used in this and the following analysis parallel the approach used in the study team members' recent peer-reviewed publication on care work penalties (Folbre, Gautham, and Smith 2023).

Figure 6. Wage penalties by industry and sector, Washington state

Relative to workers in non-care industries...



Source: Multivariate analysis of American Community Survey data, 2005-2019. Analysis controls for individual worker characteristics and time trends

Leaving human services jobs increases pay

Lastly, we examine the impact on wages of changing jobs within and across industries using more detailed data for workers that allows us to zero in on employers located or headquartered in Seattle.[10] This provides different insight into wage penalties because we can observe the exact same workers in different jobs and see how their pay changes. As such, things that are unobservable in the analyses above – like individual skills, dedication, or work habits – are held constant.

This method offers a way to confirm the findings above but takes a different approach in several ways. Workers change jobs for reasons, and the reasons for changing jobs may also affect wages. In some cases, workers switch jobs to get better pay or more challenge, reasons that should increase wages. In other cases, changes in workers' health or family circumstances make a job not sustainable; such switches may lead to lower pay. We cannot know why workers switch, only that they do. Second, by design, this analysis cannot tell us about wage penalties for workers who stay in their jobs. Finally, leaving a job or industry is particularly difficult for longer tenured or more highly trained workers who have expertise and experience that are specific to human services. As such, although there are complexities to studying how job changes affect wages, this analysis offers a different and complementary approach to the prior estimates.

We created and analyzed six categories of workers in human services and other industries based on whether they: remained with their employer; switched employers but stayed within their industry type; or switched both employer and industry from the previous quarter.[11] For both "stayers" and "switchers," we calculated changes in their hourly wage rates one year after switching or staying.

---

[10] This work uses the full population Employment Security Department (ESD) data, which allows us to look within Seattle rather than statewide. As Appendix 3 details, we replicated all the prior analyses as closely as possible with the ESD data, and overall earnings ratios were very similar. ESD data do not contain demographic, occupational, or education information, which is why we did not use this data source for all analyses. Appendix 3 also contains these same analyses for employers based within King County. Findings for King County are similar to the Seattle findings presented in this summary.

[11] For this analysis, other care work was combined with all other industries yielding two industrial grouping, the human services industry and all other industries. The six categories were: 1. Stay with an other industry employer, 2. Switch from one other-than-human services employer to another, 3. Switch from another industry to the human services industry, 4. Stay with a human services employer, 5. Switch employers but remain in human services, and 6. Switch from human services to another industry.

On average, workers' hourly wages go up over the course of a year, regardless of whether they stay at an employer or move. However, wage rate changes vary depending on whether a worker begins in or stays in human services.

Seattle workers who stay in human services, whether at a new employer or the same employer see annual increases of 6.1% and 6.3%, respectively. For workers in all industries other than human services, staying with the same employer yields a raise of 4.5% whereas switching to another employer not in human services leads to an increase of 9.1% in hourly pay.

However, moving into or out of human services yields different patterns. Workers who leave a job not in human services and move into a human services industry job see a wage increase of 5.9%. In contrast, workers who leave human services for a job in another industry get paid 14.2% more per hour than they were paid in human services.

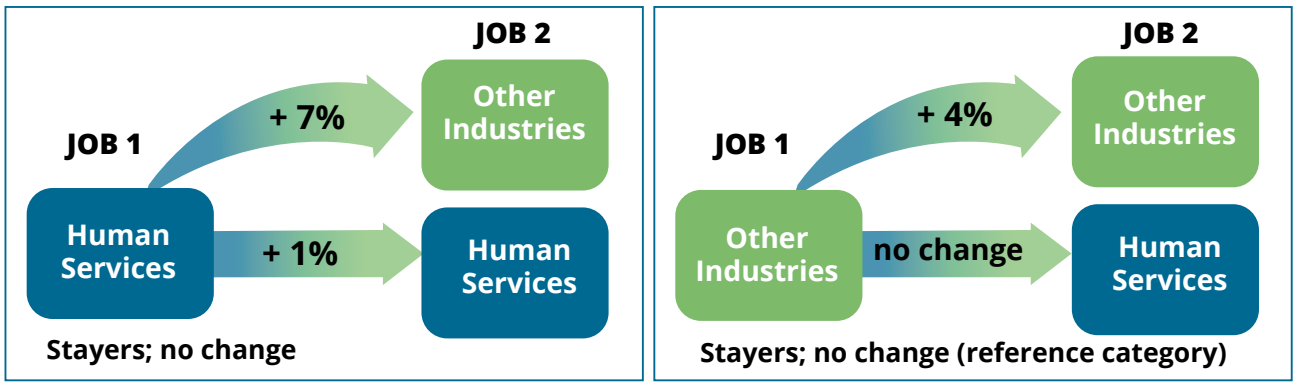
The largest gains go to workers who leave human services. Furthermore, the percentage point hourly wage gains by leaving the human services industry are 56% higher than the next highest gain from switching employers.

We also performed a multivariate version of this switching analysis, summarized in Figure 7. This allows us to estimate changes in hourly wages not otherwise accounted for by observable characteristics such as hours worked and employer size. This analysis confirms the prior finding that leaving the Seattle human services industry yields increases in pay.

- Switching jobs and leaving the human services industry is associated with an hourly wage increase premium of 7% relative to the reference category of staying at the same job not in human services.
- In contrast, workers who enter the human services industry from another industry see no change in pay beyond what "stayers" report, nor do workers who stay with the same human services employer.

Note that both the calculated wage change and the multivariate estimates of wage change premiums refer to hourly wages; actual earnings gains from switching are larger because switching jobs also is associated with more total hours of work. Switching out of human services, where part-time work is common, into work in a different industry yielded a 31% total earnings premium relative to the reference category of workers who stayed with the same employer in another industry.

Figure 7. Hourly wage rate change premium for Seattle job stayers and switchers, within and across industries (from multivariate analysis)



Source: Analysis of 2010-2017 Washington State Employment Security Department earnings records. See Appendix 3, Exhibit M2 for details.

These findings provide additional insight into the relative wages of human services work versus work in other industries. As noted above, this switching analysis should not be interpreted as a general estimate of the full penalties affecting human services pay levels. We believe that this is better thought of as a lower-bound estimate because it is most generalizable to workers most likely to switch jobs, those at the beginning of their careers who are also often the lowest paid workers.

All three market data analyses show wage gaps

All three approaches – the descriptive wage tabulations, multivariate analysis, and the switching analysis – yield consistent results. **Workers in human services get paid substantially less than workers in non-care services industries and even less than workers in other care industries**. Controlling for worker characteristics, human services workers face a wage penalty of 30% and an additional non-profit wage penalty of 7%. Wage gaps are found even when we follow the same workers over time as they switch jobs, suggesting that the differences are not due to characteristics of the worker.

One reading of these findings is as confirming that wages for non-profit human services work are indeed depressed by the set of the penalties outlined above. An opposing view might hold that the lower pay for human services work relative to other industries is a function of the nature of the work itself. The job evaluation analysis that follows provides a detailed and comparative look at the nature of human services jobs.

Job Evaluation Analysis

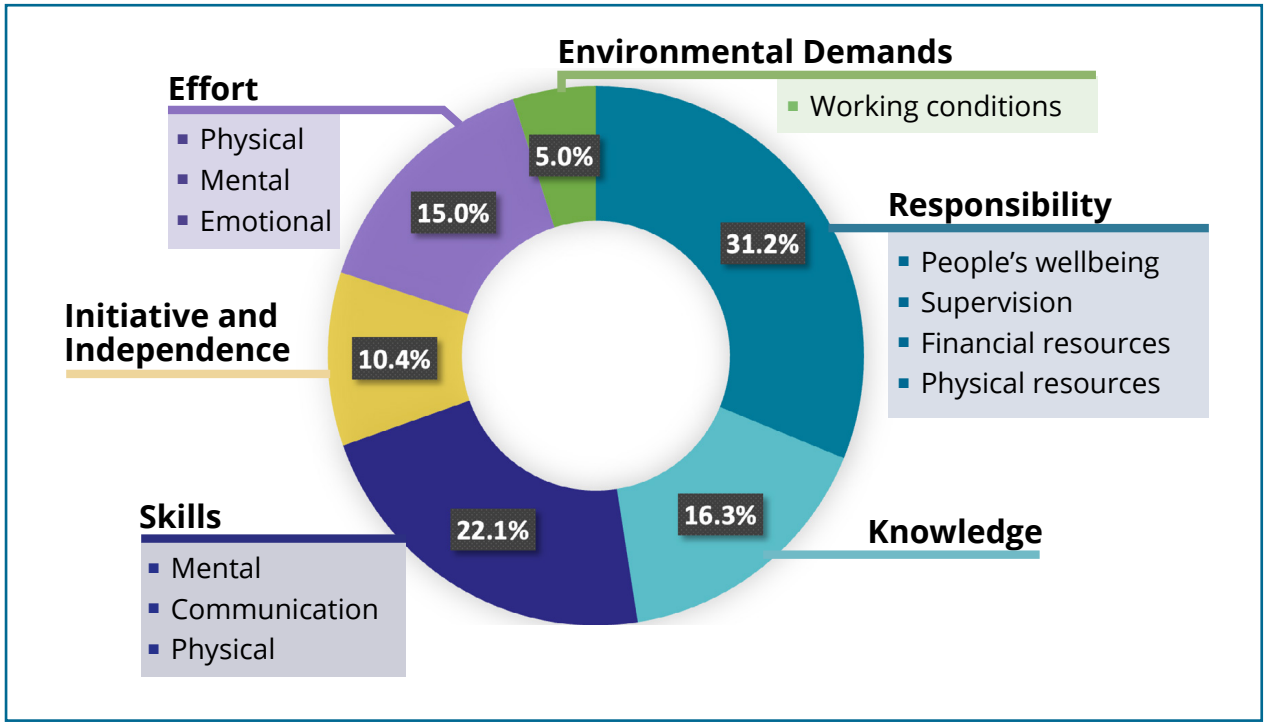
The job evaluation analysis portion of the study was designed to complement the market analysis of large-scale national and regional data. The job evaluation analysis uses a different approach from the market analysis, directly assessing a small number of jobs on a comprehensive range of factors to assess the relative levels of knowledge, skills, responsibility, effort, initiative, and demands. Job evaluation methods hence more precisely capture the "equivalent work" component within the comparable worth principle of "equal pay for equivalent work."

The job evaluation uses in-depth data from a small, purposive sample of current jobholders within King County and Seattle. These data allow us to directly compare jobs in the non-profit human services industry to jobs in other industries and sectors.

About the job evaluation instrument

To assess comparable worth, this study used a purpose-built job evaluation questionnaire and scoring rubric, the National Joint Council Scheme (NJCS), developed by UK-wide local governments, unions, and leading job evaluation experts. The NJCS was developed to comply with UK legislation requiring "equal pay for work of equal value" – the equivalent of "comparable worth" in the U.S. – and also with regard to the protected characteristics in the UK's Equality Act 2010, "age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage/civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, and sexual orientation" (Equality Act 2010). Unlike other widely used job evaluation tools, the NJCS is specifically designed to address gender bias by accounting for job demands that might be devalued in the labor market, including relating to interpersonal and communication skills, emotional demands, responsibility for people, and knowledge related to people and human behavior.

Figure 8. Job evaluation factors



Source: NJCS job evaluation instrument, see text for details

The NJCS instrument is a points-based, analytical tool that is designed to be used across sectors and levels of hierarchy. As shown in Figure 8, the NJCS is based on 13 weighted factors within six major categories: Knowledge, Skills, Responsibility, Effort, Initiative and Independence, and Environmental Demands (Working Conditions). Each factor has up to 8 different point levels, with a maximum total score of 1,000 possible points for a given job. Box 4 shows an example of how these factors are scored, and Appendix 4 contains more information about the NJCS instrument, including a full copy of the questionnaire used in this study.

In the present study, job holders completed a slightly modified version of the NJCS Job evaluation questionnaire, adapted to use U.S. terminology and with questions relating to the Working Conditions factor slightly amended to reflect the impact of Covid and the potential for micro-aggressions in the workplace.

Participants

The Job Evaluation portion of the Wage Equity study used purposive sampling to recruit non-profit human services workers in Seattle and King County with jobs in commonly occurring "benchmark" positions (N=12) as well as a sample of "comparison job" holders (N=10) in jobs outside of the non-profit sector and human services industry. The human services benchmark jobs in this study include four common positions:

- Caseworker
- Director
- Coordinator
- Child Care Worker

These jobs were selected to represent an array of job types at different levels of responsibility.

Box 4. How the job evaluation instrument works

To be reliable and meaningful, job ratings need to be done systematically using set criteria. The NJCS is an established, structured, and comprehensive system for rating jobs on multiple factors. Data from completed questionnaires and interview transcripts are analyzed to assess and rate the job on each of the 13 factors measured by the NJCS. Points for each factor are totaled to allow for comparisons of jobs both within and across sectors.

For each factor, there are multiple levels and the NJCS has specific guidelines for rating and assigning points to indicate the level of a given job characteristic. For example, the factor "Responsibility for People – Well-being" measures the responsibility of the jobholder for individual, or groups of, people (members of the public, service users and recipients, clients), other than employees supervised or managed by the jobholder. This factor emphasizes the job holder's responsibilities for the physical, mental, social economic and environmental well-being of people, including their health and safety.

For this factor, the NJCS scoring rubric assesses the job on a scale of 1-6, depending on the level at which the job is assessed. The following summary guidance illustrates the substantive differences between levels for the factor "Responsibility for People--Well-being"

Level 1: Limited, or no direct impact on well-being of individuals or groups.

Level 2: Some direct impact on well-being through tasks or duties which are to their direct benefit, or impact directly on their health and safety.

Level 3: Considerable direct impact on well-being through either a) an assessment of needs and implementation of appropriate care for those reliant on jobholder for their basic needs or b) implementing regulations with direct impact on health, safety, or well-being.

Level 4: High direct impact on well-being through either a) an assessment of needs and implementation of appropriate programs of care for those reliant on the jobholder; or b) enforcing regulations which have high direct impact on the health, safety or well-being.

Level 5: Major direct impact on well-being of people reliant on the jobholder; involves assessment of their complex needs and arranging for delivery of appropriate programs of care; responsibility for making decisions which may affect future well-being and circumstances of clients.

Level 6: Very major direct impact on well-being of substantial numbers of people reliant on services for their care; involves assessment of needs of relevant groups of people and determining how appropriate programs of care should be delivered; responsibility for making decisions which will affect future well-being of individual, and groups of clients.

For the factor "Responsibility for People," each level contributes 13 points, meaning that a job scoring at level 3 in the above example would contribute 39 points to the overall job evaluation score. Other factors have up to 8 levels, and each level contributes 10, 13, or 20-21 points, depending on the weight of the factor. This summary is based the NJC Green Book collective agreement (Local Government Association, 2022, p. 79-80) which also provides scoring criteria for the other factors that comprise the job evaluation.

The Seattle Human Services Coalition helped with recruitment of benchmark job holders. The range of types of human services organizations represented include those providing support services for housing and for unsheltered people, domestic violence services, multi-service community centers, and early learning care providers. The sample also represents jobs in different-sized organizations.

To identify comparators, the Job Evaluation team sought individuals from a range of occupations outside of the non-profit, human services sector. The goal was to include occupations either predominantly performed by men – such as construction or IT – or administrative and professional occupations, from entry to senior executive level. The team also aimed to include individuals from a range of organizations, including smaller and larger employers, and from the for-profit as well as the public sector. The research team, Steering Committee, and SHSC networks identified potential comparator job interviewees via direct outreach, including a snowball principle drawing on pre-existing relationships and acquaintances. Six comparator job holders in the sample work in the for-profit sector, one works in the public sector, one works in a private school (a non-profit), and two are trade union workers.

With the support of the Steering Committee, a locally based member of the Job Evaluation team oversaw recruitment, obtained informed consent, ensured that participants completed the NJCS questionnaire, and conducted most of the interviews. Appendix 4 provides additional information on the data collection and analysis.

Data and analysis

Data collected for the job evaluation includes the modified NJSC questionnaire, and simultaneous transcription of the interviews which were conducted virtually from October through December 2022. In addition, job holders or their supervisors provided copies of their contracts, personnel policies, benefits information, and organizational charts where possible.

Transcripts and completed questionnaires were analyzed to assess and score the job on each of the 13 factors measured by the NJCS, following a structured scoring rubric and protocol. Analysis and scoring of the NJCS job evaluation questionnaire and interview transcript data was carried out by a member of the team who was involved in establishing the original NJCS job evaluation tool and who has twenty years of experience applying the scoring rubric in job evaluation analyses across local government, schools, and the non-profit sector in the UK. Points for each factor were totaled to allow for comparison of salaries across job evaluation scores both within and across sectors.

Job evaluation study findings

The non-profit human services jobs included in this analysis rate at different point levels based on the NJCS job evaluation instrument; the same is true for the comparator jobs. Tables 2 and 3 show job evaluation scores for the benchmark jobs and the comparator jobs, respectively. As shown, the twelve benchmark job evaluation scores range from 404 to 716. Eight of the 12 (67%) fall between 400 and 600 points. The ten comparator scores range from a low of 367 – lower than the lowest benchmark score of 404 – to a high of 710, which is marginally lower than the highest benchmark score of 716. Seven of the 10 comparator jobs (70%) fall between 400 and 600 points.

Table 2. Job evaluation (JE) scores and median King County salaries, non-profit human services jobs

JE score	Job title	Area median salary
404	Teaching Assistant	$39,177
430	School Age Enrichment Worker	$45,752
447	Youth Advocate	$43,663
460	Office Assistant/Intake Coordinator	$41,600
505	Early Learning Director/Site Coordinator	$66,048
522	Case Manager	$60,099
528	Program Manager	$66,048
581	Manager – Housing Services	$58,033
601	Coalition Director Programs and Membership	$66,048
669	Children's Advocate	$55,059
684	HR Director, Housing Organization	$140,442
716	Director – Housing Services	$78,162

Source: Job evaluation scores from study analysis (see text and Appendix 4 for details). Salary data from 2021 King County Nonprofit Wage and Benefit Report (501 Commons, 2021).

Table 3. Job evaluation (JE) scores and median area salaries, comparator jobs

JE score	Job title	Area median salary
367	Office Manager	$62,710
370	Public Sector Administrator/Project Manager	$76,860
427	Journey Electrician	$79,020
449	Dispatcher/Office Manager	$55,070
492	Business Representative	$130,750
512	Facilities Manager/Administrator	$81,465
577	Private School Equity Director	$133,243
593	Attorney	$129,147
599	Compliance Director	$132,230
710	Construction Project Manager	$104,458

*Source: Job evaluation scores from study analysis (see text and Appendix 4 for details). Salary data from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data reported via the O*Net system (National Center for O*NET Development, n.d.).*

Tables 2 and 3 also show the area median salaries for the job title closest to the evaluated job. Within the category of non-profit human services jobs, higher job evaluation scores roughly align with higher wages. The lowest-paid non-profit human services worker, the teaching assistant, is also the lowest, and the two highest paid jobs, the HR Director and the Housing Services Director also ranked the highest. The higher relative pay for the HR director reflects the immediate transferability of human resources work outside of the industry and sector.

The side-by-side comparison of Tables 2 and 3 also shows that pay for the human services benchmark jobs is lower than that of comparator jobs for all similar job evaluation scores. The median pay of the lowest-scoring comparator – Office Manager – is 60% higher than that of the lowest-scoring human services benchmark job – Teaching Assistant, despite the latter job scoring higher on the job evaluation. The pay of the highest job evaluation scoring comparator – Construction Project Manager – is over a third higher than the highest scoring benchmark job – Director, Housing Services even though the Housing Services job scores six points higher on the evaluation. Salary differences are even larger when workers' actual pay, rather than the area median, is considered. After an annual bonus is applied, the for-profit sector construction manager makes well over twice what the Housing Services Director makes (shown in Appendix 4).

The gaps between scores and pay illustrate the devaluation of the types of work done by non-profit human services workers. For jobs rated as similarly complex and demanding, human services workers are paid less than other workers in this sample. See Figure 9 and Figure 10 for examples of job-to-job comparisons. These comparisons suggest that the gaps revealed in the market analysis between human services workers and workers in other industries do not reflect lower pay because human services work is easier, less skilled, or less demanding than other jobs. Rather, the pay is less *despite* the high level of skill, responsibility, and difficulty of the jobs.

Figure 9. Teaching Assistant Job Comparison

Comparing job evaluation factor scores and pay for a non-profit human services job and a similarly-scored job not in human services

TEACHING ASSISTANT
NON-PROFIT SECTOR
Median Pay **$39,177/year**
Job Evaluation Score **404**

ADMINISTRATOR/PROJECT MANAGER
PUBLIC SECTOR
Median Pay **$76,860/year**
Job Evaluation Score **370**

FACTOR	SCORE	
Knowledge	80	60
Skills		
Mental	39	39
Interpersonal Communication	52	52
Physical	26	26
Demands		
Physical	20	10
Mental	30	20
Emotional	20	10
Responsibility		
For People	39	26
For Supervision	13	26
For Financial Resources	13	26
For Physical Resources	13	26
Working Conditions	20	10
Initiative/Independence	39	39
TOTAL	**404**	**370**

Source: Job evaluation scores from study analysis (see text and Appendix 4 for details). Human services salary data from 2021 King County Nonprofit Wage and Benefit Report (501 Commons, 2021). Comparison salary data from Bureau of Labor Standards (2022) for Seattle-Bellevue-Tacoma metro area.

Figure 10. Director of Housing Services Job Comparison

Comparing job evaluation factor scores and pay for a non-profit human services job and a similarly-scored job not in human services

DIRECTOR OF HOUSING SERVICES
NON-PROFIT SECTOR
Median Pay **$78,162/year**
Job Evaluation Score **716**

CONSTRUCTION PROJECT MANAGER
FOR-PROFIT SECTOR
Median Pay **$104,458/year**
Job Evaluation Score **710**

FACTOR	SCORE	
Knowledge	121	142
Skills		
Mental	65	78
Interpersonal Communication	65	65
Physical	26	39
Demands		
Physical	20	20
Mental	40	40
Emotional	40	20
Responsibility		
For People	65	52
For Supervision	65	39
For Financial Resources	52	65
For Physical Resources	39	52
Working Conditions	40	20
Initiative/Independence	78	78
TOTAL	**716**	**710**

Source: Job evaluation scores from study analysis (see text and Appendix 4 for details). Human services salary data from 2021 King County Nonprofit Wage and Benefit Report (501 Commons, 2021). Comparison salary data from Bureau of Labor Standards (2022) for Seattle-Bellevue-Tacoma metro area.

Additional observations from the Job Evaluation analysis

Our key finding, as noted, is that non-profit human services job salaries are lower than those of comparator jobs for all similar job evaluation scores. Our interviews and analysis also revealed other observations with implications for plans to raise wages in the non-profit sector, including:

- Job descriptions are not a clear indicator of what jobs entail nor the complexity of the role.
- Non-profit human services workers seem unaware of the pay structure and grade classification systems operating in their organizations; in particular, confusion exists about whether there is a defined pay scale for each grade level or job classification.
- Non-profit human service workers who cover for vacant jobs must often exercise an even wider range of skills than required by their job descriptions.

These observations are not surprising, given both the diversity of clients, constituents, and issue areas with which human services organizations work and the current staffing shortages that helped motivate this study. However, the current variation in job titles and lack of defined salary grade classification systems will make it harder to establish and monitor uniformly equitable higher wages for human services non-profits. These considerations inform our recommendation below to create a common salary grade system.

Summary

Wage equity is important to stabilize the human services workforce and shore up the capacity of the non-profit human services organizations that build and maintain the social infrastructure that Seattle and King County residents rely on. Human services wages reflect prior policy decisions as well as historical and structural race and gender discrimination, all of which contribute to systemic inequities between human services wage levels and those in the public sector and other industries.

Informed by a deep understanding of the multiple and interacting wage penalties experienced by human services workers, the Wage Equity study used different and complementary methods of analysis. The study report describes findings which provide evidence of systematic inequity in wages for non-profit human services workers and provides estimates of adjustments needed to advance wage equity.

Comparable worth, the principle of equal pay for equivalent work, guided our two-part empirical investigation. First, we estimated the gap between market pay for human services workers and workers in other industries using large-scale state and national quantitative labor market data.

- The market analysis found that human services workers are systematically paid less than workers in non-care industries, with estimated pay gaps of 30% or more across different econometric models.
- While switching jobs generally results in a pay increase, exiting human services for a job in a different industry garners a net pay premium of 7% a year later after accounting for observable worker and employer characteristics.

Second, we conducted a focused job evaluation analysis in which we compared a set of benchmark human services jobs to jobs in other industries by using in-depth surveys and interviews and analyzing results via a detailed, multi-factor, points-based classification method designed to ensure comparability across very different types of jobs.

- The job analysis found that human services workers are paid less than workers in other industries or sectors whose tasks are rated as comparable by the job evaluation process. While the sample size is small, the job evaluation analysis finding of a substantial non-profit human services wage gap is consistent with findings from other analyses and measures in this study.

These consistent and strong findings inform the conclusion and recommendations below. We also want to note several limitations of the type that are common to empirical studies.

Limitations

Several constraints on the analysis are detailed within the appendices. We highlight three limitations below:

Pandemic effects on long-term labor market trends are not yet knowable. The market analyses used Census and state administrative data from 2005-2019. Because the Covid-19 pandemic disrupted both the economy as a whole and the collection of survey data, we did not think that data from 2020 and early 2021 would be informative. Standard delays in the public release of labor market data mean that sufficient post-peak pandemic data are not yet available. While these data are not old, the pandemic was consequential for human services workers in ways that we cannot capture well here but are noted often elsewhere (see, for example, Magruder et al 2022). We think the core findings of the market analysis would be consistent if this study was replicated with post-peak-pandemic data, but we cannot rule out the possibility of different findings. See Appendix 3 for additional discussion of limitations of the data

and analytic approaches used in the market analysis.

Current inflation levels limit the durability of specific findings. After years of annual inflation of less than three percent, inflation has recently more than doubled. The Bureau of Labor Statistics calculates inflation every two months. As of December 2022 (the most recent available data as of this writing), annual inflation for the Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue area was estimated at 8.4% (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2023). High and ongoing inflation means that the nominal (dollar amount) figures in this report will quickly become outdated. High inflation should not affect our estimates of the wage gaps, as all workers in the economy are subject to inflation. However, inflation – especially the current inflation which is particularly high for food and energy costs – disproportionately affects lower-paid households because such households spend more of their income on core expenses. As far as the larger goal of creating more financially viable careers for non-profit human services workers, high inflation poses a real-world threat beyond its effects on the logic of this study's conclusions.

The job evaluation is based on a small sample and does not cover all human services jobs. By design, the job evaluation analysis focused on a small number of benchmark human services jobs that spanned different skill, responsibility and pay levels.[12] To achieve the study goal of comparing across different jobs in different sectors and industries, we prioritized gathering highly systematized and granular information on a small set of jobs in both the non-profit human services sector and in other industries. This strategy allowed for ranking and thereby direct comparisons across different industries and sectors, but we did not examine all jobs within the human services industry. For this reason, as noted below, we recommend that a pay scale policy be based on a complete job evaluation process covering all jobs within the sector.

These limitations are worth noting, and the results presented may not reflect very recent changes in wages brought about by the pandemic or recent increases in inflation [although more recent data suggest wages remain depressed for human services workers. See 501 Commons 2021].

Despite any limitations in the individual pieces of the project, the convergence of findings speaks to the overall credibility of this work. Because of the complexity of the study questions, we approached the study from multiple angles, triangulating across different sources of data, from detailed first-person interviews (the job evaluation data) to analyzing the full population of over a million King County workers covered by the state Unemployment Insurance system (the market analysis data). Our central findings are consistent across these different data sources. Moreover, we were cautious in making decisions regarding analysis strategies, and we report conservative estimates in this summary report.[13]

---

[12] The public Request for Qualifications that established this study outlined the strategy of extrapolating from a small set of "benchmark" jobs, defined as jobs "that [have] a relatively standard and consistent set of responsibilities from one organization to another" (City of Seattle 2022). While this idea guided our selection of human services interviewees for the job evaluation, the data instead showed a broad range of job duties within the same or similar titles. Hence our results can confirm the direction and magnitude of the wage gap found in the market analysis but cannot, as hoped, be used as the basis for a broader salary structure. Recommendation 6 proposes a way forward.

[13] For instance, the gap in median annual salaries between human services and non-care industries reported from the market analysis is 38%. Had we included part-time workers in this estimate and our other analyses, the gaps would have been higher: 45%. Similarly, in reporting wages alongside job evaluation scores, we used area salary medians from survey data rather than the actual salaries paid to our interviewees. Using actual salaries would have shown an even greater disparity. These choices follow standards common within peer-reviewed academic literature and reflect team members' scholarly training and affiliations.

Comparisons

Our key market analysis finding that human services workers are paid at least 30% less than workers in other industries – further validated by the job evaluation – suggest that an increase of more than 43% is required to fully counter the wage penalties faced by human services workers.[14] While this seems like a substantial wage increase, it is within the magnitude of other comparisons. For the purpose of illustration, this section compares the estimates from the current study to two other measures: living wages and public sector wages.

Comparison to living wages/Self Sufficiency Standard

Advocates for "living wages" maintain that workers should be able to afford the basic needs of living in the community in which they work. While this is a different basis for wage increases than the comparable worth approach used here, the use of living wage approaches is widespread enough to warrant a comparison.

We use the University of Washington Center For Women's Welfare's Self-Sufficiency Standard (SSS) as our living wage indicator (Pearce 2020). The Self-Sufficiency Standard uses fine-grained data to calculate the amount of pay that a worker needs to afford basic needs (food, shelter, childcare, transportation) without public assistance. We use figures for one-adult/one-child and two-adult/two-child families to illustrate the pay levels needed to maintain a stable community. The self-sufficiency income level for a Seattle household with a single adult and a preschooler is $69,215 in 2020; in a two-parent household with two children, each adult would need to earn $43,097. After adjusting for inflation, this suggests that non-profit human services Intake Coordinators (one of our benchmark job categories) would need a raise of 9% to be at the self-sufficiency level if they were one of two working parents and a raise of 75% if they were a single parent.[15] Another widely-used living wage estimator, the MIT Living Wage calculator, gives slightly higher figures than the SSS, meaning that even larger raises would be needed (Glasmeier 2022). Overall, the wage increases implied by the current analysis would get some - but not all – workers to a living wage level.

Comparisons to public sector wages

While not all non-profit human services jobs have parallels in the public sector, some do. As noted by others, public sector wages tend to be higher than wages in the non-profit sector (Non-profit Association of Washington 2022). The difference between non-profit sector and public sector jobs may be comparable to the wage increase implied by our findings. For instance, the King County Nonprofit Wage & Benefits survey estimates that the median salary for the title "Program coordinator, Social Services/ Mental Health" in 2022 is $57,468 (based on 2021 figure of $55,794 plus reported median annual increase of 3%). The City of Seattle 2022 salary schedule for "Human Services Coordinator" range is $68,931-$80,226 ($33.14-$38.57 per hour), which is 20%-40% higher than the non-profit median (Seattle Department of Human Resources, 2022). The City's "Assistant Human Services Coordinator" salary schedule is $60,382-$70,262, which is 5%-22% higher than the non-profit median pay for the "Coordinator" position. Not all non-profit human services jobs have parallels in the public sector, and we did not systematically track all possible parallels. However, for this example, the wage gap found in the current study's market analysis is of the same magnitude as the difference between these two comparable jobs.

---

[14] Because of the asymmetry of percentages, closing a 30% wage gap requires a 42.9% wage increase in the lower wage. To illustrate this, consider a worker paid $70,000 (worker A) and a worker paid $100,000 (worker B). Worker A is paid 30% less than worker B. For them to be paid the same, worker A would require a 42.9% wage increase (30,000 ÷ 70,000 = .429).

[15] The 2020 figures were adjusted for inflation using June-to-June figures for the Consumer Price Index for Urban consumers (CPI-U) (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2022). The CPI-U likely under-estimates the true local increase in costs over 2020 since housing costs were accelerated faster during this time-period in the Seattle metro area than in the nation as a whole. The full Self-Sufficiency Standard methodology would account for increases in all the essential expenses, but the 2020 report is the most recent available as of this report writing.

Conclusion and Recommendations

CONCLUSION: Achieving wage equity for workers at non-profit human services organizations requires substantially increasing wage rates.

Based on strong and consistent evidence that workers at non-profit human services organizations are underpaid, we recommend that these organizations and their funders work together to increase wages for human services employees.

We have seven specific recommendations about a path toward wage equity.

Recommendations 1-4 are short-term, and we believe they can be achieved by 2025; recommendations 5-7 are longer-term, and we suggest aiming to implement those by 2030.

By 2025:

RECOMMENDATION 1. Raise real wage rates by a minimum of 7% for non-profit human services workers in the near term.

Non-profit human services organizations and their governmental and non-governmental funders should increase human services workers' compensation by at least 7%, beginning in the next one to two years, while concurrently exploring how to design and implement a comprehensive overhaul of pay scales for the entire sector over the longer-term. This increase should be a real raise, net of inflation, which we address in the next recommendation.

Rationale: The longstanding wage disparities noted in this report date back at least to the early 2000s. Further, the gap between non-profit wages and the cost of living in Seattle and King County has grown substantially over the past 20 plus years. We recommend a short-term simplified pay increase because developing, funding, and implementing a comprehensive salary equity process will require several years. The 7% differential is based on the most conservative estimate in the market analysis, the multivariate analysis of the sub-set of workers who changed jobs, including those who left human services work. We believe this amount represents a starting point for the minimum increase needed immediately to reduce the number of workers leaving human services posts for significantly higher paying jobs in other industries. As noted below, future wage increases of a 7% or similar magnitude will be needed for several years to substantially counter the full 30%+ wage gap identified in this study's market analysis.

RECOMMENDATION 2. Make adjustments for inflation separate from equity adjustments and build in future inflation adjustments.

Calculate wage increases to address pay inequity in addition to annual inflation adjustments.

Rationale: Inflation, the general increase of prices within the economy, causes the value of a nominal (dollar amount) wage to decline in terms of buying power. Wage adjustments to match inflation and wage adjustments for pay inequity are different issues and should be addressed separately.

RECOMMENDATION 3. Maintain or improve non-wage benefits and job characteristics throughout the wage equity increase process.

Employers should commit to at a minimum maintaining their current non-wage benefit levels,

including health insurance quality and cost to employees, retirement contributions, paid time off, training benefits, and others. Furthermore, employers should ensure that the intensity of job demands do not increase because of a wage increase.

Rationale: Salary increases should not come at the cost of workers' benefits or job conditions. Wage increases need to be instituted in a way that makes workers practically better off. Decreasing the generosity of fringe benefits or increasing job demands to increase salaries will erode the value of any increase in pay and make it meaningless. When there are job vacancies, organizations will need to resist the pressures and expectations to maintain the same level of client service with a reduced workforce.

RECOMMENDATION 4. Consider wage increases as a necessary part of ongoing racial and gender equity work in the City of Seattle and King County.

Public agencies and non-profit organizations need to include wage equity – in addition to equal pay – as an action step within their anti-racism, gender equity, and diversity-equity-inclusion (DEI) plans.

Rationale: While organizations legally must make sure that they are paying women, persons of color, and other protected groups equivalently for the same jobs, equal pay measures alone are insufficient to achieving racial and gender equity. Race and gender discrimination shape the wage differentials between non-profit human services and other jobs in several interrelated ways. First, historic associations between care work and women – and women of color, in particular – established lower pay levels for any work that involves directly caring for others. Second, historic patterns of occupational segregation, in which women and persons of color were excluded from some jobs in the economy and over-represented in non-profit human services jobs, also suppressed the pay. These historic forces create a path-dependence that persists regardless of the characteristics of the current workforce. Additionally, non-profit human services jobholders continue to be disproportionately women and people of color, demographic groups who are paid less throughout the economy. These current workforce demographics limit potential upward pressure on wages, further perpetuating prevalent and longstanding inequities. Organizational commitments to DEI work that do not address wage equity are hence incomplete.

By 2030:

RECOMMENDATION 5. Substantially increase wages for non-profit human services workers to align with those of workers doing comparable work in other sectors and industries.

Non-profit human services organizations and their funders should commit to a substantial increase in worker pay over the next five years. One possible approach would be to continue the 7% increases recommended above for five years. With compounding, that would yield a 40% raise from current salary levels.[16]

Rationale: While establishing a specific pay raise amount is necessarily a political task, the analysis in this report yields what we believe is a useful range of estimates of the magnitude of the current

[16] Note that wage increases may trigger "benefit cliff" losses of publicly funded health coverage or child care supplements for some lower-paid workers with dependent children. Childcare program leaders brought this issue to our attention in the context of this report, although it is a longstanding recognized problem in our country's safety net (see, for example, Romich 2006). Such conditions arise in the context of means-tested (as opposed to universal) childcare and health insurance provision. While a full consideration of benefit cliffs is beyond the scope of this report, we note that employers who believe this is an issue for their employees may need to adapt compensation structures and employee work hours to avoid benefit cliffs in the short run.

underpayment. Market analysis estimates show that human services employees, particularly those at non-profit organizations) in Seattle and Washington state are paid 30% - 37% less than workers with similar job responsibilities and training requirements in non-care industries; wage increases of 43-59% would be needed to fully close this market wage gap. Increasing wages by more than 40% would most fully recognize the demands, complexity, and conditions of non-profit human services work. Not increasing wages substantially and systematically equates to ignoring the most basic and severe inequities and further perpetuating the structural racial and gender inequities affecting this sector.

RECOMMENDATION 6. Create a salary grade system and establish minimum pay standards based on job characteristics.

Human services organizations should develop a broad salary grade system linking minimum salary requirements with job characteristics including a job's knowledge and skills required, initiative and independence, effort, responsibilities, and environmental demands.

Rationale: Currently, fewer than half of non-profit organizations in King County use salary grade systems (501 Commons, 2021). Our job evaluation analysis revealed wide differences within job titles between organizations. To avoid having requirements "creep" up within a given job and pay level [and to allow for implementation and monitoring of a more equitable pay scale], we recommend a salary grade system to which organizations can peg their compensation levels. The job evaluation recommendation from the City of Seattle Gender Equity Task Force might provide a helpful starting point for this work (Gender Equity in Pay Taskforce 2014).

Attention must be paid to make sure the job evaluation method used has been designed to fully capture care-related tasks.[17] This is particularly important because the non-profit human services sector includes both human services occupations such as case managers, who are subject to all wage penalties noted above, as well as non-human services occupations, such as human resources specialists or information technology staff members, whose compensation is currently closer to levels found in other industries. Hence an across-the-board increase without a full salary grade system will not address within-sector inequities.

The range of types of work and different sizes of organizations in the non-profit human services sector means that this grading system will need to have considerable flexibility. Rather than aiming for a salary system that covers all jobs, as is the case in collective bargaining contracts or public sector plans, non-profit human services employers and workers might be better served by a general scale with several broad tiers linking job characteristics to minimum pay levels. The job evaluation tool used in this study could be used as a starting point for that work. Once a salary grade system based on job characteristics is developed and implemented, the rating scale could be publicized with information about scoring to allow workers to self-assess whether their job responsibilities match their pay level.

RECOMMENDATION 7. Use public contracts to further wage equity.

City and county contracts for human services work should make sure that public contracts do not reinforce wage inequities in the economy as a whole. To avoid decreasing prevailing wages in

[17] The study team gratefully acknowledges the input from leaders and workers at non-profit human services organizations that helped refine this recommendation.

more powerful industries, this means that government should adequately fund human services contracts so that employee wage levels do not fall below similar local jobs in the public sector.

Rationale: Our analysis shows that King County, including the City of Seattle, relies particularly heavily on non-profit organizations to deliver human services. This is significant because public sector pay rates are higher. Moreover, our job evaluation included several workers who also work for firms that obtain public contracts, including construction laborers and managers. In this male-dominated industry, workers at these contracting firms out-earn public sector employees. Insofar as public contracting rules allow some industries to pay sub-public sector wages and other industries to pay wages above the public sector, the existing gender and racial inequities caused by occupational segregation will be maintained. We recommend that the local governments, at a minimum, start collecting gender, race, and salary information for all sub-contractors and analyze the data for disparities across the full set of public-funded work.

Table 4. Steps for implementing the recommendations, by sector and timescale

By 2025			
Recommendation	**Steps for government**	**Steps for non-governmental funders**	**Steps for non-profit organizations**
1. Raise real wage rates by a minimum of 7% for non-profit human services workers in the near term.	Build an across-the-board wage increase into funding contracts as soon as possible. Plan for several years of similar wage increases.	Increase grants to provide for an across-the-board wage increase. Plan for several years of similar wage increases.	Pass through significant increases in funding fully to employee pay and benefit packages.
2. Make necessary adjustments for inflation separately from equity raises and build in future inflation adjustments.	Establish – if needed – and follow laws requiring inflation adjustments to match inflation for all human services contracts.	Include inflation increases grant agreements with non-profit human services providers.	Design and implement two-part salary adjustment policies that include performance adjustments as separate from inflation adjustments.
3. Maintain or improve non-wage benefits and job characteristics throughout the wage equity increase process.	Provide for adequate fringe benefit costs in funding levels.	Provide for adequate fringe benefit costs in funding levels.	Avoid cutting benefits or increasing job responsibilities as a mechanism for absorbing pay scale increases.
4. Consider wage increases as a necessary part of racial and gender equity work in the City of Seattle and King County.	Review and amend DEI and other strategic plans.	Examine how funding practices and contracting rules affect wages.	Review and amend DEI and other strategic plans.

By 2030			
Recommendation	**Steps for government**	**Steps for non-governmental funders**	**Steps for non-profit organizations**
5. Substantially increase wages for non-profit human services workers to align with those of workers doing comparable work in other sectors and industries	Adjust budgets to fund increased wages. Require that contractors pass along increased funding to workers.	Adjust budgets to fund increased wages.	Raise pay standards and dedicate additional funding to increasing worker compensation.
6. Create a salary grade system and establish minimum pay standards based on job characteristics.	Help create a set of job categories that organizations could draw upon when applying for funding. Eventually include adherence to the regional salary grade system as a contracting requirement.	Provide technical assistance to organizations (especially small ones) to create a salary grade system. Consider funding a public-facing salary grade information effort.	Work with existing coalitions, like the Seattle Human Services Coalition to come up with standard job categories
7. Use public contracts to further wage equity.	Examine how funding practices and contracting rules affect wages. Develop an occupational segregation analysis to determine how there may be disparities between contracts to human services non-profits and private contractors within the city's contracting practices.	Support non-profit human services staffing models that benchmark salaries to public sector.	Benchmark salaries to public sector salaries.

References

501 Commons. 2021. *Putting People First: King County Nonprofit Wage & Benefits Survey*. https://www.501commons.org/resources/putting-people-first/king-county-nonprofit-wage-benefits-survey-report

Bertrand, Marianne, and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2004. "Are Emily and Greg More Employable Than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination." *American Economic Review 94* (4): 991–1013. https://doi.org/10.1257/0002828042002561.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. n.d. "Consumer Price Index, Seattle Area — October 2022 : Western Information Office : U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics." Accessed January 7, 2023. https://www.bls.gov/regions/west/news-release/consumerpriceindex_seattle.htm.

City of Seattle. 2022. "Seattle and King County Comparable Worth Wage Analysis of Human Services Work." #RFQ-HSD-05-03-2022. Human Services Department.

Cunningham, Ian, Donna Baines, and John Shields. 2017. ""You've Just Cursed Us": Precarity, Austerity and Worker's Participation in the Non-Profit Social Services." *Relations Industrielles/Industrial Relations 72* (2): 370-393.

England, Paula. 1999. "The Case for Comparable Worth." *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance 39* (5): 743–55, https://doi.org/10.1016/S1062-9769(99)00026-5.

Equality Act 2010. 2010. UK Public General Acts. Vol. 2010 c 15. Statute Law Database. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents.

Folbre, Nancy, Leila Gautham, and Kristin Smith. 2023. "Gender Inequality, Bargaining, and Pay in Care Services in the United States." *ILR Review 76* (1): 86–111. https://doi.org/10.1177/00197939221091157.

Gender Equity in Pay Taskforce. 2014. *Gender Equity in Pay at the City of Seattle*. https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/CivilRights/Gender-Equity-In-Pay-Task-Force-Report.pdf.

Glasmeier, Amy K. 2022. "Living Wage Calculator - Living Wage Calculation for Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA." 2022. https://livingwage.mit.edu/metros/42660.

Greenstone, Scott. 2021. "Seattle Homelessness Nonprofits Struggle to Hire, Complicating Plans to Expand Shelters and Housing." *The Seattle Times*, 7 Sept. https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/homeless/seattle-homelessness-nonprofits-struggle-to-hire-complicating-plans-to-expand-shelters-and-housing/.

Leighninger, Leslie. 2001. "When Social Workers and Unions Allied in the 1930s." *Journal of Progressive Human Services 11*(2): 103-112.

Local Government Association. 2022. Local government terms and conditions (Green book). London, UK. https://www.local.gov.uk/local-government-terms-and-conditions-green-book.

Magruder, Lisa Langenderfer, Dina Wilke, Melissa Radey, Michae Cain, and Anna Yelick, 2022. "COVID-19's Social Ecological Impacts on Health and Human Services Worker Well-being." *Social Work in Public Health 37*: 233–243. https://doi.org/10.1080/19371918.2021.1997864

Minnesota Legislative Office on the Economic Status of Women. 2016. *Pay Equity: The Minnesota Experience* (Sixth Edition). St. Paul, MN.

National Council of Nonprofits. 2021. "The Scope and Impact of Nonprofit Workforce Shortages, " December 13. https://www.councilofnonprofits.org/sites/default/files/documents/nonprofitworkforce-shortages-report.pdf

National Women's Law Center, 2020. *Progress in the States for Equal Pay.* Washington, DC.

Patrick, Anna. 2022. "King County Wants to Add Homeless Housing While Many of Its Buildings Are Still Empty." *The Seattle Times*, September 29. https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/homeless/king-county-wants-to-add-homeless-housing-while-many-buildings-are-still-empty/.

Pearce, Diana. 2020. "Self-Sufficiency Standard: Washington." Center for Women's Welfare, University of Washington School of Social Work. https://selfsufficiencystandard.org/washington/.

Romich, Jennifer L. 2006. "Difficult Calculations: Low-Income Workers and Marginal Tax Rates." *Social Service Review 80* (1): 27–66. https://doi.org/10.1086/499086.

Rosenfeld Jake. 2021. *You're paid what you're worth: and other myths of the modern economy*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Rothchild, Nina, Bonnie Watkins, and Zwemke Faith. 2016. "SUMMARY Pay Equity: The Minnesota Experience." Minnesota Legislative Office on the Economic Status of Women, February, 8.

Seattle Department of Human Resources. 2022. "2022 Salary Schedule and Compensation Plan." City of Seattle. https://www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/HumanResources/Class%20Comp/Salary Schedule-a_127684.pdf.

Small, Mario L., and Devah Pager. 2020. "Sociological Perspectives on Racial Discrimination." *Journal of Economic Perspectives 34* (2): 49–67. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.34.2.49.

Smith, Steve R. and Lipsky, Michael. 1993. *Nonprofits for Hire: The Welfare State in the Age of Contracting*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2022. "CPI Inflation Calculator." U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2022. https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm.

Appendices

Available at https://socialwork.uw.edu/wageequitystudy

Appendix 1. Study personnel

Appendix 2. Overview of the historical and policy context for human services wages

Appendix 3. The relative earnings of human services workers in Washington state, King County, and Seattle: A market analysis

Appendix 4. Human services workers: A job evaluation study

Appendix 1. Study Personnel

Core Coordinating Team – University of Washington (UW)

Shannon Harper, MA is the Deputy Director at the West Coast Poverty Center.

Jennie Romich, PhD is Professor of Social Welfare at the University of Washington and Director of the West Coast Poverty Center.

Nicole Sadow-Hasenberg, MPH is the Communications Manager at Partners for Our Children and an Affiliate Instructor in the School of Public Health at the UW.

Emiko Tajima, PhD is an Associate Professor at the University of Washington School of Social Work. She is the Executive Director of Partners for Our Children, a research and policy center at the UW.

Job Analysis Team

Ariane Hegewisch, M.Phil is Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Women's Policy Research and Scholar in Residence at American University.

Nicole Vallestero-Keenan, MSW is an independent researcher with a master's degree in Social Work focused on Policy and Community Centered Integrative Practice from the University of Washington. Keenan has 15 years' experience with area nonprofits in labor standards, racial equity, and economic policy.

Heather Wakefield, MSW is a Visiting fellow at the University of Greenwich in the Work and Employment Research Unit and a member of the Work and Equalities Institute at the University of Manchester. She is Chair of Trustees at Maternity Action and was Head of Local Government at the public service union UNISON for 20 years.

Market Analysis Team

Nancy Folbre, PhD is Professor emerita of Economics at the University of Massachusetts Amherst and Director of the Program on Gender and Care Work at the Political Economy Research Institute. She has conducted extensive research on the economics of paid and unpaid care work. For more information see her website and blog, Care Talk, at https://blogs.umass.edu/folbre/

Leila Gautham, PhD is an Assistant Professor at the Economics Department at the University of Leeds. In 2020 Gautham received the Mariam K. Chamberlain Dissertation Award from the International Center for Research on Women, as well as the Dean's Dissertation Fellowship from the University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Kristin Smith, MPH, PhD is a Visiting Associate Professor of Sociology at Dartmouth College and Director of the Rockefeller Center Policy Research Shop.

Policy Analysis Team

Kim England, PhD is a Professor in the Department of Geography and Harry Bridges Endowed Chair in Labor Studies Emerita at the University of Washington. Additionally, England is an affiliate of the Canadian Studies Center (Jackson School of International Studies), the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies & the West Coast Poverty Center.

Chrishana Lloyd, MSW, PhD is the Sole Proprietor of Myles Ahead, LLC, a social science research consulting firm and a Research Scholar at Child Trends, a research organization focused on strengthening the lives of children and youth. In her role at Child Trends she leads studies focused on human service provision and early care and education with a particular focus on the workforce. She is also the Co-Director of Research for the federally funded National Early Care and Education Workforce Center.

Pay Equity Analysis Steering Committee

- **Randy Albelda,** University of Massachusetts - Boston (retired)
- **Anthony Austin,** Southeast Youth & Family Services
- **Karina Bull**, Seattle City Council Central Staff
- **Christena Coutsoubos**, Seattle City Councilmember Herbold's Office
- **Steve Daschle**, Southwest Youth and Family Services
- **Teena Ellison**, Compass Housing Alliance
- **Susan Yang**, Denise Louie Center
- **Marilyn Watkins**, Economic Opportunity Institute (retired)
- **Julia Sterkovsky**, Seattle Human Services Coalition (retired)
- **Jason Austen**, Seattle Human Services Coalition
- **Tree Willard**, Seattle Human Services Coalition

Worker Review Panel

- **Rachel Mina**, Hunger Intervention Project
- **Jordan Rubin**, Solid Ground
- **Mikhail Tatrin,** Southwest Youth & Family Services
- **Anonymous**

Appendix 2. Overview of the Historical and Policy Context for Human Services Wages

by Kim England and Chrishana Lloyd

Summary: Despite the progress made in addressing the exclusion of women and minoritized and marginalized[1] populations through policy and other mechanisms, today's labor market still shows traces of some of the inequities that existed a hundred years ago. These structural inequities shape the experiences of individual workers and are also visible in the relative pay and status of groups of workers across sectors and industries. Non-profit human services workers face a number of intersecting 'penalties' that depress their wages relative to workers in other sectors and industries. In this Appendix, we examine these wage penalties by linking them to the historical and policy context within which they emerged and persist. One lesson we can draw from this history is that policies aimed at ensuring fair and comparable wages will need to be intentional and creative to fully address these inequities.

[1] "Minoritized" highlights the fact that minority status (devaluing of culturally, ethnically, or racially distinct groups that coexist but are considered by more dominant and powerful groups as subordinate) is actively and intentionally imposed upon people. Importantly, this status is often not illustrative of a minoritized individual or group's perceptions or sense of agency and power they have of themselves. Also notable is that minoritized status does not necessarily correlate to the size of the group but does correlate to having less influence and power. "Marginalized" refers to groups that have been historically and intentionally excluded from, and lack access to social, economic, educational, and/or cultural opportunities. These groups may be excluded because of race, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, physical ability, language, mental health, immigration status and/or other characteristics.

Introduction

An extensive literature points to the existence (and persistence) of wage penalties in care jobs in the United States. Care jobs encompass human services jobs and include jobs in other industries, such as education and health care. The concept of a care penalty emerged from feminist campaigns around equal pay and comparable worth.[2] Applying these ideas to the non-profit human services sector suggests a series of intersecting penalties that depress wages for non-profit human services workers as a group.[3] These include penalties related to:

- The overrepresentation of **women** among human services workers and the fact that earnings are lower in female-dominated occupations relative to male-documented occupations;
- The overrepresentation of **workers of color** among human services workers and the devaluation of work done by people of color, as well as the impacts of ongoing discrimination in employment;
- The devaluation of **caring labor** in general;
- Lower pay for **non-profit sector** workers relative to their counterparts in the for-profit and public sectors; and
- A relative **lack of power** as human services workers and their clients struggle to garner broad political or popular support.

The relative impacts of each of these factors on wage levels in human services have been shaped by policy choices and shifting ideologies over time. These factors are entangled with one another as well as with the history of work, worker power, and the development of the human services sector.[4] Below, we provide examples of how policy choices and changing ideologies over time have affected working conditions and wages for all workers, as well as the scale and contours of the human services sector. In doing so, we provide a historical and policy foundation for these overlapping sets of penalties. We end with some considerations for future policy efforts aimed at addressing these penalties.

[2] Zhao, R. (2020) Are Nonprofits More Equitable than For-Profits? An Estimate of the Gender Pay Gap in the U.S. Human Services Field, *Human Service Organizations: Management, Leadership & Governance*, 44:4, 343-361. Folbre, N. L. Gautham & K. Smith (2021) Essential Workers and Care Penalties in the United States, Feminist Economics, 27:1-2, 173-187.

[3] In this appendix, we are exploring the broad forces shaping wages within the human services industry. The specific mix of these factors that affect the wages of any individual human services worker may vary depending on that worker's characteristics (e.g., a woman of color experiencing penalties related to both race and gender).

[4] These factors are not independent of one another, so we are unable to completely isolate the impacts of any one factor separate from the others.

Historical and policy context for the "penalties" affecting wages in the human services sector

We organized our overview as a series of observations derived from applying a historical lens to issues of work, wages, and the development of the human services industry. There is also an accompanying online timeline that details local and state wage equity legislation: "Wage Equity in Washington State" (available at the website: http://bit.ly/3l9wZFo).

Observation #1: Federal policy choices (and judicial rulings) have shaped working conditions and wages, generally improving workers' rights as well as adding protections against employment discrimination over time.

In the early part of the 20th century, the labor force was dominated by men, though large shares of women of color and women in lower-income households were also active participants. Levels of occupational segregation by gender and by race were high. Women and men of color were shut out of some jobs by formal rules and from many others by informal practices and ideas about what types of work were appropriate for a given race and gender.[5] It was legal to hire or not hire workers based on ascribed characteristics, and workers had few protections about hours, pay, and safety on the job.

Spurred in part by union organizing and by mass unemployment during the Great Depression, major federal legislation began acknowledging and codifying the rights of workers. For instance, the implementation of the **National Labor Relations Act/Wagner Act** (1935) guaranteed private-sector workers the right to organize into unions, participate in collective bargaining, and to strike. In the following decades, union organizing produced wage and benefit gains for the subset of workers who were covered by them.[6] Additional protections and programs were also enacted in this period. The **Fair Labor Standards Act** (1938) established minimum wage requirements and time limits on work (i.e., 40-hour work week with "time-and-a-half" for hours over 40) and prohibited child labor. Through its provisions for unemployment insurance, old-age insurance, and means-tested support for needy families, the 1935 **Social Security Act** began to formalize the federal government's obligation to provide for its citizens' welfare.[7] Although what that commitment means has varied over time, the human services field would grow and professionalize to help meet that obligation.

[5] Kleinberg, S.J. (1999). Women's Employment, 1865–1920. In: Women in the United States, 1830–1945. American History in Depth. Palgrave, London.
[6] Skocpol, T., Finegold, K., & Goldfield, M. (1990). Explaining New Deal labor policy. *The American Political Science Review*, *84*(4), 1297–1315.
[7] U.S. Congress. United States Code: Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. §§ 301- Suppl. 4 1934. Also: Gordon, L. (1994). How we got "welfare": A history of the mistakes of the past. *Social Justice*, *21*(1), 13–16.

In the years following World War II, women entered the workforce in larger numbers, though it remained legal to consider and hire workers of only one gender for a given job and women could still be fired for getting married or pregnant. Workers of color also continued to face significant discrimination. In short, occupational segregation by race and gender remained high.

This norm began to change in the 1960s, in tandem with ideological shifts about the role of women and work, movement toward racial equality, and changes in the size and shape of social and human service safety net programs.[8] Notable changes in the early part of this period including the emergence of public sector unions, a direct result of President Kennedy's **Executive Order 10988** (1962) which gave federal workers the right to bargain; federal legislation prohibiting discrimination via the **Equal Pay Act** (1963) which barred gender-based wage discrimination; and the **Civil Rights Act** (1964), which banned institutional forms of discrimination based on race, sex, religion, and national origin.[9] The safety net expanded again as part of the War on Poverty/Great Society programs, with additional means-tested programs to provide food, cash assistance, and health insurance delivered through a national network of Community Action Agencies.[10]

The decades that followed would see additional protections for other groups of workers, including those with disabilities, older workers, and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) workers, and additional protections are always being considered. While imperfect, a series of federal policies have created a set of basic worker protections at the federal level, and, as will be discussed below, some states and localities have adopted additional measures to protect workers and promote pay equity.

> ***Relationship to wage penalties.*** *The emergence of federal protections for workers and the history of the labor movement illustrate how policy interventions have shaped the labor market context over time. This history also shows how power and political support can help shift policy, as union power and organizing helped win early gains and improvements in working conditions for a broad swath of workers.*

Observation #2: These gains in worker protections have been uneven, with policy choices over time reflecting and shaping the relative value of different types of

[8] Marwick, A. (2005). The cultural revolution of the long sixties: Voices of reaction, protest, and permeation. *The International History Review*, *27*(4), 780–806. Also: History.com Editors. (2018, August 28). *Great society.* History. https://www.history.com/topics/1960s/great-society.

[9] John F. Kennedy, Executive Order 10988—Employee-Management Cooperation in the Federal Service Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/235898. Also: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. "The Equal Pay Act of 1963." The Equal Pay Act of 1963 | U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (eeoc.gov) and Legacies of the War on Poverty (2013). Editors: Martha J. Bailey and Sheldon Danziger, Russell Sage Foundation. And Civil Rights Movement History & Timeline, 1964 (Jan-June) (crmvet.org) - https://www.crmvet.org/tim/timhis64.htm#1964cra64h

[10] The CAA/CAP program has evolved significantly over time, but the funding stream still exists.

work as well as of the work done by different types of people.

While policies have improved working conditions, policy choices have also selected winners and losers by defining to whom the laws will apply and who will be left out. These gains in worker power and worker protections noted above, for example, were not applied equally to all workers and left out many women, Black Americans, and other workers of color. The **Fair Labor Standards Act** excluded agricultural and domestic workers[11] (a strategy to garner Southern support for the bill, a part of the country built on and largely dependent on agricultural and domestic labor) resulting in the exclusion of protections for a disproportionate number of Black Americans and other people of color.[12] The **Social Security Act** excluded work for charitable organizations (largely performed by women) and domestic work (largely performed by Black and other women of color, as well as immigrant women) from qualifying for retirement benefits.[13] These exclusions had material impacts on these workers' economic security and their access to the safety net. The ramifications of these exclusions have accumulated over time in the form of lower wages, poverty in old age, and lower levels of intergenerational wealth. That lawmakers were willing to exclude those groups of workers speaks to the devaluation of their work and their exclusion from political power as well.

The devaluation of women's work and the work of other groups excluded from these protections was not caused solely by these laws. For most women and many men from minoritized groups, the type of work one did was not freely chosen from all options, but rather was prescribed and limited to roles that were not attractive to those men who had other options.[14] Because of their limited power and their perceived lack of need for or right to a breadwinning wage (see, for example, "pin money"[15]), individuals in those jobs could be paid less. The concentration of lower-status workers in a job or industry then reinforces the devaluation of the work.[16]

Although the exclusions are not caused by policy choices, what these exclusions certainly show is whose work and contributions were - and were not - valued by lawmakers: "women's work" and their wages were seen as less important than men's

[11] U.S. Department of Labor (n.d.). Fair Labor Standards Act Advisor. https://webapps.dol.gov/elaws/whd/flsa/screen75.asp

[12] Lloyd, C.M., Carlson, J., Barnett, H., Shaw, S., & Logan, D. (2021). Mary Pauper: A historical exploration of early care and education compensation, policy, and solutions. Child Trends. Also, Nakano Glenn, Evelyn, 2009. *Unequal freedom*. Harvard University Press.

[13] DeWitt, L. (2010). The Decision to Exclude Agricultural and Domestic Workers from the 1935 Social Security Act. Social Security Bulletin, (70) 4. https://www.ssa.gov/policy/docs/ssb/v70n4/v70n4p49.html

[14] Stuart Jamieson, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Labor Unionism in American Agriculture, Bulletin 836 (1945), Smith and Horton, eds. Historical Statistics of Black America

[15] Traflet, J. (2008). Gendered Dollars: Pin Money, Mad Money, and Changing Notions of a Woman's Proper Place. Economics and Business History 26 189-202.

[16] Bremner, Judith B. (1992) "Black Pink Collar Workers: Arduous Journey from Field and Kitchen to Office," The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare: Vol. 19: Iss. 3, Article 2. 7-27. Available at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol19/iss3/2

work and wages, and the wages, welfare, and economic security of minoritized groups were not a priority. By leaving these workers unprotected while protecting others, these policies reinforced the devalued status of these groups.[17]

A historical lens also shows that these ideas about relative value are contested and can change over time. Through proposed legislation, the courts, and attempts to shift collective ideas about gender roles and equality, the women's rights and civil rights movements challenged the status of women and marginalized groups and demanded access to meaningful protections and inclusion, with mixed success. For example, while women were able to win broad support for and access to formal protections for equal pay for equal work, an attempt to reconsider the value of women's work and demand equal pay for equivalent work in the comparable worth movement brought few formal wins.[18]

After numerous attempts to implement **comparable worth** at various levels of government across the country in the 1970s and 1980s, the comparable worth movement lost momentum in the mid-1980s after a Washington state-based legal case. In 1974, the Washington state legislature commissioned a job evaluation study to assess comparable worth in Washington state, followed by a 1982 bill to commit the state to the concept and begin to adjust wages accordingly. The law was challenged in court and overturned by the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, noting that Washington state did not create the market disparity in which jobs held predominately by women might be underpaid and thus there was insufficient proof of discriminatory intent on the part of the state. Following that decision, interest in comparable worth in the U.S. receded, although a comparable worth system was recently implemented in Minnesota state government (see Box 2 in the main report) and activists continued to pursue pay equity efforts.

In addition to drawing attention to the devaluation of work done by women and minoritized groups, there have been more recent calls to address the devaluation of "care work." Caring labor is done largely, but not exclusively, by women and includes work in education and health care in addition to human services. As the analyses in this report and a growing body of literature document, individuals working in caring occupations face measurable wage penalties on top of the penalties attached to feminized occupations as a whole.[19] Among the tropes used to justify the devaluation of caring labor is the idea that care work should be seen as a "labor of love" and that care workers should be valuing nonpecuniary rewards over material gain. Resistance to the idea of valuing care work has been visible in the history of exclusion of caring

[17] Kessler-Harris, A. (2003) *In Pursuit of Equity Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th Century America*, Oxford University Press.
[18] Boris, E. (2019) *Making the Woman Worker: Precarious Labor and the Fight for Global Standards, 1919-2019*, Oxford University Press.
[19] For example, Folbre, N. L. Gautham & K. Smith (2021) Essential Workers and Care Penalties in the United States, Feminist Economics, 27:1-2, 173-187.

professions from employment protections and in debates about changes to employment practices and pay for care workers, such as home care workers.[20]

While the devaluation of the types of skills and knowledge used in care work and in other types of jobs dominated by women may seem immutable, it could be useful to reimagine that devaluation as a matter of framing. As one researcher noted: "Nurse as an occupation tends to be described with stereotypically female attributes, such as social and caring. If the majority of nurses were men, we might use entirely different words to describe the occupation, for example, requiring authority or being physically demanding."[21] This suggestion underscores the contingent nature of how we assign value to occupations and to work done by women– and suggests that there might be room to revisit and shift those ideas.[22]

The COVID-19 pandemic (with the first cases in the U.S. being reported in King County in early 2020) may have prompted this type of shift in understanding across the nation regarding wages and pay for essential workers including female-dominated "pink professions" such as early care and education (ECE). Worker shortages, poor compensation, and high turnover were issues that had been documented in the ECE field for decades.[23] The pandemic, however, brought these issues to the general public's attention, including raising awareness about employment conditions and highlighting the fact that ECE workers often received pay so low that they qualify for and routinely use social/human service supports like welfare, food stamps, and Medicaid.[24] This situation is also similar for human service workers who are often eligible for, and use the very same services they deliver, such as housing, food, and child care assistance.[25] In the short-term, the pandemic has resulted in some one-time bonuses and hazard pay

[20] England, K. & Alcorn, C. (2018) Growing care gaps, shrinking state? Home care workers and the Fair Labor Standards Act *Cambridge Journal of Regions Economy and Society,* 11(3):443-457.

[21] Block, P. (2023) Understanding the self-organization of occupational sex segregation with mobility networks. *Social Networks*.73 (May):42-50.

[22] There are examples of this happening in the labor market when occupations change from being dominated by one gender to being dominated by the other. As one example, computer programmers were originally largely female, but the *perceived* status, value, and complexity of that role increased as men entered the field. The opposite happened when book-keepers shifted from being predominantly men to being predominately women.

[23] For example, the 'Worthy Wages Movement' of the 1990s was a coordinated national network aimed at improving jobs in child care centers, addressing the shortage and high turnover in child care center staff, and pressing for more public investment in early childhood services. As a result of organizing in the state, in 1999, Washington state introduced the Early Childhood Education Career Development Ladder in which child care centers could apply for state funding if they adopted the program's wage ladder. This program was groundbreaking and taken up and adapted by several jurisdictions, but it has now been unfunded for years.

[24] Whitebook, M., McLean, C., Austin, L.J.E., & Edwards, B. (2018). Early Childhood Workforce Index – 2018. Berkeley, CA: Center for the Study of Child Care Employment, University of California, Berkeley. Retrieved from https://cscce.berkeley.edu/topic/early-childhood-workforce-index/2018/.

[25] https://fiscalpolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/15andFunding-Report-Dec2015.pdf. Also: https://humanservicescouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/HSC-Taskforce-Report-Essential-or-Expendable-How-Human-Services-Support-Communities-Through-COVID-19.pdf

for workers, but the extent to which this will translate into lasting wage gains or a more comprehensive change in how these workers are valued remains to be seen.

> ***Relationship to wage penalties.*** *Exclusions from early employment laws reflect the devaluation of work done by women and devaluation of work in which people of color are overrepresented. The low pay for care workers in particular reflects an ongoing resistance to valuing care as a skill to be rewarded by the market.*

Observation #3: The development of and changes in human services safety net programs have shaped the industry, sector, and its workers, and vice versa.

The changing federal policy environment also helped shape the contours of the human services industry and the size and scope of services it provides. From its roots in church-based assistance and the charity movement, the industry has grown, diversified, and professionalized over time as funding increased at the federal, state, and local levels to provide social safety net benefits and services and other community supports.

As noted above, the initial commitments of the federal government with respect to the safety net were far from universal. Notions of "deservingness" limited who was eligible for assistance and what form that assistance would take. As with the gradual extension of employment protections, social and human services coverage was expanded and extended over time. A major expansion came in the mid-1960s when the set of programs and policies known collectively as the Great Society expanded the role of government in human service provision, resulting in significant growth in the industry, as well as a growing number of beneficiaries of safety programs.

Led by President Ronald Reagan (in office: 1981-1989) and fueled by the backlash against gains made by minoritized and marginalized people, the 1980s brought another shift in philosophy about the role of government and the provision of social services, including cutting supports and shifting responsibility away from the public sector. The undercurrent of these cuts tapped into racist ideologies and perceptions that undeserving "welfare queens" (portrayed as indolent, unmarried, Black women with large numbers of children) and others were "gaming the government." [26]

Notably, as human service supports were reduced and the economy weakened, the number of homeless people began growing in the 1980s. This increase in homelessness drove additional growth in the non-profit human service sector as the level of need and the push toward outsourcing service provision both increased. The 1990s saw a continuation of the outsourcing shift. In 1996, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA, also known as welfare reform) marked an end to welfare as an entitlement and increased individual states' autonomy regarding the administration of cash and other services to support the requirement that recipients of

[26] Hancock, Ange-Marie. *The politics of disgust: The public identity of the welfare queen*. NYU Press, 2004.

aid work or look for work. States shifted the way they provided services including increased use of private non-governmental agencies and providers and performance-based metrics to serve families. This trend toward increased reliance on external contracts with non-government providers (both non- and for-profit) is seen as one key factor suppressing wages for human service workers.[27]

The extent, rationale, and approaches for contracting out services varies across geography and level of government (federal, state, and local), as well as over time. In Seattle, for instance, decisions to contract out human services can be understood as facilitating the delivery of supports that are better tailored to community needs and culturally relevant rather than measures to cut costs. Regardless of the reasons however, non-profits nationally report feeling pressured (by funders, including government agencies) to keep costs low which enables their bids for service contracts to remain "competitive." This strategy has resulted in a "low pay, make do, and do without" culture.[28]

These shifts in the size and orientation of the human services industry have come with changes in the workforce. The increase in the sector during the Great Society brought additional support for professionalization and important gains for Black American workers.[29] While federal anti-discriminatory policies mandated equal opportunities for employment and wages for minoritized and marginalized groups, de facto discrimination resulted in continued challenges for Black Americans and other people of color in the private sector. As a result, federal and state level public sector work provided opportunities for Black Americans unable to find work or receive fair compensation in the private/for-profit sector, including in human services. These public sector opportunities have been important to Black Americans for years, providing protection from employment discrimination as well as opportunities for stability and advancement.[30]

The growth of the human services industry created additional opportunities for women, Black workers and other workers from marginalized groups in the non-profit and private sector as well. The overrepresentation of women and workers of color in human services jobs continues today.

[27] Abramovitz, M.and J.R. Zelnick (2022) Structural Racism, Managerialism, and the Future of the Human Services: Rewriting the Rules, *Social Work*, Volume 67, Issue 1, January 2022, Pages 8–16.
[28] Ann Goggins Gregory and Don Howard (2009). The Nonprofit Starvation Cycle. Stanford Social Innovation Review: Fall. https://ssir.org/articles/entry/the_nonprofit_starvation_cycle
[29] Berger, J. (2021) *A New Working Class: The Legacies of Public-Sector Employment in the Civil Rights Movement*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
[30] Madowitz, M., A. Price and C. Weller, C. (2020). Public work provides economic security for black families and communities. *Center for American Progress*.

Workers in the human services industry have faced varying degrees of support and access to labor protections and social insurance over time. As noted, the original Social Security Act excluded work for charitable organizations from qualifying for retirement benefits.[31] Within the industry, there has also been increased professionalization and specialization, with emerging distinctions among workers with respect to the amount of education and certifications required for different jobs.

Over time, the different types of organizations providing these services have also worked to recognize their collective interests and advocate on behalf of their industry as a whole. Collectively, the sector works to bring attention to the importance of their work and to protect funding for services. Locally, the Seattle Human Services Coalition emerged in 1987, initially in response to growing homeless in the city. It brought together other coalitions of service providers who work in the areas of homelessness, child care, youth development, food banks, meal programs, anti-racism and social justice advocacy, community health clinics, gender-based violence, helplines, and senior services with a collective goal to advocate for "public policies that help Seattle residents reach their full potential."

> ***Relationship to wage penalties.*** *Workers in the non-profit sector, including human services workers, tend to earn less than workers in other sectors. This underpayment is driven to some extent by factors related to contracting and pressures from funders. For human services workers, this sector penalty also interacts with the gender penalty, the race penalty, and the care penalty.*

Observation #4: In addition to federal policies, local-level context also matters for workers and for the human services sector.

State and local laws have created an additional patchwork of worker protections and affected working conditions across the country. Washington state and the Seattle region have a long history of innovation and activism around labor and workers' rights, as well as around women's rights and civil rights more broadly. The accompanying online timeline provides a more in-depth exploration of a subset of relevant legislation and events in Washington state history.[32] For example, women in Washington were able to vote for 10 years before they were granted that right federally, and Washington state had adopted a statewide minimum wage in 1913, years before it was required federally.[33] Although the federal **Equal Rights Amendment** (ERA) failed, Washington state also created its own ERA and with bipartisan support, amended the state

[31] DeWitt, L. (2010). The Decision to Exclude Agricultural and Domestic Workers from the 1935 Social Security Act. Social Security Bulletin, (70) 4. https://www.ssa.gov/policy/docs/ssb/v70n4/v70n4p49.html

[32] A link to the interactive website can be found at https://socialwork.uw.edu/wageequitystudy.

[33] Washington's minimum wage law was unenforced for many years beginning in 1921, but was ruled constitutional by the US Supreme Court in 1937 in *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*. Eventually, in 1959, the **Washington Minimum and Hour Act** went into effect, making $1 per hour the minimum wage for most workers, and mandating a 40-hour work week. The law was immediately challenged in court by business owners, but was again deemed to be constitutional.

constitution on March 22, 1973 to include that "Equality of rights and responsibility under the law shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex" (Washington Constitution, Article XXXI, Sec.1). As already noted, the state attempted to implement a program of comparable worth-based wage adjustments for state workers in the early 1980s before the law was invalidated in 1985 by the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. The state is also home to a number of multi-racial labor coalitions, including the first Filipino-led union in the U.S. (the Cannery Workers' and Farm Labors' Union) and others such as the Northwest Labor and Employment Law Office (LELO) and the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance: Seattle Chapter (APALA).

More recent developments have included attempts to recognize the value and contributions of further groups of workers, including those involved in care work. At the state level, in 2002, Washington state's privately employed home care workers who are state-funded won the right to collective bargaining through SEIU 775. This move guaranteed training, while also increasing wages and improving working conditions. At the City level, Seattle passed the landmark Domestic Workers Ordinance in 2018, which provides employment rights to domestic workers (house cleaners, nannies, home care workers and gardeners), who have long been excluded from many of the employment and labor protections enjoyed by other workers.

The state has also recently moved again to address **gender pay discrimination** and to further promote fairness by addressing business practices contributing to income disparities with its Equal Pay and Opportunities Act (EPOA; RCW 49.58.005-110) in 2018 and the amendments in 2019 and 2021. As of January 1, 2023, the EPOA now requires employers to include wage and benefits information in their job postings.

In Seattle, workers are also covered by a minimum wage ordinance, rules against wage theft, secure scheduling protections (for a subset of workers), and access to paid sick and safe leave, all overseen by the City's Office of Labor Standards.

Even with these protections, as housing and other costs have grown, workers in the region have experienced growing pressures related to affordability. The city has also experienced a growing demand for human services, especially related to housing and homelessness. The City of Seattle has increased its investments in human services over time and has a robust ecosystem of human services organizations funded by public and philanthropic sources, but is still experiencing challenges related to staffing, turnover and low wages.

> ***Relationship to wage penalties.*** *State and local-level dynamics show how even within a context in which there is broad support for workers' rights; momentum for improving the conditions of employment, including wages; and attention to previously overlooked groups of workers like care workers, all five pay penalties can still be evident in the structure of human services workers' wages in the region.*

Observation #5: These inequities are durable, which has implications for additional policy efforts to address these penalties.

This overview shows that a long history of discrimination cannot be erased easily or quickly. Even as laws change, some of the dynamics and attitudes related to work and wages persist. Efforts to address the gender wage gap illustrate some of this complexity. Laws banning discrimination in employment and in wages for equal/similar work have failed to eliminate the wage gap.[34] In spite of meaningful progress for women in entering many formerly male-dominated fields,[35] high levels of occupational segregation endure, with men concentrated in higher-paying occupations and women in occupations that pay less because they are associated with women. The stubborn persistence of occupational segregation means that policies requiring "equal pay for the same work" will likely have limited impact because men and women tend to do different work.

Attempts to address pay inequities are likely to fail if they do not address the root causes of the problem they are designed to address. In recognition that laws to date have failed to eliminate the gender wage gap in particular, policymakers are turning to new and old levers to try to interrupt these dynamics. For example, one set of policies relates to salary history and pay transparency. Employers often base salaries for new employees on their previous salaries rather than on a set level for a given position. This can mean that women's wages remain tethered to a lower starting point and men's to a higher one, with cumulative implications throughout their careers. New pay fairness laws, including Washington state's Equal Pay and Opportunities Act, prohibit employers from asking about salary history and/or require employers to post (or otherwise provide) a pay range for jobs with the intention of trying to remove the anchoring effect that can hold down women's wages.

Another set of recent policies relates to monitoring and reporting pay across gender and racial/ethnic groups. For example, a San Francisco ordinance requires organizations with contracts with the City to measure and report pay across gender and racial categories to identify gaps. The scale and the coverage of these laws vary, but both sets of interventions attempt to make visible employment practices that were otherwise often hidden from view.

[34] The protections to prevent discrimination or ensure equal pay for equal work are also being updated over time. The 2009 Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act was a victory, but it also showed the need to strengthen provisions related to equal pay. The repeated inability to pass a national Paycheck Fairness Act, in spite of introducing the bill in multiple Congresses since 1997, may arguably signal a lack of urgency to address ongoing inequity by the federal government and, as with other wage related policies (minimum wage for instance) perhaps it will be individual states that will lead the way.

[35] Men have been less willing to enter jobs traditionally dominated by women. When they do, they tend to be paid more than their female counterparts, and in some instances to get raises and promotions more quickly.

While these sets of interventions address mechanisms that certainly contribute to the ongoing gender wage gap, comparable worth policies most directly address the reality of ongoing occupational sex segregation and challenge the devaluation of the work done by women and marginalized groups. While the comparable worth movement lost momentum in the U.S. in the 1980s, it never went away. Minnesota, for example, has had a comparable worth system in effect in state and local employment for decades. And in 2018, Massachusetts updated its Equal Pay Act to clarify that employers cannot pay employees less than what they pay employees of a different gender for "comparable work" that requires "substantially similar skill, effort, and responsibility, and is performed under similar working conditions."[36]

Other countries also offer valuable lessons. For instance, New Zealand and the United Kingdom have both been using a comparable worth approach to update pay structures for government workers. The experiences of places that have used comparable worth approaches suggest that this approach is not easy or straightforward but can yield gains for women workers.

CONCLUSION

This overview of the policy and historical context contributing to depressing wages for human services workers highlights ways in which each of these penalties were shaped by policy choices over time. Human services workers today (and the care industry more broadly) continue to be affected by a mix of forces which are not limited to the human services sector, but which intersect in a specific way to affect worker pay within the industry. The various penalties discussed in this Appendix overlap in ways that make it difficult to expect pay equity without taking on multiple penalties at once. Using a comparable worth approach combined with increased funding could help address more generally the gendered and racial devaluation of work, occupational segregation, and non-profit sector pay penalties. As with any intervention, however, how policies are designed and implemented will play a key role in their effectiveness. Reforms to eliminate these penalties might not be easy or simple, but the right mix of policies have the potential to help reduce some of the penalties depressing human services workers' wages.

[36] *An Act to Establish Pay Equity* - https://malegislature.gov/Laws/SessionLaws/Acts/2016/Chapter177

Appendix 3. The relative earnings of human services workers in Washington state, King County, and Seattle: A market analysis

by Nancy Folbre, Leila Gautham, and Kristin Smith

Table of Contents

1. Background

While it has long been recognized that human services employees tend to be paid less than their counterparts in other industries and occupations, a closer analysis of factors affecting their relative earnings can help inform efforts to move toward more equitable compensation. This analysis of the relative earnings of human services employees in the state of Washington, the Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue Metropolitan Statistical Area (hereafter called Seattle MSA), King County, and the city of Seattle provides an overview of factors that contribute to undervaluation of human service work, reviews previous empirical research on this issue, and draws on pooled data from the American Community Survey over the 2005-2019 period to compare the earnings of workers with similar educational credentials across both industries and occupations, with attention to cross-sectional differences based on gender, race/ethnicity, and citizenship. Further, the analysis of administrative data for King County allows us to gain purchase on whether workers who leave human services jobs increase their wages as they switch jobs.

Ideally, the entirety of our analysis would be at the most local level of King County. However, given sample size limitations with ACS (for example, we have only 2,624 human service workers for King County in our ACS 2005-2019 sample), we study earnings for workers in human services industries at the level of Washington State. As detailed occupations are typically more granular than broad industry categories, we analyze earnings across specific human services occupations at the national level because sample sizes for Washington state are inadequate. Despite these sample size limitations, the ACS remains a key dataset as it provides state-level representative data that allows us to identify race and gender differences as well as industry and occupation categories.

However, we supplement the Washington state- and national-level ACS analysis with additional analysis of data that pertains to Seattle. First, for the occupational comparisons, we utilize the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics the Occupational Employment and Wage Statistics (OEWS) survey of 2019 for the Seattle MSA. Second, we provide a supplementary analysis of industry pay penalties using administrative data from the Employment Security Department (ESD) containing quarterly wage records from all employers covered by unemployment insurance (UI) in Washington state from 2010 to 2017 to examine wage changes for individuals who switch from jobs in human services to jobs in other sectors.

Human Services Jobs, Earnings and Bargaining Power

Human services jobs are generally characterized as those that help people in need of social services. The Bureau of Labor Statistics does not collect data on workers in this specific category, but points to industries and occupations that fall within it (Moffat 2011). On the industry level, these include “Individual and family services” (Census Industry code 8370), “Community food and housing and emergency services” (Census

Industry code 8380), "Vocational rehabilitation services (Census Industry code 8390) and "Child day care services (Census Industry code 8470). On the occupational level, these include Counselors (Census Occupation code 2000), Social and Human Service Assistants (Census Occupation code 2016), and Social Workers (Census Occupation code 2010), though specific job titles may vary considerably. Many jobs in human services are in public or non-profit institutions. Jobs within human services run the gamut in terms of educational requirements. Women are over-represented at every level with workers of color and immigrants over-represented in lower-paying human services jobs.

Many non-profit human services organizations have expressed concern about staffing shortages and high turnover in the field, exacerbated by the effects of the 2020-21 Covid pandemic and resulting economic shocks. While high levels of stress and burnout are typical, many institutions identified low salaries as a causal factor. Limited access to benefits such as adequate health insurance and retirement is also an issue, one that is difficult to specify empirically since little survey information is available.

Both reductions in service provision and long waiting lists for assistance have become common (National Conference of Nonprofits 2021). Low reimbursement rates in public contracts for non-profit services can make effective responses difficult (Provider's Council et al. 2017). For instance, one Massachusetts survey showed that over 90% of providers relying on state and local funds reported that funding levels did not cover the full cost of services provided (Provider's Council et al. 2017). Concerns regarding insufficient compensation, as well as contracting problems, are emphasized in a recent report by the Non-Profit Association of Washington (2022).

Standard economic theory emphasizes a link between employee compensation and the value of services provided, but also acknowledges factors that can weaken this link, including discriminatory attitudes, cultural norms, institutional factors, and workers' ability to capture and monetize the value of services provided. All these factors influence the relative bargaining power of workers, especially in human services. Women and workers of color have historically experienced discrimination in employment that constricts their opportunities and reduces their bargaining power. Discrimination is also associated with a cultural devaluation of human services workers' particular skills and commitments, making it easier for employers to pay them less.

Two institutional factors that play a particularly important role in wage determination are unionization and type of employer. Almost a century ago, social workers were heavily involved with unions (Leighninger 2001). Today, however, unionization rates among human services workers are low, and fiscal pressures contributing to new management practices have tended to reduce workers' participation in management (Cunningham et al. 2017). Our calculations, based on the Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotations Groups (2003-2019) indicated that only 9% of workers in human

services industries belong to or are covered by a labor union, compared to 14% in other industries.

The most prominent institutional trend, prominent since the 1980s, is increased reliance on public subcontracting to non-profit organizations (Smith and Lipsky 1993; Non-Profit Association of Washington 2022). This shift may well have improved service quality, but it has also put downward pressures on wages. A recent Massachusetts report notes that state employees in human services generally are paid more than their counterparts in non-profits (Provider's Council et al. 2017) and the Non-Profit Association of Washington (2022) makes similar observations.

Significant wage differentials are even more apparent across jobs in different occupations and industries, regardless of both demographic characteristics (such as gender, race, and ethnicity), human capital (such as educational attainment) and institutional structure (such as non-profit employment). Much of this difference may be attributable to the fact that the benefits of care provision are expansive, diffuse, and difficult to measure: They represent public goods that contribute to capabilities with positive "spillover" effects on the economy as a whole. Growing research points to pay penalties in occupations that involve provision of direct care services, such as childcare, elder care, teaching, and many health care jobs (Budig et al. 2019). Evidence also suggests that employment in care service industries (health, education, and social welfare) is associated with significantly lower pay for managers and professionals than business services, where success is more easily denominated in dollar terms (Folbre et al. 2022).

Human services jobs represent a subset of jobs within a larger "care sector" of the economy with a distinctive constituency, generally serving the most economically vulnerable and politically disempowered members of the community. Both public provision and public contracting to non-profit community-based organizations play a particularly important role. These factors likely exacerbate pay penalties associated with employment in care industries, across a variety of occupations with different levels of educational attainment. These penalties are also influenced by the demographic composition of the human services workforce, in which both women and people of color are over-represented relative to other sectors. They are also exacerbated by cultural devaluation of the skills required to effectively deliver human services, as highlighted in comparable worth job evaluation analyses.

In sum, we hypothesize that that workers in human services are vulnerable to several intersecting pay penalties related to their individual and collective bargaining power. They are:

- a gender penalty related to historical and current discrimination & inequality that includes social pressure to specialize in care work and devaluation of caring skills;

- a racial/ethnic penalty related to constricted opportunities for education and employment as well as direct discrimination;
- a care penalty related to provision of care services whose value is difficult to measure and capture;
- a power penalty related to the weak political voice of people in need of public assistance; and
- a non-profit employment penalty related to the institutional structure of public contracting and political incentives to cut costs.

Statistical analysis of data on individual characteristics, individual earnings, and firm-level job information provides an avenue for testing these hypotheses. However existing survey data has significant limitations, including lack of information on some aspects of compensation (such as benefits), working conditions, and poor measurement of many factors, including occupation and employment history. The complexity of possible interactions among different dimensions of bargaining power, combined with the importance of controlling for individual differences in education and working hours, makes estimation challenging. Also, because human services workers are a relatively small component of the overall paid labor force, sample size limitations make it necessary to supplement local with state and federal level estimates.

Nonetheless, in this report we show that the characteristics of employees in human services for King County and the Seattle MSA are similar to those in Washington state, and the U.S. as a whole, and that, in the state, median annual earnings are lower in human services than in care services and other (non-care) jobs at every level of education. The earnings penalty in human services is greater for better-educated workers. Even after controlling for a range of individual and job characteristics, we see a care penalty in Washington state, as well as an additional penalty that is specific to human services. Using administrative data to zoom in on King County and the city of Seattle, we find similar patterns of lower wages in human services: when workers in human services in the city of Seattle change jobs and move to an employer not in human services, their hourly wages a year later increase considerably more compared to those who remain in the same job or change jobs but remain within human services. Both in Seattle MSA and at the national level, workers in selected human services occupations are paid less than occupations in healthcare and finance that have comparable educational requirements and responsibilities. Finally, inequalities in pay by gender, race, and ethnicity are, in general, compounded by pay penalties specific to human service industries and occupations.

Our findings are important for policy makers and program managers. The relatively low pay of human services workers—especially those employed by nonprofit organizations—threatens both the quantity and the quality of the services provided. Staffing shortages reported in many states mean that many community needs go

unmet, with toxic effects on social ecology that likely contribute to increased mortality, drug addiction, mental illness, and crime (Oliver Wyman and SeaChange Capital Partners 2018; NAS 2019). Contracting problems with state agencies exacerbate the problem, with demoralizing consequences for administrators as well as field staff (Boris et al. 2010). An analysis of the effects of the Great Recession in 2008-2009 came to conclusions that remain relevant today:

> *Since over half of human service organizations rely on government as their dominant funding source, a more basic question suggested by the findings is whether it is sound public policy to expect human service providers to provide the nation's social safety net and shoulder the recession's damaging effects without additional resources. The public is largely unaware of the reduction in government funding to nonprofits, basically shielding these government policies from public accountability (Boris et al. 2010:23).*

Our paper is organized as follows: We begin with an explanation of our data, samples, and the underlying considerations of how we selected our sample. Next, we present earnings trend data to situate our study. Using summary statistics, we describe the human services industry and assess the extent of the human services pay penalty. We conduct multivariate regression to measure the pay penalty, controlling for employee and industry characteristics. We then focus on pay differences by gender, and conduct more detailed occupational comparisons, including differences by race, ethnicity, and citizenship. Finally, we conduct a switching analysis to consider whether human services employees gain financially from leaving human services and entering other industries.

2. Data and Methodological Issues

We use three data sets to complete our analysis of earnings discrepancies in human services jobs. First, we analyze the American Community Survey (ACS) to describe the paid human services workforce and to assess the human services pay penalties overall and by sex and occupation. We use the Occupational and Employment Wage Statistics (OEWS) data and the BLS Occupation Outlook Handbook to select comparator occupations within financial industries and healthcare industries to demonstrate wage penalties for specific human services occupations. We select based on education and educational requirements, the description of what is done in the job, and licensing requirements. Finally, to assess the extent and effects of human services job switching in Seattle and King County, we analyze administrative data from the Employment Security Department (ESD). These data sets are described below.

The American Community Survey (ACS) is the largest annual survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. It gathers information previously contained only in the long form of the decennial census, such as educational attainment, ancestry, gender, income, and employment by industry and occupation. In order to obtain adequate sample size for statistical analysis and avoid the impact of the recent Covid-19 pandemic, we pool data

from 2005-2019 for persons ages 18-64 employed in wage and salary work the previous week (excluding the self-employed). For much of the analysis, we restrict our attention to those in full-time, full-year employment (35+ hours/week, 50+ weeks/year) on three different levels: national, Washington state, and Seattle MSA (King, Snohomish, and Pierce counties).

Occupational and Employment Wage Statistics (OEWS) collected by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) produces employment and wage estimates annually for nearly 800 occupations, for the nation as a whole, individual states, and metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. The sampling frame (the list from which establishments to be surveyed are selected) is derived from the list of establishments maintained by State Workforce Agencies (SWAs) for unemployment insurance purposes. Establishments to be surveyed are selected to obtain data from every metropolitan and nonmetropolitan area in every State, across all surveyed industries, and from establishments of varying sizes. This data provides occupational level distributions for earnings in the Seattle MSA but does not include information on gender, race, ethnicity and other personal characteristics.

BLS Occupation Outlook Handbook (OOH) provides data on occupational descriptions, ("What they do"), "Typical entry-level education", "Licensing requirement," and "Required Work Experience in a Related Occupation."

The Employment Security Department (ESD) data are based on quarterly wage records from all employers covered by unemployment insurance (UI) in Washington state from 2000 to 2017. Each wage record consists of the quarterly earnings and work hours of a worker in a given quarter, along with an identifier of the associated employer. (A worker with multiple employers in a quarter has multiple wage records for the quarter.) We also have information on the employer's NAICS (industry) code. The data covers 7,699,646 unique workers (Long, Pelletier, and Romich 2022).

Our ACS sample

To create our ACS sample, we pool the 2005-2019 ACS data, restricted to only those persons who were currently employed in the previous week and between the ages of 18 and 64. We exclude the self-employed to focus on wage and salary workers. In addition, for most of the analysis, we select individuals who work full-time, year-round (35 or more hours per week for 50 weeks or more during the year) (below, we show how many workers in each sector are working full-time and justify the restriction to full-time and full-year (FTFY) workers). While 2020 data are available, we opt to use 2019 as our endpoint due to concerns that COVID may have affected data collection and earnings patterns in 2020.

Earnings (unless otherwise specified) refer to annual earnings throughout this report. We define annual earnings as wages, salary, commissions, bonuses, or tips from all jobs in the last 12 months. Respondents are instructed to report the amount before deductions for taxes, bonds, dues, or other items. We use the CPI-U multiplier available from the Bureau of Labor Statistics to convert earnings to constant 2019 dollars.

We considered several methodological issues when defining our sample, detailed below.

Defining human services and care services industries

Human services workers are defined as workers in the following industries (classified as "Social Assistance" in the Census industry codes):

1. Individual and family services (Census code 8370)
2. Community food and housing, and emergency services (Census code 8380)
3. Vocational rehabilitation services (Census code 8390)
4. Child day care services (Census code 8470)

Based on our previous research on care work (Folbre, Gautham, and Smith 2022), we define a second group of workers in other care industries ("Other care" in shorthand) whom we compare against human services. "Other care" workers include those in Educational Services and Healthcare industries, see Exhibit B for the specific occupations and codes. The remaining industries constitute non-care industries, which are also used as a comparator. Non-care industries are a broad residual category including many heterogenous services (retail, finance and insurance, information, public administration, among others) and non-services (agriculture, mining, and manufacturing).

Geographical and temporal scope

We conduct our analysis at three levels: the national level, Washington state, and the Seattle MSA (contains three counties—King, Snohomish, and Pierce). While King County is the most relevant geographic level for our question, the small sample size (as we explain later) necessarily requires us to supplement local numbers with state- or national-level analysis. We do focus on King County in the component of our analysis that uses the administrative ESD data.

The ACS reports both where (state, county, MSA) the respondent lives and where the respondent's primary workplace was located. For all subsequent ACS analysis, we classify workers based on their workplace rather than their place of residence because our analysis is focused on the job (See Exhibit Table C.1 for worker characteristics in human services based on place of residence.) Unless otherwise stated, ACS individual weights have been used throughout the analysis.

Who are Human Services Workers?

At every geographic level, human services workers represent only about 2% of the paid labor force, and more than 79% are female (See Table 1). King County and Seattle MSA have a lower percentage of workers who are white (64% and 66%, respectively) compared to Washington state (74%), but similar to the national average (67%). The percentage of workers in human services who are black/African American in Seattle and King County (13% in both) is lower than the national average in human services (20%)

but higher than Washington state (8%). Washington state—and especially Seattle MSA and King County—have higher percentages of workers in human services classified as Chinese, Japanese, or "Other Asian/Pacific islander" than the rest of the country. They also have a higher percentage of workers who are not US citizens (12% in King County) compared to the national average (6%). However, the percentage who are Hispanic in King County (9%) is lower than in the rest of the country (16%). (All our terms for race and ethnicity follow Census terminology).

Nearly half of human services employees work in individual and family services and four in ten work in child day care services. The remaining 10% are split between community food and housing, and emergency services and vocational rehabilitation services. Nationally and in Washington state, the public sector employs about 18% of human services workers, and the non-profit and for-profit sectors employ just under 40% and just over 40% of human service workers, respectively. Within King County, however, the non-profit sector employs nearly half of all human services workers (48%) and the public sector employs 10%. Table 1 shows the top four occupational groups within the human services industries: the largest occupational group is childcare workers, followed by social workers, social and community service managers, and community and social service specialists.

Human services workers are an educated group, with about 47% having a bachelor's degree or higher on the national level, and about 61% in King County. In King County, 15% have a master's degree or higher, a higher percentage than human services workers at the national level (though these likely reflect the metropolitan nature of King Country). Educational attainment is similar to that in care industries in general, distinguishing both human services and other care services from non-care industries. In sum, the paid human services workforce is similar across geographic levels, with the exceptions noted above (all statistically significant at the 5% level: see Exhibit Table C.2). Due to the small sample size in the ACS at the MSA and county level, we focus our analysis on Washington state and provide national level analyses in Exhibit tables, noting state and national differences as necessary.

Table 1A. Employment characteristics in human services (pooled 2005-2019)

	National	*Washington state*	*Seattle MSA*	*King County*
All employed (unweighted N)	17815691.0	393148.0	220458.0	145191.0
Employed in human services (unweighted N)	380426.0	8428.0	4196.0	2624.0
Employed in human services (% of total)	2.1	2.2	2.0	1.9
Workers in human services: % that are:				
Women	83.1	82.6	80.4	79.3
White	66.8	73.9	66.4	63.8
Black/African American	20.3	8.1	12.6	13.4
American Indian or Alaska Native	1.1	2.0	1.6	1.4
East Asian	1.5	2.7	4.3	5.3
Other Asian or Pacific Islander	2.7	4.7	6.8	6.8
Not a U.S. citizen	6.4	8.0	10.3	12.0
Not Hispanic	84.0	88.9	91.7	91.0
In detailed industry				
Individual and family services	47.0	49.3	49.8	49.5
Community food and housing, and emergency services	4.3	4.7	5.3	6.0
Vocational rehabilitation services	6.9	5.4	4.6	4.3
Child day care services	41.7	40.7	40.3	40.3
In sector				
For-profit	44.9	42.7	43.8	42.2
Non-profit	36.7	39.1	42.6	48.0
Public	18.3	18.2	13.7	9.8
In occupation				
Social and Community Service Managers	4.4	5.2	5.7	6.4
Social Workers	12.5	10.3	10.7	11.1
Community and Social Service Specialists	1.3	1.1	1.1	0.9
Childcare Workers	15.5	16.5	16.0	14.6
With at least a				
High school degree	92.6	93.1	93.6	94.3
Bachelor's degree	35.1	34.5	40.3	45.4
Master's degree	11.5	11.1	13.1	15.4

Source: 2005-2019 ACS: All currently employed wage and salary workers, ages 18 to 64

Table 1B. Employment characteristics in other care and non-care industries

	Seattle MSA Other Care	*Seattle MSA Non-Care*	*King County Other Care*	*King County Non-Care*
All employed (unweighted N)	220458.0	220458.0	145191.0	145191.0
Employed in industry (unweighted N)	42133.0	174129.0	26588.0	115979.0
Employed in industry (% of total)	18.0	80.0	17.4	80.7
Workers in human services: % that are:				
Women	72.9	38.4	71.0	38.6
White	74.7	73.5	71.6	71.4
Black/African American	6.6	4.8	7.1	4.8
American Indian or Alaska Native	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.6
East Asian	4.5	4.8	5.6	5.9
Other Asian or Pacific Islander	8.1	8.4	9.4	9.6
Not a U.S. citizen	6.6	10.8	7.8	12.8
Not Hispanic	94.7	90.8	94.3	91.0
In detailed industry				
Individual and family services	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Community food and housing, and emergency services	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Vocational rehabilitation services	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Child day care services	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
In sector				
For-profit	38.5	84.1	36.9	86.7
Non-profit	23.3	4.5	25.0	4.8
Public	38.3	11.4	38.1	8.5
In occupation				
Social and Community Service Managers	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3
Social Workers	1.0	0.3	1.0	0.2
Community and Social Service Specialists	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Childcare Workers	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
With at least a				
High school degree	97.7	93.0	97.7	93.5
Bachelor's degree	55.1	37.5	60.0	44.3
Master's degree	27.4	11.1	29.8	13.6

Source: 2005-2019 ACS: All currently employed wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64.

Part-time or part-year employment

In Washington state, human services workers are less likely to work full-time than other care or non-care workers (66%, 73% and 83%, respectively; Table 2). Similarly, a smaller proportion work full-time, year-round (FTFY). These patterns are also apparent at the national level, and in the Seattle MSA, and King County (Exhibit Table D.1). **Within**

human services industries, the incidence of part-time or part-year employment is particularly concentrated in child daycare services (52% of whom are *not* FTFY, for the state of Washington); rates of FTFY employment in the other three industries that constitute human services are around 57-61 percent, similar to figures in other care services.

The higher incidence of part-time, part-year employment in human services poses a problem for our analysis; the ACS does not have a reliable measure of hourly pay: weeks worked are reported in intervals, making it difficult to calculate hourly pay based on annual earnings, weekly hours, and weeks worked annually. We are therefore constrained to using annual earnings. Fewer hours spent in the paid labor force will reduce annual earnings, therefore we restrict our sample to FTFY workers to avoid misleading comparisons due to differences in hours and weeks worked. In regression analyses, we control for usual hours worked to account for variability in hours worked among full-time employees. That said, even among part-time workers, human services have lower earnings than other care services and non-care industries.

Table 2. Full-time vs. part-time employment (Washington state)

	Human services	*Other care*	*Non-care industries*
Percent FT	66	73	83
Percent FTFY	55	61	73
Median earnings (PT)	$10,966	$17,577	$12,669
Median earnings (FT)	$31,399	$50,675	$51,092
Median earnings (FTFY)	$33,995	$52,331	$54,831

Source: Same as Table 1. Full-time defined as 35+ usual hours of paid work per week. Full year defined as 50+ weeks worked in the previous year.

Occupational data

The final methodological consideration is choosing occupational comparisons. We examine data from our national ACS 2005-2019 sample and data from the BLS Occupation Outlook Handbook to assess how well comparison occupations match the selected human services occupations at a more granular level (e.g., Seattle MSA). Specifically, we use 1) highest degree attained from the ACS sample; and 2) national median pay, Description ("What they do"), "Typical entry-level education", Licensing requirement, and "Required Work Experience in a Related Occupation" from the 2021 Occupation Outlook Handbook. We then use wage data from the BLS OEWS 2019 data for Seattle MSA to compare the distribution of annual and hourly wages between human service occupations and the comparison occupations. The OEWS provides occupation level wage distributions for Seattle MSA but fails to disaggregate by gender, race, etc., and we therefore need to supplement the OEWS figures with the ACS.

Administrative ESD data

Unlike the American Community Survey, the ESD data allows us to include part-time employees in this dataset, as we have information on precise work hours for every quarter. Our primary outcome variable is hourly wages, defined as quarterly earnings divided by quarterly work hours. Workers can have multiple employers in a quarter: we therefore report earnings, hours, and wages for workers both at the level of combined jobs and at the level of their primary job (the job in which they spend the most hours in that quarter). We classify the worker's industry as the industry code for their primary job. Human services industries are defined using the same codes as the ACS analysis. For the switching analysis we look only at the worker's primary job. Therefore, each individual worker appears only once in a quarter, yielding unique individual IDs in a particular quarter: this simplifies the switching analysis.

We look at wage records from 2010-2017 given the poor quality of records prior to 2010 (we also run all our results separately for 2010-2015, but differences from 2010-2017 are minimal). We restrict the analysis to King County (and also show results separately for the subset of workers that work in the city of Seattle). We deflate earnings to express in 2019 dollars (using the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers: All Items in Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue WA (CBSA)[1]) to harmonize their interpretation with the ACS and drop the lowest 0.05% of hourly wages as well hourly wages above $500 (this is to minimize the use of data with errors such as data entry mistakes or odd back-payments).

To summarize, the List 1 below provides a shorthand reference for each of the data sources, the temporal and geographical scope of each sample, the purpose to which each data sample has been put, and the main advantages and limitations of the dataset for the purposes of our analysis.

[1] Downloaded from FRED here: https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/CUURA423SA0#0 (Accessed November 7, 2022)

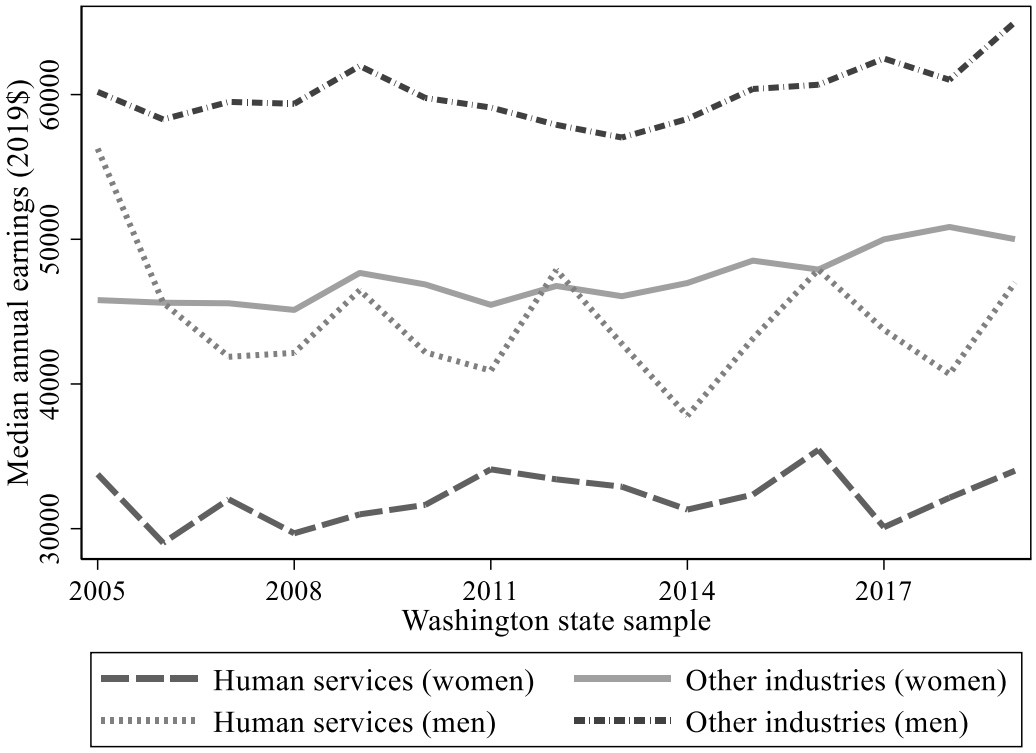
List 1: Data sources, scope, restrictions, advantages, limitations, and use

Dataset	*Scope*	*Other restrictions*	*Advantages*	*Limitations*	*Use*
ACS	WA state, (2005-2019	Full-time, full-year workers	Public use microdata with information on race, gender, ethnicity, occupation, sector, and education.	Sample not large enough for analysis at the level of King County or even Seattle MSA. Lacks information on precise hours of work in the previous year.	Annual earnings penalties in human services industries, disaggregated by race and gender, controlling for individual and job characteristic.
	National (2005-2019)	Full-time, full-year workers			Annual earnings penalties in selected human services occupations, disaggregated by race and gender, controlling for individual and job characteristic.
BLS OOH	National 2021		Information on entry educational and training requirements.	No accompanying microdata	Selection of comparison occupations for human services occupations.
OEWS	Seattle MSA 2019		Fine-grained wage and earnings data for detailed occupations in Seattle MSA.	No accompanying microdata: Cannot disaggregate workers by industry, education, race, gender, or ethnicity.	Earnings and wage penalties in selected human service occupations.
ESD	King County and the city of Seattle, 2010-2017	Drop bottom 0.05% hourly wages and those with hourly wages>$500	Census of all workers (removes sampling error), administrative earnings and hours data (enabling computation of hourly wage), panel information on employer (enabling detection and analysis of job changes).	Lacks direct information on education, race, ethnicity, gender, occupation, and sector.	Wage penalties in human services industries, controlling for unobserved worker characteristic. Wage changes from switching jobs.

3. Human Services Industry Pay Penalties

An overview of trends in median inflation-adjusted earnings from 2005-2019 for Washington state shows that median annual earnings in human services are indeed lower for both women and men in human services industries than in other industries (see Figure 1). Since 2005 median earnings of women employed in human services have been the lowest, hovering just above or below $30,000, while they have declined somewhat for men in human services. In contrast, median earnings of men in all other industries have been twice as high, at $60,000 in 2005 and climbing to $65,000 by 2019. Similar trends are apparent at the national level (See Exhibit Figure E.1).

Figure 1. Median Annual Earnings (in 2019$) by Industry and Gender (Washington state)



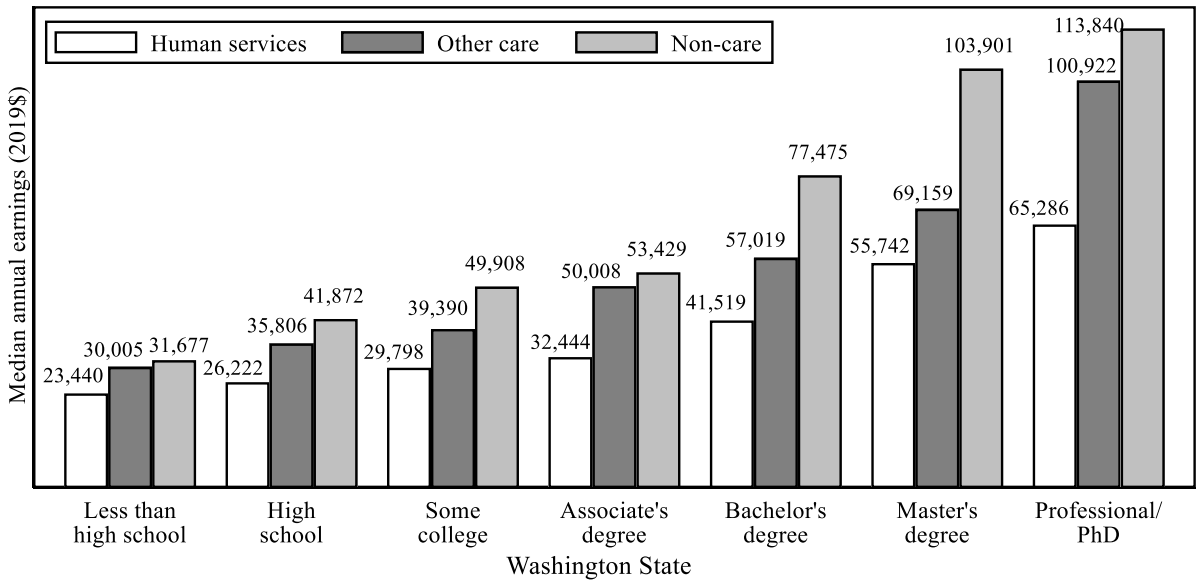
Source: 2005-2019 American Community Survey: All currently employed, full-time full-year wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64. Interpret median earnings for male human services workers in Washington State with caution (observations per year fewer than 100).

These broad national trends invite two further refinements: first, given our interest in situating human services pay penalties in the context of broader penalties to work in care services, we split "other industries" into "other care services" (that is, education and healthcare) and "non-care industries." Second, education level and earnings are closely linked, with earnings increasing as education increases. Thus, it is important to control for educational attainment when comparing earnings across industries. We hypothesize that workers in human services industries are paid less than workers with similar levels

of education in other care industries (a "human services" penalty) and also less than workers with similar education in non-care industries (a "care" penalty).

Median annual earnings in human services are lower than in both other care services and non-care industries, across educational categories, thus we see both a human services penalty and a care penalty (see Figure 2). In Washington state, for example, FTFY workers in human services with a bachelor's degree (but none higher) are paid about $40,000 a year, compared to $53,000 for similarly educated workers in other care services, and $69,000 for similarly educated workers in other industries. A care penalty for workers with bachelor's degree exists (a $16,000 gap for healthcare and education workers compared to workers in other industries), but there is also a specific penalty for human services workers (a $13,000 gap between human services workers and workers in other care industries). Similar patterns are evident for other levels of educational attainment (See Figure 2). Furthermore, the size of the wage gap is larger at higher levels of education.

Figure 2. Median Annual Earnings (in 2019$) by Industry and Education, Washington state



Source: 2005-2019 American Community Survey: All currently employed, full-time full-year wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64.

Lower earnings in human services also hold across time periods, gender, broad occupation groups, Census race and ethnicity categories, and citizenship status (see Table 3 for figures for Washington state, disaggregated by gender). Consistent with other research, women have lower earnings than men across all industries, compounding the pay penalty for women in human services who have the lowest earnings across these groups. Note also that women are paid less than men of the

same racial/ethnic background in almost all categories, and that differences between women in earnings by race and ethnicity are less marked than those between men.

Table 3. Median annual earnings in 2019$ by industry and gender (Washington state)

	Women			*Men*		
	Human services	Other care	Non-care industries	Human services	Other care	Non-care industries
All	32244	48865	46775	43197	61740	60010
Period						
2005-2008	30795	47106	45615	44345	61590	59366
2009-2012	32815	47741	45707	43434	61980	59596
2010-2016	32398	48597	46371	42776	60391	59312
2017-2019	32037	50852	49996	44750	63011	62495
Education						
Less than high school	23746	29049	25917	20941	34101	34372
High school	25342	34372	35558	34021	39970	45615
Some college	29117	38006	42447	35006	45118	54841
Associate's degree	31807	47106	44750	41190	57287	59370
Bachelor's degree	40007	55684	63354	50852	60010	87015
Master's degree	52967	66517	85487	64578	73953	113232
Professional degree/PhD	55698	86395	100121	78510	118624	121948
Selected occupations						
Managers	45468	71968	72012	64940	93758	98713
Professionals	33759	61590	68202	43197	70319	93568
Service	24409	31927	28123	31183	37306	38325
Office and admin	35984	38822	41389	44754	43113	46879
Race						
White	32545	50036	47677	44969	64459	62547
Black/African American	32398	41663	42191	39580	47106	47163
American Indian or Alaska Native	32182	39255	40649	32027	47677	44713
East Asian	34001	60010	59010	49642	78835	84626
Other Asian or Pacific Islander	32545	46329	43197	43194	53903	63354
Ethnicity						
Not Hispanic	32783	50008	48415	44345	62808	64117
Hispanic	29417	37497	30005	39580	48597	36614
Citizenship						
U.S. citizen	32545	49272	47517	44345	62495	61590
Not a U.S. citizen	26461	39847	30727	35159	50008	41556

Source: Same as Table 1. Restricted to FTFY workers

Regression analysis of industry pay penalties

While the descriptive results above clearly suggest that employees in human service industries are paid less than their counterparts in other industries, a multivariate statistical analysis affords a closer comparison which controls for many individual-level differences, such as those based on age, gender, marital status, race, ethnicity, broad occupation, usual hours worked, and region, as well as education. Previous statistical analysis shows that employees in care industries pay a penalty relative to employees with similar observable characteristics (Folbre et al. 2022). Therefore, we look more closely at differences between human services employees, other employees in care services, and employees in other industries estimating the pay penalty when observable individual characteristics are taken into account.

Our OLS regressions control for sector (for profit, non-profit, public), education (7 categories: less than high school; high school; some college; Bachelor's degree; Associate's degree; Master's degree; and Professional degree/PhD), gender, whether married (interacted with gender), whether has an own child in the household (interacted with gender), race (6 categories), Hispanic ethnicity, citizenship, 11 occupation categories, usual hours worked per week (5 categories: 35-<40; 40; 41-45; 46-50; 50+), age in years, year, and for regressions at the national level, we include "dummy" variables for the state in which the workplace is located.

To describe how these covariates play out across broad industry groups: in Washington state, workers in human services have lower levels of education than workers in other care services (for example, only 12% have a master's degree or higher, compared to 24% for other care), but better than non-care industries (only 9% have a master's degree or higher) (Exhibit Table J). They also have lower percentages of workers who are white (75% compared to 81% in other care and 77% in non-care industries) and a higher percentage of workers who are Black/African American and American Indian. The percentage of workers who are classified as Chinese, Japanese, or "Other Asian" are not higher in human services. Seven percent of human services workers are non-citizens, compared to 4% in other care services and 8% in non-care industries; 12% of human services workers are Hispanic compared to only 7% in other care services and 9% in non-care industries.

Importantly, net of the controls, human services workers are paid 35 log points (or 30 percent) less than workers in non-care industries in Washington State (see Exhibit H for the full regression output, and Exhibit Table G for an analysis at the national level). Other care industry workers are paid 11 percent less than non-care industries. Women in human services have higher pay penalties (35 log points or 30 percent) than men (31 log points or 27 percent). Other care workers are paid 11 percent (12 log points) less than workers in non-care industries, with men paying a 17 percent (19 log point) penalty, double women's penalty of 9 percent (9 log points). In terms of sector, non-profit employees are paid 7 log points (7 percent) less than for-profit employees. These

effects are additive, so a worker in a non-profit in the human services is paid 37 percent less than a worker in a for-profit, non-care industry. Men pay a larger non-profit pay penalty than women (16 log points or 15 percent) compared with 2 log points (2 percent), respectively). Public sector employees overall are paid 4 log points (4 percent) less than for profit employees, with women paying a 4 log point (4 percent) penalty, while men pay a 3 log point (3 percent) penalty.

Human services industry pay penalties in Seattle

The administrative ESD data is a census of all employees eligible for unemployment insurance, allowing us to zoom in on workers in King County and the city of Seattle (as we mention in our Data section, we include part-time/part-year employees in this section). Our data covers 3,001,686 distinct workers employed in King County and 1,676,005 in the city of Seattle (with 37,174,720 and 17,856,693 worker-quarter observations each). Workers in human services in both King County and Seattle work more jobs on average than those in other care services and non-care industries (Table 4). Combining hours from all jobs, human services workers have similar hours at the mean and median to workers in other care services, though lower than non-care industries. However, hours at their primary job are much lower (381 at the median, compared to 409 in other care and 480 in non-care industries).

At the median, hourly wages (combining all jobs) for human services workers in King County are $16/hour, considerably lower (by about 44-46 percent) than those for other care workers ($28/hour) and non-care workers ($29/hour): wages for other care workers and non-care workers are similar, though they mask the fact that care workers are, in general, more highly educated than non-care workers (as we see in the ACS data for Washington state). We see similar wage patterns for the city of Seattle, though the wage differential between human services workers and non-care workers is even higher (51 percent rather than 46 percent).

As with the ACS, human services pay penalties appear to be much higher at the top of the distribution than at the bottom: in King County, the hourly wage differential between human services workers and non-care workers is eight percent at the 10th percentile of the wage distribution, but 60 percent at the 90th percentile. The human services pay penalty therefore displays substantial heterogeneity across the wage distribution. Patterns of pay and pay differentials are similar when considering either all jobs combined or just the primary job (this is reassuring, as we consider only the primary job when we proceed with the switching analysis in the section). We also compare (annualized) earnings by industry in the ESD data to the ACS annual earnings for all workers (not excluding part-time or part-year workers), restricting both samples to King County. The similarity in median earnings across the two datasets validates both analyses from both sources. Human service workers in King County have earnings of $26,300 in the ESD data and $27,400 in the ACS sample for King County (2,624 workers).

Median earnings in other care services are $47,400 (ESD) and $47,600 (ACS); for non-care industry workers they are $55,600 (ESD) and $55,100 (ACS).

Table 4. Earnings, hours and wages by broad industry: King County and Seattle, 2010-2017

	King County			*City of Seattle*		
	Human services	Other care	Non-care	Human services	Other care	Non-care
All jobs						
Average jobs/worker	1.19	1.14	1.11	1.18	1.14	1.11
Quarterly earnings						
Mean	7835	14886	18760	8141	16809	19559
Median	6583	11850	13903	6833	12787	15586
P10	1254	2551	2735	1297	3155	3046
P90	14925	27244	38158	15462	30620	38303
Quarterly hours						
Mean	404	398	445	402	418	450
Median	443	443	488	450	472	488
P10	88	114	165	87	133	175
P90	576	562	582	565	565	590
Hourly wages						
Mean	19.7	38.5	40.5	20.3	41.4	42.0
Median	15.7	28.1	29.2	16.0	29.2	32.6
P10	11.4	14.2	12.4	11.6	14.6	13.1
P90	30.7	65.8	76.1	31.9	71.3	75.9
Primary job						
Quarterly earnings						
Mean	6596	13376	17903	7027	15140	18716
Median	5390	10658	13138	5792	11652	14907
P10	552	1159	1418	561	1464	1569
P90	13212	25634	37706	14052	28840	37871
Quarterly hours						
Mean	338	352	412	342	371	419
Median	381	409	480	398	448	480
P10	38	51	81	37	60	87
P90	534	554	566	535	560	573
Hourly wages						
Mean	19.4	38.7	40.4	20.2	42.0	41.9
Median	15.3	27.9	29.2	15.8	29.2	32.5
P10	11.3	14.0	12.1	11.5	14.4	12.8
P90	30.0	66.3	76.3	31.5	72.5	76.1
Worker-quarter observations	893,092	5,017,528	31,264,100	547,906	2,140,122	15,168,665

Source: ESD 2010-2017. The city of Seattle is a subset of King County. 3,001,686 distinct workers employed in King County and 1,676,005 in the city of Seattle.

We also disaggregate by detailed industries within human services industries and find median hourly wages in King County are higher for workers in food, housing, and

emergency services ($19/hour) than for workers in individual and family services, vocational rehabilitation services, and child daycare services (all of whom have median wages around $15-16/hour) (Exhibit Table L.1). Average wages (as well as hours worked), however, are the lowest in child daycare services, driven largely by lower earnings at the top of the distribution.

A multivariate analysis reveals patterns of pay disadvantage for workers in human services industries: Exhibit Table L.2 regresses both quarterly earnings and hourly wages on dummy variables for broad industry (human services and other care industries with non-care industries as the reference), hours worked in the previous quarter, and whether the worker is in a multi-establishment firm (controls for year-quarter are included but not shown), separately for King County and Seattle. At their primary job, human services workers have hourly wages that are 60 log points (or 45 percent) lower compared to workers in non-care services (in both King County and Seattle). The pay penalty for quarterly earnings is much larger (96 log points or 62 percent) but reflects lower hours worked in human services. Controlling for hours worked (and therefore for part-time penalties arising from lower hours worked), **hourly wages in human services are still 53 log points (or 41 percent) lower than non-care industries.**

Adding additional controls for unobserved worker characteristics, reduces the human services penalty: it is still substantial and statistically significant (see Exhibit Table L.3 which controls for worker fixed effects, in addition to year-quarter dummy variables). **At their primary job, human services workers have hourly wages that are 13 log points (or 12 percent) lower compared to workers in non-care industries.** This number is strikingly uniform across specification (with and without controls for hours worked) as well as region (both in King County and the Seattle city subset). Somewhat surprisingly, there does not appear to be a care penalty (separate from a human services penalty): workers in other care services have hourly wages that are 4 log points (or 4 percent) higher compared to workers in non-care industries (controlling for unobserved worker characteristics).

Gains (and losses) from switching away from (and towards) human services

The fixed effects regression (applied above to study wages for workers in King County and Seattle) is a useful benchmark (given its wide use in the labor economics literature), yet it conceals important heterogeneity between workers who shift industries; specifically, it assumes symmetry between workers who shift from human services to non-care industries and workers who shift in the opposite direction. Additionally, it does not distinguish between workers who switch jobs but remain in the same industry and those who do not switch jobs. The administrative data contains unique employer identifiers allowing for a richer and cleaner comparison of changes in earnings for workers switching jobs and industries.

The switching analysis was conducted by dividing all worker-quarter observations in the administrative ESD data in the following way: first, we divide workers based on whether or not they are currently employed in human services. Then, within each group, we divide workers based on whether they remain with their employer in the subsequent quarter, or if they switch employers. We further divide those who switch employers into those who remain within their broad industry (i.e. either human services or non-human services ("non-HS")) and those who switch industries (i.e., either human services to non-human services, or non-human services to human services). We therefore end up with 6 categories of workers:

Workers in non-human services:

1. Stayers in non-human service firms: labelled "Stayer (non-HS)"
2. Switch employers but remain in non-human services: "Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)"
3. Switch to human services employer: "Switcher (non-HS to HS)"

Workers in human services:

4. Stayers in human services: "Stayer (HS)"
5. Switch employers but remain in human services: "Switcher (HS to HS)"
6. Switch to non-human services: "Switcher (HS to non-HS)"

In King County, workers who switch employers appear to have lower wages (before they switch) than those who stay in their job. However, among human services employees who switch jobs, the 44,657 workers who switch to non-human service employers do not appear to be very different (prior to the switch) than the 15,738 workers who remain within human services. To obtain clean comparisons, we compare pay in the quarter preceding the switch to pay in the quarter immediately after the switch, as well as a year later (note that we have sample attrition when we study wages that a worker earns in future periods: for example, we do not observe wages a year into the future for workers who switch jobs, say, in the second quarter of 2017, as our dataset ends in the fourth quarter of 2017).

Workers who do not switch jobs experience similar increases in hourly wages whether they are in human services or other industries (about 5.4-5.7%, when comparing the quarter preceding the current one, to a year after the current quarter). Among those who do switch but remain within the same broad industry category (human services vs. all other), the human services switchers experience smaller wage gains (a 4.8% increase in hourly wages compared to 9.3% for workers in other industries). This inequality, however, is dramatically reversed when it comes to switching out of human services: here, workers who switch employers and leave human services experience a 14% increase in hourly wages, while workers in other industries who move into human

services see only 5.7% increase. Or, putting it differently, for workers in human services, the wage gains associated with switching out of the industry are more than eight percentage points higher compared to staying with the same employer (and nine percentage points higher than changing employers but remaining within human services).

In the city of Seattle, the wage gains associated with switching jobs outside human services are again 14 percent (around eight percentage points higher compared to either staying with the same employer or switching to a different employer in human services).

Table 5. Hourly Wage by Type of Switch, King County and Seattle

	Stayer (HS)	*Switcher (HS to HS)*	*Switcher (HS to non-HS)*	*Stayer (non-HS)*	*Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)*	*Switcher (non-HS to HS)*
King County						
N	682120	15738	44657	29710164	1803980	43962
% of total	2.11%	0.05%	0.14%	91.98%	5.58%	0.14%
Average earnings						
Previous quarter	7681	4298	4534	19167	9262	4818
Current quarter	7462	3152	3160	18885	6696	3752
Next quarter	7540	3363	4287	19079	7331	3356
Next year	8113	5166	6204	20212	11180	5634
Percent change (previous quarter to next year)	5.3%	16.8%	26.9%	5.2%	17.2%	14.5%
Average hourly wages						
Previous quarter	20	17	19	42	28	19
Current quarter	20	17	18	41	29	21
Next quarter	20	17	21	42	29	17
Next year	22	18	22	44	31	20
Percent change (previous quarter to next year)	5.7%	4.8%	14.0%	5.4%	9.3%	5.7%
Seattle						
N	426760	8510	27042	14328422	839069	22123
% of total	2.73%	0.05%	0.17%	91.54%	5.36%	0.14%
Average earnings						
Previous quarter	8069	4518	4775	20130	9469	4897
Current quarter	7881	3379	3418	19837	7048	3738
Next quarter	7956	3538	4316	20032	7525	3485
Next year	8514	5371	6400	21056	11366	5751
Percent change (previous quarter to next year)	5.2%	15.9%	25.4%	4.4%	16.7%	14.8%
Average hourly wages						
Previous quarter	21	18	19	44	29	20
Current quarter	20	17	19	43	30	21
Next quarter	21	18	21	44	30	18
Next year	22	19	22	46	32	21
Percent change (previous quarter to next year)	6.1%	6.3%	14.2%	4.5%	9.1%	5.9%

Source: Same as Table 4. Earnings and hourly wages pertain to the primary job

Exhibit Tables M.1 and M.2 examine wage increases for different types of switchers, controlling for differences between these switchers (such as hours worked, employment

in a multi-establishment firm, or the year-quarter in which the switch occurred). Net of controls, workers in human services in Seattle who switch outside of human services see a 5 log point/percent increase in hourly wages in the quarter after the switch, compared to small wage declines (between 0-2 log point/percent) for those who remain in human services (Exhibit Table M.1, the reference category are non-human service workers who do not change jobs). Equally striking: workers not in human services see an 8 log point/percent decrease in hourly wages when they switch to a human services employer: those who switch jobs but remain outside of human services see no such wage decline.

For workers whose current wages are in the bottom quintile of the wage distribution, human services workers see a 12 log point (or 13 percent) gain (in the next quarter) from switching out, compared to 4 log point/percent gain from switching but staying within human services, and no change when staying with the same employer. As we move to higher wage quintiles, all types of switchers have lower wage gains than employees who do not switch jobs (perhaps because returns to tenure are much higher at the top of the wage distribution than at the bottom): human services workers in the top quintile who do not switch jobs see a one percent increase in wages in the next quarter, but among those who switch, the ones who remain in human services do substantially worse than those who leave. This difference in the wage increase between these two types of switchers (17 percentage points) is much greater than the corresponding difference at the bottom quintile. Similarly, top quintile workers not in human services do much worse when they switch into human services jobs compared to switching jobs but remaining outside of human services.

We observe similar patterns when comparing wages in the previous quarter with wages a year after the switch, with non-human services stayers as the reference category (Exhibit Table M.2). Workers in human services in Seattle who switch outside of human services see a 7 log point/percent increase in hourly wages in the year after the switch, compared to small or no changes for those who remain in human services. Workers not in human services see no change in hourly wages after switching to a human service employer: those who switch jobs but remain outside of human services see a 4 log point/percent increase.

For workers whose current wages are in the bottom quintile of the wage distribution, human services workers see a 7 log point/percent) gain from switching out, compared to a 2 log point/percent gain from switching but staying within human services, and a 3 log point/percent decline when staying with the same employer. At higher wage quintiles, all types of switchers have lower wage gains than employees who do not switch jobs: human services workers in the top quintile who do not switch jobs see a 7 percent decline in wages (compared to the wage increase for stayers outside of human services), but among those who switch, the ones who remain in human services see a 29 log point (25 percent decline) compared to those who leave human services (16 log

points or 15 percent). Similarly, top quintile workers not in human services do much worse when they switch into human services jobs compared to switching jobs but remaining outside of human services.

4. Occupational Penalties

To provide a more detailed occupational picture, we focus on four specific occupations important to human services industries in the Seattle MSA. These occupations also broadly correspond to the more specific job titles selected by the job evaluation team. Their focal job titles are: Case Manager / Social Worker; Program Director / Administrator; Intake Interviewer / Program Coordinator; and Child Care Assistant. We therefore focus on the following specific occupations: Social Workers, Social and Community Service Managers (which include the Program Director job title), Community and Social Service Specialists and Childcare Workers. Due to the coarseness of the Census occupation codes, we are unable to extract Social and Human Services Assistants (which correspond to Intake interviewers/Program coordinators) from the rest.

Community and Social Service Specialists includes the following five detailed SOC occupations:

- 21-1091 Health Educators
- 21-1092 Probation Officers and Correctional Treatment Specialists
- 21-1093 Social and Human Service Assistants
- 21-1094 Community Health Workers
- 21-1099 Community and Social Service Specialists, All Other

Comparison occupations

To provide a more nuanced look at how the human services pay penalty plays out, we compare our selected focal occupations with two similar occupations from other industries (one from finance/banking/business and the other from healthcare). We selected the comparison occupations to approximately match on educational attainment, responsibilities, licensing requirements, and required work experience. Exhibit Table K lists each human services occupation and its comparison occupations with these measures and additionally annual and hourly wages in Seattle for each occupation. We believe this information allows us to isolate human services pay penalties in a more systematic manner.

Despite similar levels of education (actual education in the ACS as well as entry-level education requirements listed in the BLS-OOH), human services occupations in the Seattle MSA region are paid less than comparison occupations in healthcare and finance at the mean, the median and other percentiles.

Consider social and community service managers: they have job descriptions ("coordinate and supervise programs and organizations that support public well-being") involving similar levels of responsibilities to financial managers ("develop plans for the long-term financial goals of their organization") and medical and health services managers ("coordinate the business activities of healthcare providers"). At the national level, they are more likely than managers in either finance or healthcare to have a bachelor's degree or a master's degree. However, they are paid considerably less. In Seattle, according to the OEWS, their average annual wage is more than $50,000 less than managers in health care, and more than $70,000 less than managers in finance. This discrepancy also holds for hourly wages, and for annual and hourly wages across various percentiles (and this, in fact, widens at higher percentiles).

Another example is social workers, a professional occupation within human services industries, who "help people prevent and cope with problems," similarly to dieticians and nutritionists who "conduct nutritional programs to help people lead healthy lives." Accountants, a professional occupation within financial industries, "prepare and examine financial records."

Human services occupations with lower levels of education also see lower pay in comparable occupations in finance and healthcare. Community and social service specialists—those who "provide client services in a variety of fields, such as psychology, rehabilitation, and social work"—are compared to tax preparers (who "prepare tax returns for individuals or small businesses") and dental hygienists ("examine patients for signs of oral diseases, such as gingivitis, and provide preventive care, including oral hygiene"). Entry-level education for all three occupations is an associate's degree; at the national level, while 55-57% of social service specialists and tax preparers have a bachelor's degree, only 36% of dental hygienists do. Yet, annual median wages in Seattle for the latter occupation are $96,900, and $55,820 for tax preparers, but only $39,500 for social service specialists.

In our fourth, and final, occupational set, all three occupations (childcare workers, insurance sales agents, and dental assistants) have the entry-level educational requirement of a high school diploma (or equivalent). Arguably, the job responsibilities of childcare workers ("children's needs while helping to foster early development") are as demanding as those of insurance sales agents ("contact potential customers and sell insurance") or dental assistants ("provide patient care, take x-rays, keep records, and schedule appointments"). Yet, in Seattle, childcare workers are paid $32,860 on average every year, while insurance agents are paid $72,560 (more than double), and dental assistants are paid $48,070.

Occupational earnings in the ACS

We also examine the occupational comparisons using wage data from the ACS, as (unlike the OEWS) it allows us to disaggregate workers in each occupation by race,

gender, citizenship and ethnicity. Here we use national data, rather than data from Washington state (some of the smaller occupations, like Community and Social Service Specialists for example, have fewer than 400 observations for Washington state, making disaggregation by detailed categories difficult).

Despite human services employees consistently earning less than employees in finance and healthcare, some general patterns prevail within occupations across industries. In general, women are paid less than men within occupations. Asian workers consistently have the highest earnings (Japanese, Chinese, followed by other Asian or Pacific Islander), while Black/African Americans and American Indian or Alaska Native workers are paid less within the occupations. Hispanic employees have lower earnings than non-Hispanic employees and U.S. citizens have higher earnings than those who are not citizens.

Table 6. Median annual earnings (2019$) by occupation (National)

	Human services	*Healthcare*	*Finance*
Occupation title	**Human services managers**	**Healthcare managers**	**Finance managers**
All	59596	75013	77475
Gender			
Women	56077	70012	63876
Men	69116	90015	100232
Race			
White	60976	77176	79845
Black/African American	55009	61023	59617
American Indian or Alaska Native	51151	63615	56009
Chinese	68002	95353	104159
Japanese	71515	92436	104703
Other Asian or Pacific Islander	61023	86272	87745
Ethnicity			
Not Hispanic	60139	76278	79915
Hispanic	54999	59228	59312
Citizenship			
U.S. citizen	59596	75140	77176
Not a U.S. citizen	58286	65011	88535
N (unweighted)	40182	74105	140380

Occupation title	Social workers	Dietitians	Accountants
All	45590	52242	65425
Gender			
Women	45118	52302	59366
Men	47493	51229	78510
Race			
White	45832	53997	66734
Black/African American	43879	37503	58553
American Indian or Alaska Native	41206	42743	53121
Chinese	53230	61740	71293
Japanese	56835	70096	71193
Other Asian or Pacific Islander	52079	54999	65620
Ethnicity			
Not Hispanic	45767	53230	66005
Hispanic	44345	43136	57019
Citizenship			
U.S. citizen	45700	52647	65555
Not a U.S. citizen	40962	40040	64115
N (unweighted)	109525	8236	219309

Occupation title	Social service specialists	Dental hygienists	Tax preparers
All	44348	59596	56954
Gender			
Women	42118	59366	50116
Men	49723	65809	67749
Race			
White	45468	59366	59366
Black/African American	42909	53997	44348
American Indian or Alaska Native	40093	45650	45357
Chinese	52079	54841	74617
Japanese	57895	56246	98446
Other Asian or Pacific Islander	51763	74522	65809
Ethnicity			
Not Hispanic	44713	60010	59596
Hispanic	42967	54009	40525
Citizenship			
U.S. citizen	44489	59553	56835
Not a U.S. citizen	41556	61590	58599
N (unweighted)	17041	8515	4679

Occupation title	Childcare workers	Dental assistants	Insurance sales agents
All	22172	33374	50852
Gender			
Women	21892	33331	44213
Men	26615	35758	65425
Race			
White	21693	33374	52739
Black/African American	23421	33562	43136
American Indian or Alaska Native	21721	31102	45468
Chinese	21187	40007	58553
Japanese	29299	35596	70196
Other Asian or Pacific Islander	24156	37503	48818
Ethnicity			
Not Hispanic	22375	34211	52739
Hispanic	21292	30873	40682
Citizenship			
U.S. citizen	22274	33411	51151
Not a U.S. citizen	20735	31938	42320
N (unweighted)	36522	20032	45062

Source: Same as Table 1; Restricted to FTFY workers

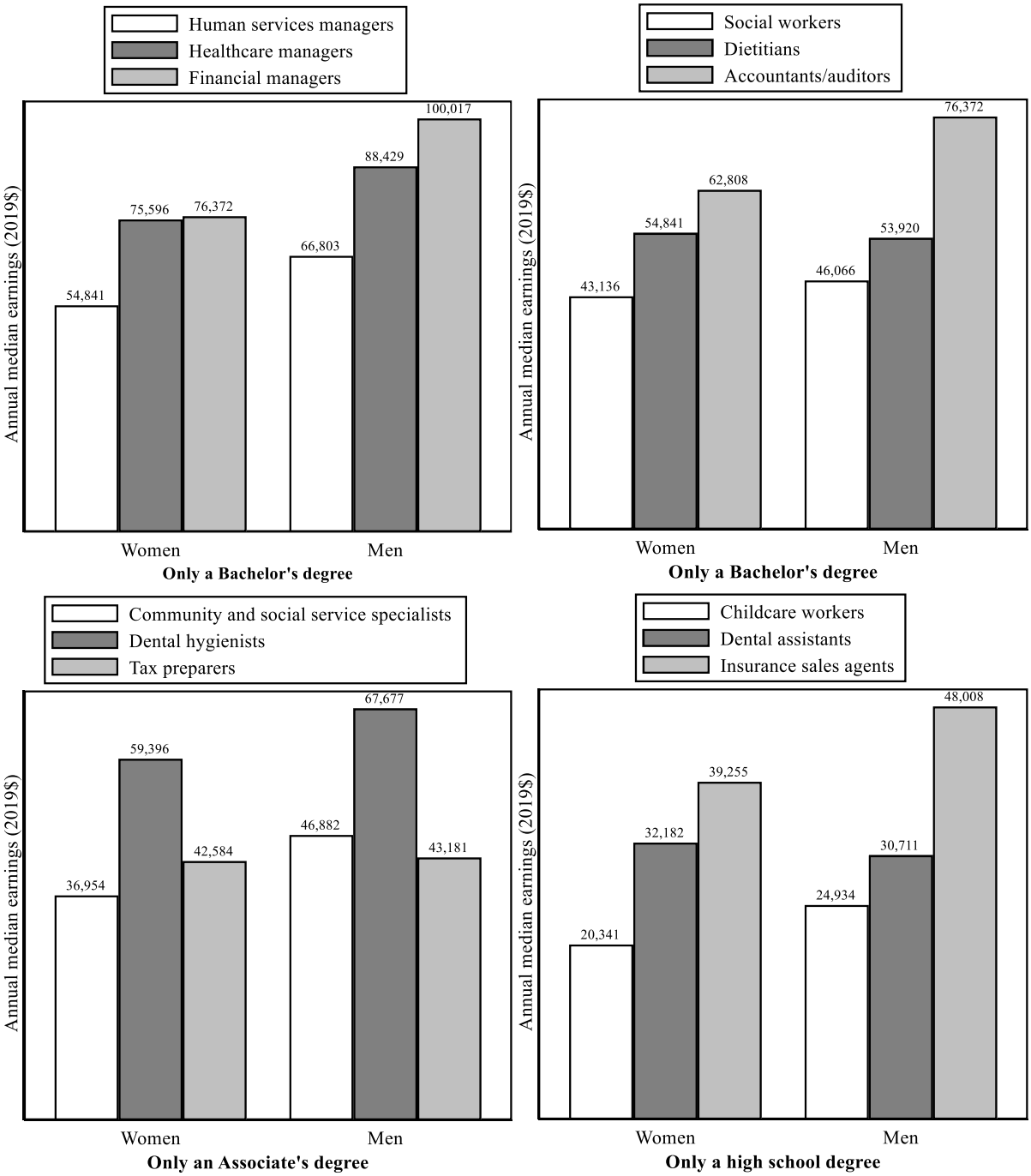
Median earnings in Table 6 do not condition for educational qualifications. Do workers in these human services occupations, disaggregated by race and gender, get paid less than the comparison occupations in healthcare and finance when conditioning on education? Consider more focused comparisons (Figures 3 and 4) that compare workers with similar educational qualifications within each occupational set, separately by gender and race. (Note that for certain Census race categories, occupational sample sizes are very small.)

Among the managerial set of occupations, human services managers with only a bachelor's degree are paid considerably less than managers in finance or healthcare, for both women and men workers: this gap is roughly $17,000 for women, but $21,000 for men when the comparison group is healthcare, and $33,000 when the comparison is with finance. However, among human services managers with a bachelor's degree, female managers are paid less at the median than men ($59,000 vs. $67,000): human service pay penalties compound gender pay penalties. We observe a similar pattern for community and social service specialists: women in this occupation with only an associate's degree are paid less than women with an associate's degree who work as tax preparers or dental hygienists; male social service specialists, however, are paid more than their female counterparts ($47,000 compared to $37,000), and also are paid more than male tax preparers, though much less than male dental hygienists.

For both social workers (with only a bachelor's degree) and childcare workers (with only a high school degree), the gender gap in median earnings is between $3,000-$4,000 (I.e.,

less than the previous two sets of occupations). However, they face correspondingly larger gaps with their comparison occupations in finance and healthcare.

Figure 3. Median Annual Earnings (in 2019$) by Occupation and Gender (National)



Source: 2005-2019 American Community Survey: All currently employed, full-time full-year wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64.

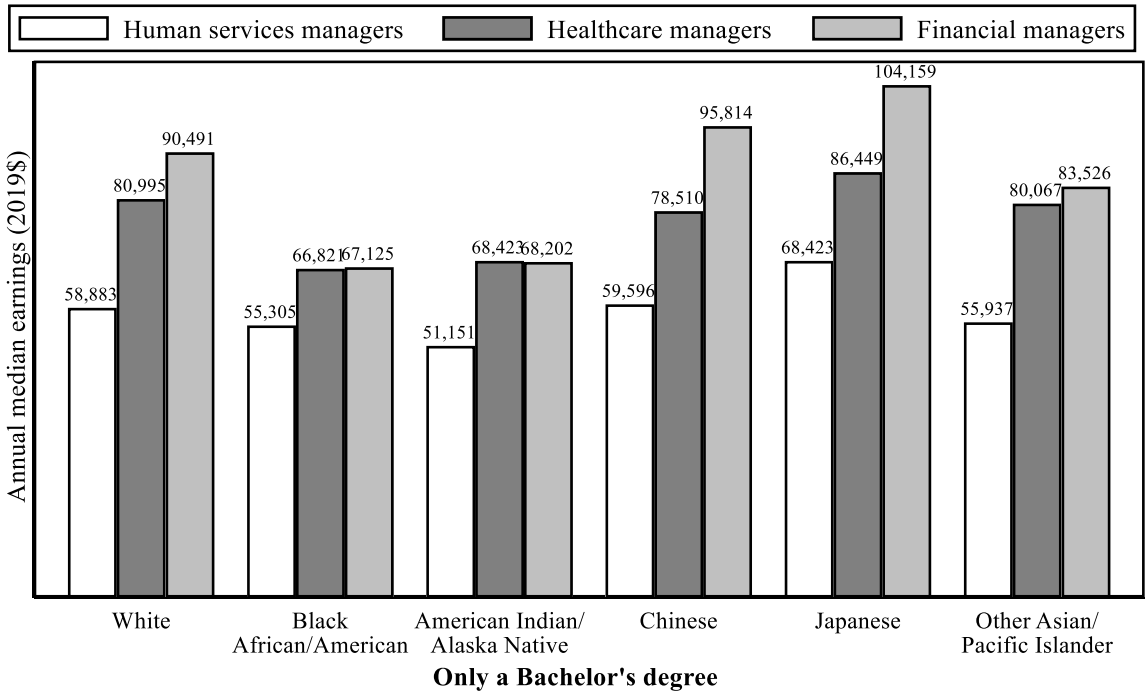
Among the managerial set of occupations, human services managers with only a bachelor's degree are paid considerably less than managers in finance or healthcare,

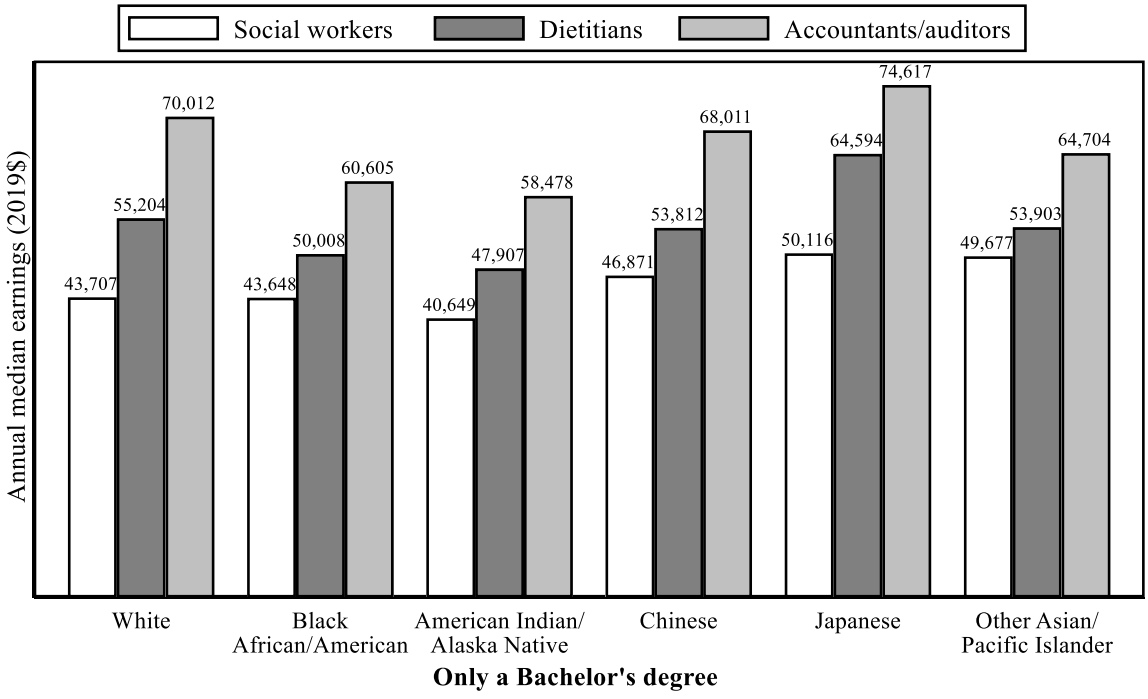
across categories of race. White human services managers have median earnings of about $59,000 compared to $90,000 in finance and $81,000 in healthcare. Earnings for human services managers belonging to other categories in the Census race classification are lower than for white human services managers (with the exception of those classified as “Chinese” or “Japanese”), the pay penalty associated with belonging to a human services occupation compounds racial inequality.

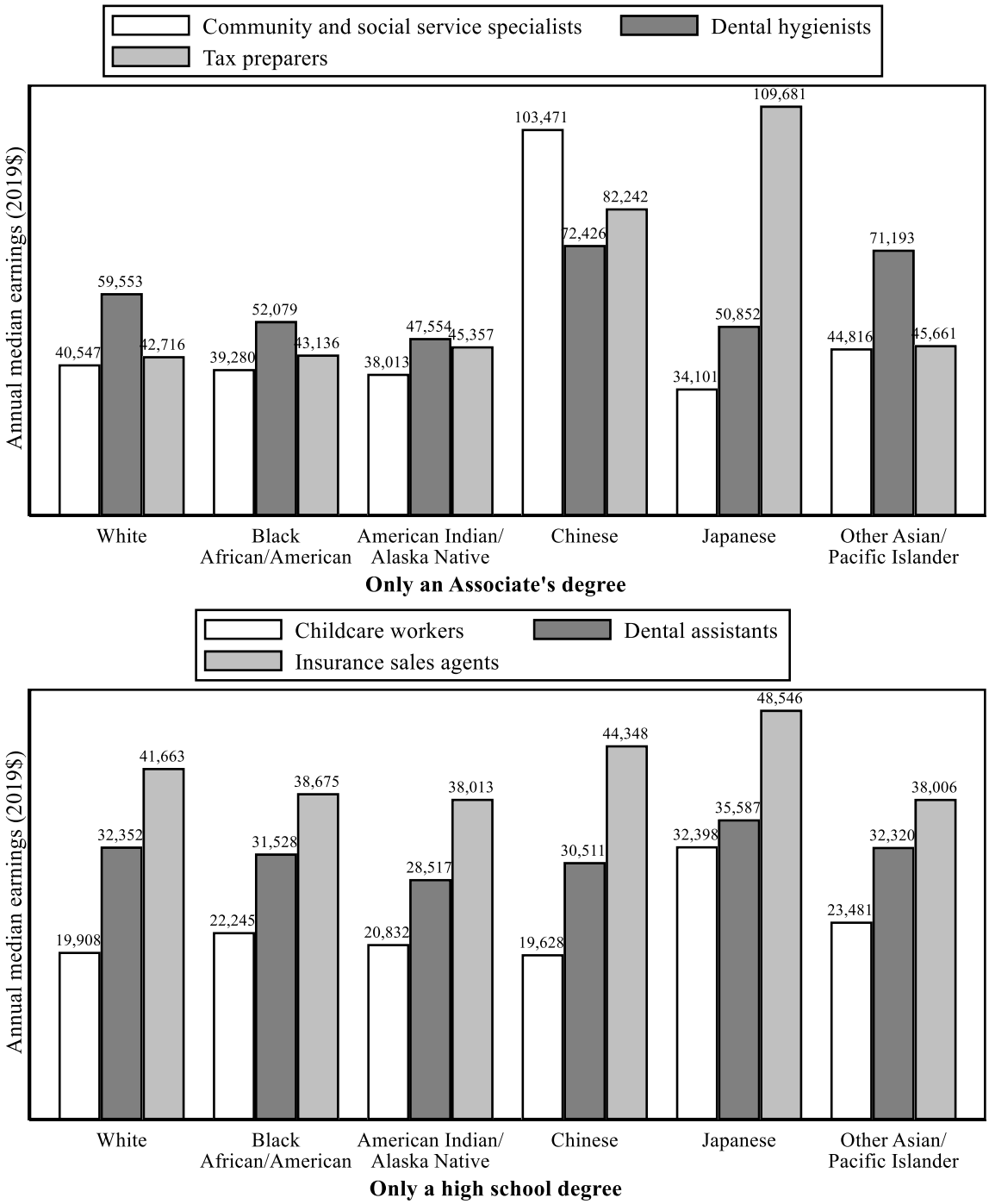
Median earnings for social workers with only a bachelor’s degree are similar across racial groups (though at very low level: $41,000-$50,0000), so racial inequality in the human service penalty is driven largely by variation in the earnings of accountants/auditors and dietitians across racial groups. We observe similar patterns for childcare workers with only a high school degree: extremely low earnings (between $20,000-$23,000) (disregarding noisy estimates for Japanese childcare workers) do not vary across racial categories, but earnings among white insurance sales agents or dental assistants are higher than their counterparts who are black/African-American or American Indian, implying that human service pay gaps are slightly higher among white workers.

Figures for workers in community and service specialists and the comparison occupations with only an associate’s degree are to be interpreted with caution, as small sample size results in noisy estimates (see, for example, wildly high median earnings for Chinese community and social service specialists or Japanese tax preparers). Yet, with the exception of these estimates, community and social service specialists are paid less than accountants and dietitians across racial categories.

Figure 4. Median Annual Earnings (in 2019$) by Occupation and Race (National)







Source: 2005-2019 American Community Survey: All currently employed, full-time full-year wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64.

5. Summary of Findings

Our key findings are as follows:

- As we have detailed in this report, human services workers experience wage inequities or "pay penalties" compared to workers in other industries. The human services pay penalty heightens existing inequities related to gender, race, ethnicity, and other factors.

- In the city of Seattle, between 2010-2017, human services workers have lower wages ($16/hour in 2019$) compared to workers in other care services ($29/hour) as well as workers in non-care industries ($33/hour) (see **Table 4, using ESD data** for details). This translates to a human services pay penalty of 51 percent compared to non-care workers. This penalty reduces to 41 percent after accounting for lower hours worked in human services, and 12 percent after controlling for unobserved worker characteristics, compared to workers in non-care industries.

- For human services workers in Seattle, the wage increase (a year later) associated with switching jobs and leaving human services is 14 percent (around 8 percentage points higher compared to either staying with the same employer or switching to a different employer in human services) (see **Table 5, using ESD data** for details). Controlling for differences across types of workers, switching jobs and leaving human services is associated with a wage increase that is 7 percentage points higher compared to those who remain within human services.

- Similar to patterns of hourly wages by industry in the ESD data, ACS earnings (in 2019 dollars) for full-time, full-year (FTFY) workers working in the state of Washington for 2005-2019 show that workers in human services are paid $34,000 annually, at the median: this is $18,000 (or 35 percent) less than in other care services, and $21,000 (or 38 percent) less than non-care industries.

- This comparison does not account for the fact that care workers (both in human services and other care) in Washington are better educated than those in non-care industries (see **Exhibit J**). For FTFY workers with only a high school degree, those in human services are paid $23,000 at the median (22% and 26% less than their counterparts in other care services and non-care industries, respectively). For workers with a bachelor's degree but not higher, these penalties are much higher: 27% less in human services compared to other care services, and 46% less compared to non-care industries (**see Figure 2**). Both care penalties and penalties specific to human services are greater for better-educated workers.

- Controlling for education, occupation, sector, hours worked, and demographic characteristics (age, gender, race, ethnicity), FTFY human service workers in Washington state are paid 30 percent less than workers in non-care industries. We also see a care penalty (workers in other care services are paid 11 percent less than workers in non-care industries), but the penalty specific to human services is larger (**see Exhibit H**).

- In Seattle (MSA) in 2019, social and community service managers (of which program directors are a subset) are paid $42,000 less per year at the median than managers in healthcare and $65,000 less per year than managers in finance. Social workers are paid $7,500 less than dietitians (an occupation in healthcare with comparable educational requirements and responsibilities) and $21,000 less than accountants. Community and social service specialists (a category that includes program coordinators) are paid $16,000 less than dental hygienists and $57,000 less than tax Preparers. Finally, childcare workers are paid $14,000 less than dental assistants and $26,000 less than insurance Sales Agents (comparison occupations in healthcare and finance are selected for similarity in educational and training requirements and job responsibilities, and all earning comparisons refer to median annual earnings: **see Exhibit K using OEWS data**).

- Inequalities in pay by gender, race, and ethnicity are, in general, compounded by pay penalties specific to human services industries and occupations: for example, (at the national level, in 2005-2019) female managers in human services with only a bachelor's degree are paid $12,000 less at the median than male human service managers. However, they also are paid less than female managers in healthcare and finance (by more than $20,000). (**See Table 3** for human services industry pay penalties by race, gender, and ethnicity in Washington state, and **Figures 3 and 4** for human services occupation penalties by race and gender at the national level).

- Across datasets, samples, and specifications, we observe the pattern that workers in human services are paid less than workers in other care industries as well as in non-care industries. Workers in other care services are paid less than workers in non-care industries but this penalty is smaller than the pay difference between human services and non-care industries (and even vanishes in certain specifications), implying that the human services penalty—distinct from a care penalty—exists and is sizeable. Two other patterns are worth noting: (1) human services pay penalties appear to be greater at higher levels of worker education or worker wages (2) inequalities in pay by gender, race, and ethnicity are, in general, compounded by pay penalties specific to human services industries and occupations.

Exhibit A: The American Community Survey

ACS questionnaire (for 2015) here: https://usa.ipums.org/usa-action/source_documents/enum_form_ACS(2015)_tag.xml#133

ACS occupation codes here: https://cps.iums.org/cps-action/variables/OCC2010#codes_section

Variables used

YEAR (Census year)
CPI99 (CPI-U adjustment factor to 1999 dollars)
PERWT (Person weight)
NCHILD (Number of own children in the household)
SEX (Sex)
AGE (Age)
MARST (Marital status)
RACE (Race [general version])
HISPAN (Hispanic origin [general version])
CITIZEN (Citizenship status)
EDUCD (Educational attainment [detailed version])
EMPSTAT (Employment status [general version])
CLASSWKRD (Class of worker [detailed version])
OCC2010 (Occupation, 2010 basis)
IND1990 (Industry, 1990 basis)
WKSWORK2 (Weeks worked last year, intervaled)
UHRSWORK (Usual hours worked per week)
INCWAGE (Wage and salary income)
PWSTATE2 (Place of work: state)
PWCOUNTY (Place of work: county)
PWMET13 (Place of work: metropolitan area (2013 delineations))

Employment status

Employed: "LAST WEEK, did this person work for pay at a job (or business)?"

Weeks of paid work

During the PAST 12 MONTHS (52 weeks), did this person work 50 or more weeks? How many weeks DID this person work, even for a few hours, including paid vacation, paid sick leave, and military service?

[ ] 50 to 52 weeks
[ ] 48 to 49 weeks
[ ] 40 to 47 weeks
[ ] 27 to 39 weeks
[ ] 14 to 26 weeks
[ ] 13 weeks or less

Hours of paid work

During the PAST 12 MONTHS (52 weeks), in the WEEKS WORKED, how many hours did this person usually work each WEEK?

Class of worker

"Describe clearly this person's chief job activity or business last week. If this person had more than one job, describe the one at which this person worked the most hours. If this person had no job or business last week, give information for his/her last job or business.
[41.] Was this person...
Mark (X) ONE box
[ ] an employee of a PRIVATE FOR PROFIT company or business, or of an individual, for wages, salary, or commissions?
[ ] an employee of a PRIVATE NOT FOR PROFIT, tax-exempt, or charitable organization?
[ ] a local GOVERNMENT employee (city, county, etc.)?
[ ] a state GOVERNMENT employee?
[ ] a Federal GOVERNMENT employee?
[ ] SELF-EMPLOYED in own NOT INCORPORATED business, professional practice, or farm?
[ ] SELF-EMPLOYED in own INCORPORATED business, professional practice, or farm?
[ ] working WITHOUT PAY in family business or farm?"

Industry

What kind of business or industry was this? [responses then coded into Census codes] Describe the activity at the location where employed. (For example: hospital, newspaper publishing, mail order house, auto engine manufacturing, bank)

Occupation

What kind of work was this person doing? [responses then coded into Census codes] (For example: registered nurse, personal manager, supervisor of order department, secretary, accountant)

Annual earnings

Wages, salary, commissions, bonuses, or tips from all jobs [in the last 12 months]. Report amount before deductions for taxes, bonds, dues, or other items. I use the CPI-U multiplier available from the Bureau of Labor Statistics to convert earnings to constant 2018 dollars. Kristin and I discussed whether to use earnings or wages and decided against wages because weeks worked are only available in intervals.

Other variables

Education
Gender, age
Marital status
Children
Race
Ethnicity
Citizenship

(Variable descriptions available here: https://usa.ipums.org/usa-action/variables/group?id=demog)

Exhibit B. Detailed Codes for Other Care Services

Educational Services
7860 Elementary and secondary schools
7870 Colleges, universities, and professional schools, including junior colleges
7880 Business, technical, and trade schools and training
7890 Other schools and instruction, and educational support services
Health Care
7970 Offices of physicians
7980 Offices of dentists
7990 Offices of chiropractors
8070 Offices of optometrists
8080 Offices of other health practitioners
8090 Outpatient care centers
8170 Home health care services
8180 Other health care services
8190 Hospitals
8270 Nursing care facilities (skilled nursing facilities)
8290 Residential care facilities, except skilled nursing facilities

Exhibit C. Worker characteristics in human services

Table C.1. Worker characteristics in human services, location based on place of residence, (pooled ACS data, 2005-2019)

	National	Washington state	Seattle MSA	King County
All employed (unweighted N)	17815691	408720	218617	122152
Employed in human services (unweighted N)	380426	8723	4253	2399
Employed in human services (% of total)	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0
Workers in human services: % that are:				
Women	83	83	81	79
In detailed industry				
Individual and family services	47	49	50	49
Community food and housing, and emergency services	4	5	5	6
Vocational rehabilitation services	7	5	5	5
Child day care services	42	41	40	40
In sector				
For-profit	45	43	44	40
Non-profit	37	39	42	49
Public	18	18	14	11
With at least a				
High school degree	93	93	94	94
Bachelor's degree	35	34	40	47
Master's degree	11	11	13	16

Source: 2005-2019 ACS: All currently employed wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64.

Table C.2. Employment characteristics in human services, location based on place of work (pooled ACS data, 2005-2019)

	National (exc. King County)	WA state (exc. King County	Seattle MSA (exc. King County	King County	Differences		
Fraction of employment:	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[1]-[4]	[2]-[4]	[3]-[4]
Women	0.831	0.842	0.825	0.793	0.038***	0.049***	0.031**
	[0.001]	[0.005]	[0.010]	[0.008]			
Race							
White	0.668	0.791	0.712	0.638	0.030***	0.153***	0.074***
	[0.001]	[0.005]	[0.011]	[0.009]			
Black/African American	0.203	0.053	0.112	0.134	0.069***	-0.081***	-0.022**
	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.008]	[0.007]			
American Indian or Alaska Native	0.011	0.024	0.020	0.014	-0.003	0.010***	0.006
	[0.000]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.002]			
Chinese	0.010	0.002	0.003	0.028	-0.018***	-0.026***	-0.025***
	[0.000]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]			
Japanese	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.010	-0.008***	-0.007***	-0.008***
	[0.000]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]			
Other Asian/ Pacific Islander	0.030	0.045	0.089	0.084	-0.054***	-0.039***	0.006
	[0.000]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.005]			
Not a U.S. citizen	0.063	0.060	0.074	0.120	-0.056***	-0.060***	-0.046***
	[0.000]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.006]			
Not Hispanic	0.839	0.878	0.931	0.910	-0.070***	-0.031***	0.021**
	[0.000]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.006]			
Individual and family services	0.470	0.492	0.505	0.495	-0.024***	-0.003	0.010
	[0.001]	[0.007]	[0.013]	[0.010]			
Community food and housing, and emergency services	0.043	0.040	0.041	0.060	-0.017***	-0.020***	-0.019***
	[0.000]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.005]			
Vocational rehabilitation services	0.070	0.059	0.051	0.043	0.027***	0.017***	0.008
	[0.000]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.004]			
Child day care services	0.417	0.409	0.403	0.403	0.014	0.006	0.000
	[0.001]	[0.006]	[0.012]	[0.010]			
For-profit	0.449	0.429	0.465	0.422	0.027***	0.007	0.043***
	[0.001]	[0.006]	[0.013]	[0.010]			
Non-profit	0.367	0.346	0.330	0.480	-0.113***	-0.134***	-0.150***

	[0.001]	[0.006]	[0.012]	[0.010]			
Public	0.184	0.225	0.205	0.098	0.086***	0.127***	0.107***
	[0.001]	[0.005]	[0.010]	[0.006]			
Social and Community Service Managers	0.043	0.046	0.046	0.064	-0.020***	-0.017***	-0.017**
	[0.000]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.005]			
Social Workers	0.125	0.099	0.101	0.111	0.014**	-0.012*	-0.010
	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.008]	[0.006]			
Community and Social Service Specialists	0.013	0.012	0.015	0.009	0.004**	0.003	0.006*
	[0.000]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.002]			
Childcare Workers	0.155	0.175	0.185	0.146	0.009	0.029***	0.039***
	[0.001]	[0.005]	[0.010]	[0.007]			
High school degree	0.926	0.924	0.923	0.943	-0.017***	-0.019***	-0.020**
	[0.000]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.005]			
Bachelor's degree	0.350	0.289	0.312	0.454	-0.104***	-0.165***	-0.142***
	[0.001]	[0.006]	[0.012]	[0.010]			
Master's degree	0.114	0.089	0.089	0.154	-0.040***	-0.065***	-0.065***
	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.007]	[0.007]			
N	377802	5804	1572	2624			

Source: 2005-2019 ACS: All currently employed wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64. The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means between King County and each of the other groups. National, Washington state, and Seattle MSA therefore exclude King County. Standard errors are displayed in parentheses below means. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level.

Exhibit D. Full-time vs. part-time employment

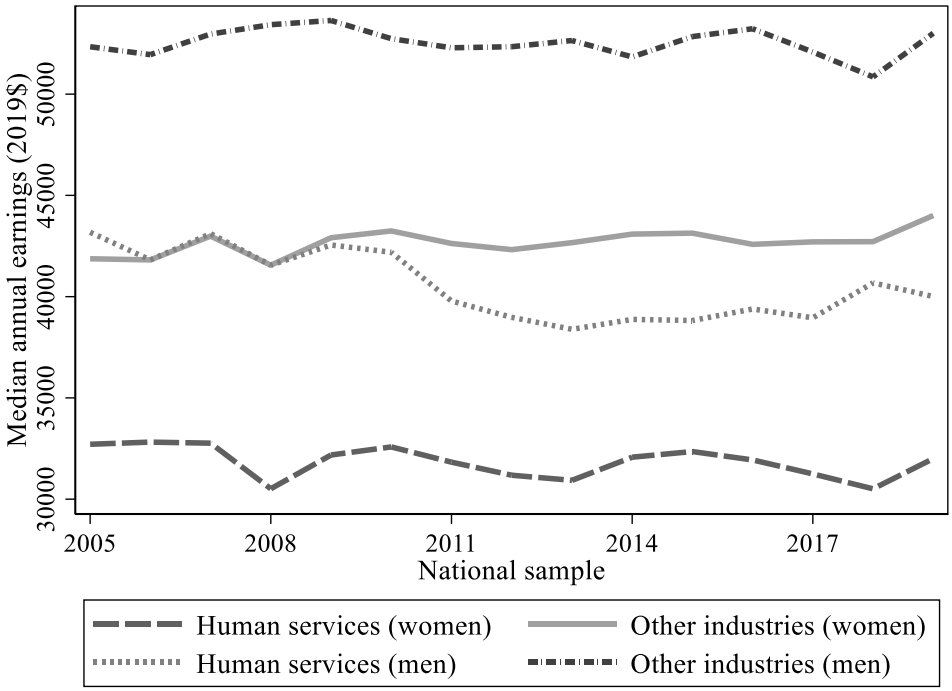
Table D. Full-time vs. part-time employment

	Human services	Other care	Non-care industries
National			
Percent FT	69	78	83
Percent FTFY	59	66	73
Median earnings (PT)	$9718	$14245	$10798
Median earnings (FT)	$30985	$46871	$44540
Median earnings (FTFY)	$32939	$48520	$47669
Seattle MSA			
Percent FT	68	75	85
Percent FTFY	57	63	75
Median earnings (PT)	$11877	$19408	$13538
Median earnings (FT)	$33628	$53902	$58589
Median earnings (FTFY)	$35590	$55675	$62000
King County			
Percent FT	69	75	86
Percent FTFY	57	64	76
Median earnings (PT)	$12429	$19709	$14245
Median earnings (FT)	$34015	$55195	$63344
Median earnings (FTFY)	$35752	$57202	$67058

Source: Same as Table 1. Full-time defined as 35+ usual hours of paid work per week. Full-year defined as 50+ weeks worked in the previous year.

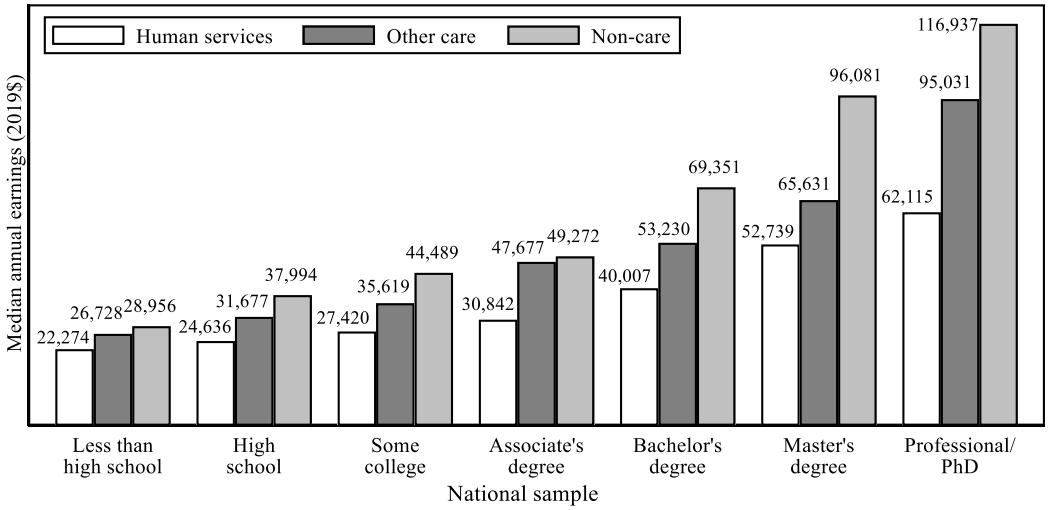
Exhibit E. Median Annual Earnings (in 2019$), National

Figure E1. Median Annual Earnings (in 2019$) by Industry and Gender (National)



Source: 2005-2019 American Community Survey: All currently employed, full-time full-year wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64. Interpret median earnings for male human services workers in Washington state with caution (observations per year fewer than 100).

Figure E2. Median Annual Earnings (in 2019$), by Industry and Education (National)



Source: 2005-2019 American Community Survey: All currently employed, full-time full-year wage and salary workers between the ages of 18 and 64.

Exhibit F. Median annual earnings (in 2019$), by Industry and Gender (National)

Table F. Median annual earnings (in 2019$), by Industry and Gender (National)

	Women			*Men*		
	Human services	Other care	Non-care	Human services	Other care	Non-care
All	31677	45577	41007	40547	56835	52242
Period						
2005-2008	32027	44406	40547	41881	57019	52340
2009-2012	31827	45824	41019	41019	57427	52739
2010-2016	31938	45293	40979	38822	55359	51837
2017-2019	31248	46784	41663	39580	56954	52079
Education						
Less than high school	21568	25227	23725	26728	32005	31274
High school	23746	30410	32297	29798	36456	41663
Some college	26341	34372	37994	34490	41663	49835
Associate's degree	30005	46066	41519	37994	53230	55359
Bachelor's degree	38907	52079	57648	45293	56991	77958
Master's degree	51151	63876	79550	59366	71515	106460
Professional degree/PhD	57427	82380	102594	71515	111233	124079
Selected occupations						
Managers	47907	69159	65302	62518	86867	90936
Professionals	33374	55359	60682	42877	64578	81363
Service	22357	27420	25007	27005	32904	35159
Office and admin	34747	35596	37744	39784	40007	42097
Race						
White	32005	47493	42191	41717	59596	54957
Black/African American	31248	37865	37511	37865	42909	41679
American Indian or Alaska Native	29554	37161	34001	32904	42705	40007
Chinese	32713	59396	60139	40830	68981	72911
Japanese	37865	59366	55752	55359	68042	76025
Other Asian or Pacific Islander	32815	58883	45008	41663	65011	62495
Ethnicity						
Not Hispanic	32289	46879	43136	41019	58599	56424
Hispanic	28787	36638	30195	37261	45615	35415
Citizenship						
U.S. citizen	32058	45778	42058	40979	57212	54485
Not a U.S. citizen	24792	36962	26355	33006	49416	32850

Source: Same as Table 1. Restricted to FTFY workers

Exhibit G. Log annual earnings on human service industry employment (National)

	All	Women	Men
Industry (reference: Non-care industries)			
Human services	-0.31***	-0.31***	-0.31***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other care	-0.10***	-0.07***	-0.15***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Sector (reference: For-profit)			
Non-profit	-0.06***	-0.02***	-0.12***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Public	-0.01***	-0.02***	0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Occupation (reference: Managers)			
Business and financial occupations	-0.08***	-0.07***	-0.10***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Professionals	-0.13***	-0.14***	-0.13***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Service	-0.49***	-0.51***	-0.47***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Sales	-0.29***	-0.34***	-0.26***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Office & admin	-0.35***	-0.33***	-0.40***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Farming	-0.61***	-0.64***	-0.61***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Construction	-0.27***	-0.22***	-0.27***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Maintenance	-0.27***	-0.17***	-0.28***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Production	-0.37***	-0.43***	-0.35***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Transport	-0.42***	-0.46***	-0.42***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Usual hours/week (reference: 35-39)			
40	0.18***	0.15***	0.24***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
41-45	0.30***	0.28***	0.35***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
46-50	0.38***	0.34***	0.45***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
51+	0.45***	0.37***	0.52***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education (reference: Less than high school)			
High school	0.15***	0.15***	0.15***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Some college	0.25***	0.25***	0.25***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Associate's degree	0.32***	0.33***	0.29***

	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Bachelor's degree	0.51***	0.51***	0.51***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Master's degree	0.64***	0.63***	0.65***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Professional degree/PhD	0.89***	0.89***	0.90***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Women	-0.12***	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(.)	(.)
Married	0.15***	0.05***	0.14***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Married x Women	-0.10***	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(.)	(.)
Parent	0.05***	-0.00	0.05***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Parent x Women	-0.05***	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(.)	(.)
Race (reference: White)			
Black/African American	-0.09***	-0.04***	-0.14***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
American Indian or Alaska Native	-0.08***	-0.06***	-0.10***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Chinese	-0.05***	0.02***	-0.10***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Japanese	0.02***	0.03***	0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other Asian or Pacific Islander	-0.03***	0.01***	-0.06***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other Race, n.e.c.	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.05***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Two Major Races	-0.04***	-0.02***	-0.05***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Three Or More Major Races	-0.02***	-0.00	-0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Non-citizen	-0.15***	-0.14***	-0.14***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Non-Hispanic	0.11***	0.08***	0.12***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	9.86***	9.79***	9.81***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Observations	12642669	5648064	6994605

Source: Same as Table 1, restricted to full-time, full-year workers. *Note*: State, age, and year dummy controls are not shown. Standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. To calculate percent changes from the coefficient estimates, apply the formula = (EXP (coefficient)-1) *100. For coefficients between -0.100 and 0.100, the coefficient is approximately the same as the percentage change.

Exhibit H. Log annual earnings on human service industry employment (Washington state)

	All	Women	Men
Industry (reference: Other industries)			
Human services	-0.35***	-0.35***	-0.31***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Other care	-0.12***	-0.09***	-0.19***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Sector (reference: For-profit)			
Non-profit	-0.07***	-0.02***	-0.16***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Public	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Occupation (reference: Managers)			
Business and financial occupations	-0.12***	-0.09***	-0.15***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Professionals	-0.09***	-0.11***	-0.07***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Service	-0.47***	-0.50***	-0.45***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Sales	-0.30***	-0.32***	-0.27***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Office & admin	-0.35***	-0.33***	-0.40***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Farming	-0.64***	-0.70***	-0.63***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Construction	-0.21***	-0.12***	-0.22***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Maintenance	-0.26***	-0.14***	-0.27***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Production	-0.36***	-0.42***	-0.35***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Transport	-0.43***	-0.46***	-0.43***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Usual hours/week (reference: 35-39)			
40	0.21***	0.17***	0.28***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
41-45	0.33***	0.30***	0.39***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
46-50	0.42***	0.37***	0.50***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
51+	0.46***	0.39***	0.53***
Education (reference: Less than high school)			
High school	0.14***	0.15***	0.13***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Some college	0.23***	0.24***	0.21***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)

Associate's degree	0.27***	0.29***	0.25***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Bachelor's degree	0.48***	0.48***	0.48***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Master's degree	0.59***	0.57***	0.60***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Professional degree/PhD	0.79***	0.81***	0.79***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Women	-0.12***	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(.)	(.)
Married	0.14***	0.05***	0.13***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Married x Women	-0.09***	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(.)	(.)
Parent	0.05***	-0.01***	0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Parent x Women	-0.06***	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(.)	(.)
Race (reference: White)			
Black/African American	-0.08***	-0.01	-0.13***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
American Indian or Alaska Native	-0.08***	-0.04***	-0.12***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Chinese	0.06***	0.10***	0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Japanese	0.03**	0.05***	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Other Asian or Pacific Islander	-0.02***	0.00	-0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Other Race, n.e.c.	-0.07***	-0.08***	-0.06***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Two Major Races	-0.02***	-0.00	-0.03***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Three Or More Major Races	-0.01	0.00	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Non-citizen	-0.04***	-0.07***	-0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Non-Hispanic	0.10***	0.06***	0.13***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Constant	9.91***	9.91***	9.81***
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Observations	272289	114688	157601

Source: Same as Table 1; restricted to full-time, full-year workers. *Note*: Age and year dummy controls are not shown. Standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 To calculate percent changes from the coefficient estimates, apply the formula = (EXP (coefficient)-1) *100. For coefficients between -0.100 and 0.100, the coefficient is approximately the same as the percentage change.

Exhibit I. Mean characteristics of workers, by industry and gender (National)

	Women			Men		
	Human services	Other care	Non-care industries	Human services	Other care	Non-care industries
Annual earnings	36982	54054	53108	49035	79486	69329
Sector						
Non-profit	0.35	0.22	0.05	0.47	0.24	0.03
Public	0.21	0.31	0.14	0.22	0.38	0.13
Occupation						
Managers	0.12	0.08	0.12	0.18	0.12	0.12
Business and finance	0.03	0.02	0.10	0.04	0.02	0.05
Professionals	0.48	0.54	0.14	0.41	0.56	0.14
Service	0.27	0.19	0.12	0.22	0.18	0.12
Sales	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.10
Office and admin	0.10	0.16	0.27	0.06	0.04	0.07
Farming	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Construction	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.10
Maintenance	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.07
Production	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.02	0.01	0.11
Transport	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.05	0.02	0.11
Usual hours/week						
35-59	0.15	0.15	0.10	0.11	0.07	0.04
40	0.67	0.62	0.64	0.64	0.57	0.55
41-45	0.07	0.08	0.10	0.08	0.08	0.11
46-50	0.06	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.13	0.16
51+	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.08	0.14	0.14
Education						
Less than high school	0.05	0.03	0.07	0.05	0.03	0.10
High school	0.21	0.16	0.26	0.19	0.14	0.29
Some college	0.24	0.19	0.25	0.19	0.15	0.22
Associate's degree	0.11	0.14	0.10	0.08	0.09	0.08
Bachelor's degree	0.26	0.26	0.23	0.30	0.25	0.21
Master's degree	0.12	0.18	0.07	0.16	0.19	0.07
Professional degree/PhD	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.16	0.02
Age	40.57	42.62	41.31	42.27	42.94	40.94
Women	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Married	0.44	0.55	0.48	0.48	0.62	0.58
Parent	0.50	0.51	0.46	0.38	0.46	0.47
Race						
White	0.65	0.74	0.73	0.63	0.74	0.77
Black/African American	0.22	0.16	0.13	0.24	0.13	0.09
American Indian or Alaska Native	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Chinese	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01
Japanese	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other Asian or Pacific	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.04

Islander						
Other Race, n.e.c.	0.05	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.06
Two Major Races	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Three Or More Major Races	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Non-citizen	0.06	0.04	0.08	0.06	0.06	0.11
Non-Hispanic	0.83	0.89	0.85	0.85	0.89	0.82
Observations	180856	1912307	3562875	38802	734799	6281326

Source: Same as Table 1. Restricted to FTFY workers

Exhibit J. Mean characteristics of workers by industry and gender (Washington state)

	Women			*Men*		
	Human services	Other care	Non-care industries	Human services	Other care	Non-care industries
Annual earnings	37592	57755	58467	52267	83027	76704
Sector						
Non-profit	0.37	0.23	0.06	0.52	0.22	0.03
Public	0.20	0.35	0.17	0.20	0.47	0.17
Occupation						
Managers	0.15	0.09	0.15	0.20	0.13	0.14
Business and finance	0.03	0.03	0.10	0.05	0.02	0.05
Professionals	0.42	0.51	0.15	0.39	0.57	0.19
Service	0.32	0.18	0.12	0.22	0.17	0.10
Sales	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.01	0.00	0.10
Office and admin	0.08	0.18	0.25	0.06	0.05	0.07
Farming	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Construction	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.09
Maintenance	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.07
Production	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.09
Transport	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.09
Usual hours/week						
35-59	0.14	0.14	0.09	0.10	0.07	0.04
40	0.66	0.61	0.65	0.65	0.58	0.57
41-45	0.08	0.08	0.10	0.09	0.08	0.11
46-50	0.07	0.10	0.10	0.09	0.13	0.16
51+	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.08	0.13	0.13
Education						
Less than high school	0.06	0.02	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.08
High school	0.20	0.13	0.22	0.17	0.11	0.24
Some college	0.25	0.21	0.26	0.22	0.15	0.24
Associate's degree	0.12	0.14	0.11	0.09	0.11	0.10
Bachelor's degree	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.29	0.24	0.24
Master's degree	0.11	0.18	0.07	0.16	0.21	0.08
Professional degree/PhD	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.16	0.02
Age	40.00	43.03	41.10	42.66	44.09	40.67
Women	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Married	0.45	0.55	0.49	0.48	0.66	0.59
Parent	0.46	0.45	0.42	0.37	0.47	0.45
Race						
White	0.75	0.81	0.77	0.71	0.79	0.79
Black/African American	0.07	0.04	0.03	0.13	0.05	0.03
American Indian or Alaska Native	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01
Chinese	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02
Japanese	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00
Other Asian or Pacific	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.07

Islander						
Other Race, n.e.c.	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.05
Two Major Races	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.03
Three Or More Major Races	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
Non-citizen	0.07	0.04	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.10
Non-Hispanic	0.88	0.93	0.91	0.90	0.94	0.88
Observations	3670	34573	76749	876	14884	144676

Source: Same as Table 1; Restricted to FTFY workers

Exhibit K. Educational and other requirements and Seattle MSA wages for selected human services, finance, and healthcare occupations

	Human services	**Finance**	**Healthcare**
Job title	***Social and community service managers***	***Financial managers***	***Medical and health services managers***
Education in FTFY national ACS sample (%)			
At least a high school degree	99%	99%	99%
At least a Bachelor's degree	70%	61%	62%
At least a Master's degree	33%	20%	30%
BLS Occupation Outlook Handbook			
2021 National Annual Median Pay	$74,000	$131,710	$101,340
Description ("What they do")	Coordinate and supervise programs and organizations that support public well-being.	Create financial reports, direct investment activities, and develop plans for the long-term financial goals of their organization	Plan, direct, and coordinate the business activities of healthcare providers.
"Typical entry-level education"	Bachelor's degree	Bachelor's degree	Bachelor's degree
Licensing requirement	No	Although it is not required, professional certification indicates competence for financial managers who have it.	Typically, only for nursing home administrators
"Work Experience in a Related Occupation"	Less than 5 years	5 years or more	Less than 5 years
BLS OEWS 2019 for Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue MSA			

Annual average wage	$77,910	$150,650	$129,180
Annual median wage	$74,170	$139,260	$116,250
Annual 10th percentile wage	$51,230	$81,900	$66,310
Annual 90th percentile wage	$113,030	Not available	$206,920
Hourly average wage	$37.46	$72.43	$62.10
Hourly median wage	$35.66	$66.95	$55.89
Hourly 10th percentile wage	$24.63	$39.38	$31.88
Hourly 90th percentile wage	$54.34	Not available	$99.48
Job title	***Social worker***	***Accountants and auditors***	***Dietitians and Nutritionists***
Education in FTFY national ACS sample (%)			
At least a high school degree	99%	100%	97%
At least a Bachelor's degree	73%	79%	69%
At least a Master's degree	26%	22%	31%
BLS Occupation Outlook Handbook			
2021 National Annual Median Pay	$50,390	$77,250	$61,650
Description ("What they do")	Help people prevent and cope with problems in their everyday lives.	Prepare and examine financial records.	Plan and conduct food service or nutritional programs to help people lead healthy lives.
"Typical entry-level education"	Either a BSW (non-clinical) or an MSW (clinical)	Bachelor's degree	Bachelor's degree
Licensing requirement	Yes, for clinical (all states)	Any accountant filing reports with the (SEC) required to be a licensed Certified Public Accountant (CPA).	Some states require dietitians and nutritionists to be licensed in order to practice.
"Work Experience in a Related Occupation"	None	None	None

BLS OEWS 2019 for Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue MSA	{Shown for Child, family, and school social workers: largest N for Seattle compared to other types of social workers}		
Annual average wage	$56,680	$86,420	$65,850
Annual median wage	$55,780	$77,080	$ 63,320
Annual 10th percentile wage	$36,130	$51,790	$ 38,850
Annual 90th percentile wage	$76,950	$129,170	$ 91,080
Hourly average wage	$27.25	$41.55	$31.66
Hourly median wage	$17.37	$37.06	$ 30.44
Hourly 10th percentile wage	$26.82	$24.90	$ 18.68
Hourly 90th percentile wage	$37.00	$62.10	$ 43.79
Job title	***Miscellaneous community and social service specialists***	***Tax Preparers***	***Dental hygienists***
Education in FTFY national ACS sample (%)			
At least a high school degree	98%	99%	100%
At least a Bachelor's degree	55%	57%	36%
At least a Master's degree	17%	21%	5%
BLS Occupation Outlook Handbook	{Subcategory of Social and Human Services Assistants}		
2021 National Annual Median Pay	$37,610	$46,290	$77,810
Description ("What they do")	Provide client services in a variety of fields, such as psychology, rehabilitation, and social work.	Prepare tax returns for individuals or small businesses	Examine patients for signs of oral diseases, such as gingivitis, and provide preventive care, including oral hygiene

"Typical entry-level education"	At least a high school diploma (preferably a certificate or associate's degree).		Associate's degree
Licensing requirement	No		
"Work Experience in a Related Occupation"	None		None
BLS OEWS 2019 for Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue MSA	{Shown for: Social and Human Services Assistants}		
Annual average wage	$42,530	$57,570	$94,930
Annual median wage	$39,500	$55,820	$96,900
Annual 10th percentile wage	$29,610	$26,440	$62,170
Annual 90th percentile wage	$60730	$92,000	$122,220
Hourly average wage	$20.45	$27.68	$45.64
Hourly median wage	$18.99	$26.83	$46.58
Hourly 10th percentile wage	$14.24	$12.71	$29.89
Hourly 90th percentile wage	$29.20	$44.23	$58.76

Job title	***Child care worker***	***Insurance Sales Agents***	***Dental Assistants***
Education in FTFY national ACS sample (%)			
At least a high school degree	91%	99%	97%
At least a Bachelor's degree	14%	44%	9%
At least a Master's degree	2%	6%	2%
BLS Occupation Outlook Handbook			
2021 National Annual Median Pay	$27,490	$49,840	$38,660
Description ("What they do")	Attend to children's needs while helping to foster early development.	Contact potential customers and sell one or more types of insurance.	Provide patient care, take x rays, keep records, and schedule appointments.

"Typical entry-level education"	High school diploma or equivalent	High school diploma or equivalent	1-year accredited programs for some states
Licensing requirement	Some states require a nationally recognized credential (e.g. Child Development Associate (CDA))	Yes	Not for entry-level dental assistants.
"Work Experience in a Related Occupation"	None	None	None
BLS OEWS 2019 for Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue MSA			
Annual average wage	$32,860	$72,560	$48,070
Annual median wage	$33,180	$59,630	$47,500
Annual 10th percentile wage	$25,690	$34,460	$34,890
Annual 90th percentile wage	$39,890	$124,650	$62,760
Hourly average wage	$15.80	$34.89	$23.11
Hourly median wage	$15.95	$28.67	$22.84
Hourly 10th percentile wage	$12.35	$16.57	$16.78
Hourly 90th percentile wage	$19.18	$59.93	$30.18

Source: For ACS: 2005-2019 ACS, full-time full-year wage and salary workers aged 18-64, in human services industries; For BLS Occupational Employment and Wage Statistics (OEWS) survey (2019) for Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue MSA: annual and hourly average wages, median wages, 10th percentile wages, 90th percentile wages. For BLS-OOH: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Occupational Outlook Handbook, at https://www.bls.gov/ooh (visited October 06, 2022).

Exhibit L. Hourly Wages in Human Service Industries in Seattle and King County

L.1. Earnings, hours, and wages. by human services industries: King County and Seattle (2010-2017)

	Individual and family	Food, housing, emergency	Vocational rehabilitation	Child daycare
King County				
All jobs				
Average jobs/worker	1.25	1.14	1.10	1.10
Quarterly earnings				
Mean	7968.96	9640.29	8690.67	6506.76
Median	6571.19	9027.53	6575.03	6214.91
P10	1164.22	1941.54	1620.37	1271.27
P90	15437.98	17264.46	17590.60	11181.32
Quarterly hours				
Mean	418.20	411.73	402.11	365.66
Median	447	480	451	422
P10	87	123	98	84
P90	639	560	546	529
Hourly wages				
Mean	19.42	22.64	22.93	17.96
Median	15.43	19.44	15.52	15.57
P10	11.53	12.54	10.93	11.06
P90	30.35	35.36	41.28	25.92
Primary job				
Mean	6302.56	8642.78	8085.01	5999.52
Median	4622.46	8117.40	6170.91	5824.07
P10	440.70	873.04	1010.28	738.48
P90	13218.10	16457.42	16742.25	10751.51
Quarterly hours				
Mean	329.76	364.21	366.42	337.59
Median	340	452	438	400
P10	30	53	60	50
P90	541	548	528	525
Hourly wages				
Mean	18.86	22.36	23.62	17.84
Median	14.77	19.05	15.48	15.46
P10	11.50	12.46	10.89	11.02
P90	29.19	35	42.86	25.58
Worker-quarter observations	532150	52371	111789	196782
City of Seattle				
All jobs				
Average jobs/worker	1.22	1.14	1.10	1.13
Quarterly earnings				
Mean	8301.69	10372.38	7861.76	6852.05

Median	6909.20	9621.71	6317.25	6599.93
P10	1208.39	2302.82	1587.04	1237.73
P90	15943.71	18619	15009.84	12005.73
Quarterly hours				
Mean	406.93	431.54	401.91	365.73
Median	452	488	450	417
P10	85	142	96	78
P90	588	560	545	534
Hourly wages				
Mean	20.19	23.45	21.01	18.90
Median	15.95	20.01	14.78	16.24
P10	11.72	13.17	10.88	11.88
P90	31.77	37.58	33.62	28.06
Primary job				
Mean	6932.20	9317.29	7267.10	6228.23
Median	5309	8755.71	5995.12	6151.24
P10	467.72	916.63	1015.41	625.52
P90	14283.85	17790.92	13820.95	11493.84
Quarterly hours				
Mean	333.58	380.52	365.62	332.53
Median	367	480	437	388
P10	32	57	61	40
P90	540	557	528	527
Hourly wages				
Mean	19.74	23.10	21.79	18.78
Median	15.60	19.47	14.69	16.10
P10	11.67	13.12	10.85	11.86
P90	31	37.12	34.87	27.72
Worker-quarter observations	347561	28930	99725	71690

Source: Same as Table 4; restricted to worker-quarter records in human services

L.2. OLS Regressions of Log Earnings and Log Hourly Wages on Human Service Employment

	King County		*Seattle*	
	Ln Earnings	Ln Hourly wages	Ln Earnings	Ln Hourly wages
All jobs				
Industry (ref: non-care industries)				
Human services	-0.80***	-0.59***	-0.80***	-0.59***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other care	-0.17***	-0.02***	-0.17***	-0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	0.01***	-0.05***	0.01***	-0.05***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
With controls for hours worked				
Human services	-0.63***	-0.56***	-0.63***	-0.56***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other care	0.02***	0.02***	0.02***	0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Hours (combined jobs)	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.05***	-0.06***	-0.05***	-0.06***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Primary job				
Industry (ref: non-care)				
Human services	-0.96***	-0.60***	-0.96***	-0.60***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other care	-0.23***	-0.01***	-0.23***	-0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	0.09***	-0.05***	0.09***	-0.05***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
With controls for hours worked				
Human services	-0.56***	-0.53***	-0.56***	-0.53***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other care	0.07***	0.04***	0.07***	0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Hours (primary job)	0.01***	0.00***	0.01***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.06***	-0.08***	-0.06***	-0.08***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Observations	37174720	37174720	17856693	17856693

Source: Same as Table 4. *Note*: Dummies for year-quarter included but not shown. Standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 To calculate percent changes from the coefficient estimates, apply the formula = (EXP (coefficient)-1) *100. For coefficients between -0.100 and 0.100, the coefficient is approximately the same as the percentage change.

L.3. Regressions of Log Earnings and Log Hourly Wages on Human Service Employment, with Worker Fixed Effects

	King County		*Seattle*	
All jobs	Ln Earnings	Ln hourly wages	Ln Earnings	Ln hourly wages
Industry (ref: non-care)				
Human services	-0.05***	-0.09***	-0.05***	-0.09***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other care	0.05***	0.03***	0.05***	0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.02***	-0.03***	-0.02***	-0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
With controls for hours worked				
Human services	-0.10***	-0.08***	-0.10***	-0.08***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other care	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Hours (combined jobs)	0.00***	-0.00***	0.00***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.02***	-0.03***	-0.02***	-0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Primary job				
Industry (ref: non-care industries)				
Human services	-0.16***	-0.13***	-0.16***	-0.13***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other care	0.10***	0.04***	0.10***	0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	0.11***	-0.02***	0.11***	-0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
With controls for hours worked				
Human services	-0.16***	-0.13***	-0.16***	-0.13***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other care	0.06***	0.05***	0.06***	0.05***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Hours (primary job)	0.00***	-0.00***	0.00***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	0.03***	-0.02***	0.03***	-0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Observations	37174720	37174720	17856693	17856693

Source: Same as Table 4. *Note*: Dummies for year-quarter included but shown. Standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 To calculate percent changes from the coefficient estimates, apply the formula = (EXP (coefficient)-1) *100. For coefficients between -0.100 and 0.100, the coefficient is approximately the same as the percentage change.

Exhibit M. Job Switchers in Seattle and King County, Disaggregated by Wage Quintile

M.1. Change After a Quarter in Log Earnings and Log Wages by Type of Switch

	King County		*Seattle*	
	Ln earnings	Ln hourly wages	Ln earnings	Ln hourly wages
All				
Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)	-0.35***	0.01***	-0.36***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (non-HS to HS)	-0.48***	-0.09***	-0.46***	-0.08***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Stayer (HS)	-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.00**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to HS)	-0.37***	-0.02***	-0.38***	-0.02***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to non-HS)	-0.18***	0.07***	-0.22***	0.05***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Hours (primary job)	-0.00***	0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.02***	-0.00***	-0.02***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Bottom quintile				
Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)	-0.06***	0.12***	-0.04***	0.12***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (non-HS to HS)	-0.20***	0.05***	-0.15***	0.06***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Stayer (HS)	-0.03***	-0.00***	-0.03***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to HS)	-0.25***	0.04***	-0.24***	0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Switcher (HS to non-HS)	-0.01	0.15***	-0.04***	0.12***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Hours (primary job)	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.01***	0.01***	-0.00**	0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Second quintile				
Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)	-0.44***	-0.01***	-0.46***	-0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (non-HS to HS)	-0.65***	-0.14***	-0.61***	-0.10***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Stayer (HS)	-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.02***	-0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to HS)	-0.56***	-0.05***	-0.55***	-0.05***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Switcher (HS to non-HS)	-0.42***	0.02***	-0.40***	0.02***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Hours (primary job)	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00

	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.02***	0.00***	-0.03***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Third quintile				
Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)	-0.55***	-0.07***	-0.57***	-0.07***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (non-HS to HS)	-0.90***	-0.30***	-0.87***	-0.29***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Stayer (HS)	-0.03***	-0.01***	-0.03***	-0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to HS)	-0.53***	-0.13***	-0.51***	-0.11***
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)
Switcher (HS to non-HS)	-0.40***	-0.05***	-0.38***	-0.05***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Hours (primary job)	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.02***	-0.00***	-0.02***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Fourth quintile				
Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)	-0.55***	-0.07***	-0.57***	-0.07***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (non-HS to HS)	-0.97***	-0.40***	-1.04***	-0.42***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Stayer (HS)	-0.02***	-0.00	-0.02***	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to HS)	-0.57***	-0.21***	-0.72***	-0.26***
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.02)
Switcher (HS to non-HS)	-0.49***	-0.09***	-0.50***	-0.09***
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Hours (primary job)	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.02***	-0.01***	-0.02***	-0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Top quintile				
Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)	-0.48***	-0.09***	-0.47***	-0.09***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (non-HS to HS)	-0.82***	-0.45***	-0.86***	-0.49***
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Stayer (HS)	-0.01**	0.01***	-0.01	0.01**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to HS)	-0.62***	-0.58***	-0.59***	-0.52***
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.04)
Switcher (HS to non-HS)	-0.38***	-0.30***	-0.49***	-0.27***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Hours (primary job)	0.00***	0.00***	0.00**	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.02***	-0.01***	-0.02***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Observations	28632298	28632298	13994394	13994394

Source: Same as Table 4. *Note*: Earnings and hourly wages pertain to primary job. The outcome variable is

the change in earnings or hourly wages between the **quarter preceding the switch** to the **quarter immediately after the switch occurs**. The reference switching type are Stayers not in human services. Quintiles based on current wages in primary job. Dummies for year-quarter included but shown. Standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
To calculate percent changes from the coefficient estimates, apply the formula = (EXP (coefficient)-1) *100. For coefficients between -0.100 and 0.100, the coefficient is approximately the same as the percentage change.

M.2. Change After a Year in Log Earnings and Log Wages by Type of Switch

	King County		*Seattle*	
	Ln earnings	Ln hourly wages	Ln earnings	Ln hourly wages
All				
Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)	0.20***	0.05***	0.18***	0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (non-HS to HS)	0.15***	0.01***	0.15***	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Stayer (HS)	-0.02***	0.00	-0.02***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to HS)	0.15***	0.01**	0.16***	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to non-HS)	0.29***	0.07***	0.27***	0.07***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Hours (primary job)	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.01***	-0.00***	-0.01***	-0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Bottom quintile				
Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)	0.31***	0.11***	0.28***	0.09***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (non-HS to HS)	0.23***	0.05***	0.22***	0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.02)	(0.00)
Stayer (HS)	-0.06***	-0.02***	-0.06***	-0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to HS)	0.17***	0.04***	0.19***	0.02**
	(0.02)	(0.00)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Switcher (HS to non-HS)	0.31***	0.10***	0.28***	0.07***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Hours (primary job)	-0.00***	0.00***	-0.00***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.01***	0.01***	-0.01***	0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Second quintile				
Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)	0.17***	0.06***	0.15***	0.05***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (non-HS to HS)	0.06***	-0.01***	0.07***	-0.01*
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Stayer (HS)	-0.03***	-0.01***	-0.04***	-0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to HS)	0.02	-0.01**	0.03	-0.02**
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Switcher (HS to non-HS)	0.18***	0.06***	0.19***	0.05***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Hours (primary job)	-0.00***	0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.01***	0.01***	-0.01***	0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)

Third quintile				
Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)	0.12***	0.03***	0.11***	0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (non-HS to HS)	-0.05***	-0.08***	-0.05**	-0.08***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Stayer (HS)	-0.03***	-0.01***	-0.03***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to HS)	0.06*	-0.08***	0.09**	-0.04***
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.02)
Switcher (HS to non-HS)	0.13***	0.03***	0.13***	0.03***
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Hours (primary job)	-0.00***	0.00***	-0.00***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.01***	0.00***	0.01***	0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Fourth quintile				
Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)	0.12***	0.02***	0.11***	0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (non-HS to HS)	0.01	-0.03***	-0.04	-0.08***
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Stayer (HS)	-0.01***	0.00**	-0.02***	0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to HS)	0.04	-0.13***	-0.00	-0.16***
	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.03)
Switcher (HS to non-HS)	0.16***	0.00	0.15***	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)
Hours (primary job)	-0.00***	-0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.02***	-0.00**	-0.02***	-0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Top quintile				
Switcher (non-HS to non-HS)	0.09***	-0.06***	0.07***	-0.06***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Switcher (non-HS to HS)	-0.08***	-0.19***	-0.08***	-0.16***
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Stayer (HS)	-0.03***	-0.09***	-0.02***	-0.07***
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Switcher (HS to HS)	0.06	-0.41***	-0.08	-0.29***
	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.07)	(0.05)
Switcher (HS to non-HS)	0.17***	-0.21***	0.11***	-0.16***
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Hours (primary job)	0.00***	-0.00***	0.00***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Multi-establishment firm	-0.02***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Observations	22846460	22846460	11267121	11267121

Source: Same as Table 4. *Note*: Earnings and hourly wages pertain to primary job. The outcome variable is the change in earnings or hourly wages between the **quarter preceding the switch** to the quarter **a year after the switch occurs**. The reference switching type are Stayers not in human services. Quintiles based on current wages in primary job. Dummies for year-quarter included but shown. Standard errors in

parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 To calculate percent changes from the coefficient estimates, apply the formula = (EXP (coefficient)-1) *100. For coefficients between -0.100 and 0.100, the coefficient is approximately the same as the percentage change.

References

Boris, Elizabeth T. Erwin DeLeon, Katie L. Roeger, Milena Nikolova. 2010. *Human Service Nonprofits and Government Collaboration*. Washington, D.C.: Center on Nonprofits and Philanthropy, Urban Institute, Accessed November 28, 2022 at https://cmapspublic3.ihmc.us/rid=1M2FDPXGW-1QD5H76-127H/ARTICLE-%20Nonprofit%20Government%20Contracting.pdf

Budig, Michelle J., Melissa J. Hodges, and Paula England. 2019. "Wages of Nurturant and Reproductive Care Workers: Individual and Job Characteristics, Occupational Closure, and Wage-Equalizing Institutions." *Social Problems* 66(2), 294-319.

Cunningham, Ian, Donna Baines, and John Shields. 2017. ""You've Just Cursed Us": Precarity, Austerity and Worker's Participation in the Non-Profit Social Services." *Relations Industrielles/Industrial Relations* 72(2), 370-393.

Folbre, Nancy, Leila Gautham, and Kristin Smith. 2022. "Gender Inequality, Bargaining, and Pay in Care Services in the United States." *ILR Review*: 00197939221091157.

Leighninger, Leslie. 2001. "When Social Workers and Unions Allied in the 1930s." *Journal of Progressive Human Services* 11:2, 103-112.

Moffat, Colleen Teixeira. 2011. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Helping Those in Need: Human Service Workers," *Occupational Outlook Quarterly*, Fall 2011, 23-32.

NAS (National Academy of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine) 2019. Integrating Social Care into the Delivery of Health Care: Moving Upstream to Improve the Nation's Health. Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press. https://doi.org/10.17226/25467, accessed November 28, 2022, at https://nap.nationalacademies.org/download/25467

National Conference of Nonprofits, 2021. "The Scope and Impact of Nonprofit Workforce Shortages," December 13, 2021, accessed November 9, 2022, at https://www.councilofnonprofits.org/sites/default/files/documents/nonprofit-workforce-shortages-report.pdf

Non-Profit Association of Washington. 2022. "The Non-Profit Experience with Government Contracting: Challenges and Recommendations," March 2022, accessed November 19, 2022, at https://nonprofitwa.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Washington-Nonprofits-Government-Contracting-Report.pdf

National Center for O*NET Development. n.d. "O*NET OnLine." O*Net Resource Center. n.d. https://www.onetonline.org/.

Oliver Wyman and SeaChange Capital Partners. 2018. *A National Imperative: Joining Forces to Strengthen Human Services in America*, report commissioned by the Alliance for Strong Families and Communities and the American Public Human Services Association (APHSA), accessed online November 28, 2022, at

https://www.alliance1.org/web/community/national-imperative-joining-forces-strengthen-human-services-america.aspx

Provider's Council, Donahue Institute, and UMass Dartmouth Public Policy Center. 2017. "Who Will Care? The Workforce Crisis in Human Services," accessed November 9, 2022, at https://providers.org/report/who-will-care-the-workforce-crisis-in-human-services/

Provider's Council, Donahue Institute, and UMass Dartmouth Public Policy Center. 2015. "The Economic Impact of the Human Services Sector," accessed November 9, 2022, at https://providers.org/report/beyond-social-value-the-economic-impact-of-the-human-services-sector/

Smith, S.R. and Lipsky, M. 1993, *Nonprofits for Hire: The Welfare State in the Age of Contracting*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Appendix 4. Human Services Workers: Job Evaluation Study

by Ariane Hegewisch, Nicole Vallestero-Keenan, and Heather Wakefield

The Job Evaluation Team (JET)

The Job Evaluation Team (JET) is one of three teams contributing to the study of pay and conditions of human services workers in the non-profit sector, alongside the Market Analysis and Policy Teams. The Market Analysis Team (MAT), conducted statistical analysis of human services jobs in the United States, investigating remuneration disparities between human services workers in the non-profit sector and comparable private sector workers, looking in particular at the effect of education, contracting-out, bargaining rights, gender and race discrimination on those disparities. The MAT study revealed steep gender and race disparities across all industries. The Policy Team has examined policies and legal provisions which have historically impacted the employment of human service workers in the non-profit sector.

While the Market Analysis Team conducted economy-wide statistical analysis using official census and employment data, JET undertook detailed evaluations of twelve existing 'benchmark' jobs in human services in the Seattle/King County area and ten comparator jobs in the local private and public sectors. The aim was to examine the 'comparable worth' of the benchmark human services occupations and a range of local jobs in the Seattle and King County private and public sectors, to see whether human services workers in non-profits are being adequately and fairly remunerated for jobs of comparable worth in the local Seattle/King County economy.

Comparable worth and pay equity

The concept of 'comparable worth' or 'pay equity' differs from the notion of 'equal pay for equal work,' which is derived from the 1963 Equal Pay Act (EPA). 'Comparable worth' is designed to address pay disparities arising from occupational segregation. Jobs primarily held by women tend to be paid less than those primarily held by men – as is also the case for women and men of different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination in compensation on the basis of race, color, religion, pregnancy, or national origin as well as gender. Both the EPA and Title VII are limited to addressing pay discrimination for women and men - or workers of one of the other protected classes - doing equal or substantially equal work. However, pay discrimination is not limited to two people doing exactly the same jobs, but also applies to gender and race bias in the remuneration of different types of jobs.

Half the gender pay gap in the United States is due to differences in the distribution of men and women across occupations and industry, and the comparative underpayment of women's jobs (Blau and Kahn 2017). Comparable worth or equal value studies aim to reduce gender and race bias in remuneration through empirical analysis of the component parts and attributes of jobs such as knowledge, effort, skills, responsibilities and working conditions. This information provides the basis for a direct comparison of different kinds of jobs with the purpose of establishing fair pay relativities and grading systems.

This principle of 'equal pay for equal value' or 'comparable worth' is enshrined in the International Labor Organization (ILO) Equal Remuneration Convention No. 100 which has been signed by most countries in the world, including Canada, but not the United States.[1] It is also embedded in equal pay legislation in Europe and the UK.

In the absence of national legislation, some states – including Washington – have pursued local strategies to achieve comparable worth (See the Policy Team's report for a more detailed discussion). While efforts to integrate comparable worth principles into equal pay statutes at state or federal level have not been successful, from the 1970's onwards, several states and localities, as well as some private sector employers, did integrate them into their organizational compensation practices, resulting in considerable increases in women's remuneration (Hartmann and Aaronson 1994).

A considerable number of U.S. states continue to incorporate comparable worth principles into the rules governing state employees' pay (Hess et al 2016). Although there has been no success in amending the federal Equal Pay Act, recent reforms of equal pay statutes in California, Colorado, Maryland, and Massachusetts are resulting in a slightly broader framework for comparing jobs to achieve pay equity (Robinson 2021).

Pay and the Gender Pay Gap in the Seattle Metropolitan District

Average annual wages in the Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue metropolitan district are significantly higher than for the United States as a whole – as is the cost of housing.[2] According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor, in 2021-22, average U.S. earnings were $85,906, compared to $117,721 in the Seattle metropolitan district – a difference of 37%. The average hourly pay rate in the Seattle Metropolitan district in May 2021 was $36.62 –

[1] ILO Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (100) first came into force in 1953 and has been ratified by 174 countries; https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_Ilo_Code:C100

[2] US Bureau of Labor Statistics **News Release Information** 22-2023-SAN Thursday, October 13, 2022, https://www.bls.gov/regions/west/news-release/consumerexpenditures_seattle.htm

31% above the national average.[3] Housing costs account for 36.9% of annual Seattle household expenditure, compared to a U.S. average of 34.3%.[4]

A gender pay gap persists in the U.S. and in Washington state. Across the U.S., women who worked full-time in 2021 made only 82.3 cents for every dollar that a man made (Semega and Kollar 2022). The gender wage gap is substantially larger for women of color. Nationally, if trends continue at the same pace as they have since 1985, it will take Latinas almost 200 years, until 2210, and Black women over 100 years, until 2144, to reach pay equity with White, non-Hispanic men's median annual earnings (Institute for Women's Policy Research 2022).[5]

The gender wage gap in Washington state is even wider and is particularly large for women of color. In 2021, all women working full-time, year-round, in Washington earned just 78 cents on the dollar earned by men.[6] Pre-COVID-19, Latina women barely made half (50.2%) of White non-Hispanic men's full-time year-round earnings while Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander women made 51.4%, Native American women 61.5%, Black women 62.0%, White non-Hispanic women 76.4%, and Asian American women 82.0% (National Women's Law Center 2022).[7] Such differences in earnings are compounded year by year and are responsible for lower wealth, higher poverty rates, and fewer retirement resources for women and their families.

The undervaluation of women's work accounts for much of this difference in pay. If women were paid as much per hour as a man with the same level of education, same time in the labor market, and same number of paid hours, the rate of poverty for employed single mothers in Washington would fall by 60 percent, the rate of poverty for all employed women would be less than half, and the average pay raise for women be 16.1 percent (Milli et al. 2017).

[3] US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 22-1412-SAN, Thursday, July 07, 2022
https://www.bls.gov/regions/west/news-release/occupationalemploymentandwages_seattle.htm

[4] US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 13 October 2022 Ibid

[5] The gender wage gap widens to 76.9% when all workers with earnings, including part-time and seasonal workers, are also included because full-time year-round work is harder to find in many predominantly female occupations, and because women perform more unpaid family care work than men. Earnings differences for women and men by race/ethnicity are also substantially wider than the average wage gap; for most recent national for full-time year-round and all workers by race and ethnicity, see Hegewisch (2022).

[6] Calculation for gender wage gap in Washington for women and men based on 2021 American Community Survey Data.

[7] Calculation for wage gaps by race/ethnicity compared to White non-Hispanic men based on 2015-2019 American Community Survey 5–year estimates.

Methods: Testing Comparable Worth in Seattle and King County

In this study we use job evaluation analysis to compare the knowledge, effort, skills, responsibilities, initiative and working conditions of jobs in the non-profit human services sector to jobs in the for-profit and state sectors in Seattle and King County. Job evaluation is the systematic process of analyzing jobs according to factors that reflect their key attributes. This enables the determination of the relative value of different jobs within an organization and is typically carried out with the goal of creating a pay and grading structure that is fair, equitable, and transparent. This section details the job evaluation process, the methodology and the data analysis employed in JET's study.

Job Evaluation Instrument: The National Joint Council Scheme (NJCS)

To evaluate the jobs in our sample and assess comparable worth, JET used a purpose-built, job evaluation system developed by UK-wide local authority employers, unions representing their workforce, and leading job evaluation experts. The NJC job evaluation scheme (NJCS) was developed to comply with UK legislation requiring "equal pay for work of equal value" - the equivalent of "comparable worth" in the U.S. – and also with regard to the 'protected characteristics' in the UK's Equality Act 2010 – "age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage/civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation."

Part 4, Appendix 3(2.2) of the Green Book makes clear the likely outcome of using the NJCS:

"Employer and union reps should be aware at the outset that avoiding gender bias in evaluating jobs will mean that existing relativities are challenged and may be altered."

Widely used proprietary job evaluation systems have historically attributed more value to aspects of men's jobs than women's - such as management, manual labor, driving and the use of heavy equipment. They have often not adequately accounted for or measured interpersonal and communication skills, emotional demands, responsibility for people, or knowledge related to people and human behavior, which contributed to gender pay discrimination. In addition, some have been criticized for 'double counting' aspects of men's jobs in ways that discriminate against women, alongside attributing value to irrelevant qualifications and job titles. (See for example Acker 1987, Steinberg 1992; Treiman and Hartmann 1981).

The NJCS was based on a detailed prior analysis of all local government jobs and was designed to be capable of evaluating all occupations from the bottom to the top of UK local authority hierarchies. Many of those jobs are also found in the private and non-profit sectors. These include lawyers, architects, IT specialists, social workers, tradespeople such as electricians, carpenters, plumbers, and truck drivers. While job evaluation instruments are typically used for internal organizational pay comparability,

in New Zealand, the NJCS has been used as the basis for an economy-wide approach to gender-neutral job evaluation.

The NJCS is jointly owned by the local authority employers and trade unions that comprise the National Joint Council for Local Government Services (NJC) and is encompassed within the NJC collective agreement called the 'Green Book', which also contains a User's Manual (Local Government Association 2022). Technical Notes to assist implementation are also available and have been drawn up and updated when necessary to reflect changes in local government jobs.[8] The NJCS is used to evaluate jobs and construct pay and grading structures across whole local authorities in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, many covering tens of thousands of jobs. It is also used in most state and academy schools and many non-profit organizations.

The NJCS is regularly overseen by its Technical Working Group (TWG). The TWG is composed of staff from the Local Government Association and the three trade unions. It ensures the ongoing development of the NJCS and its relevance to the changing world of work in human and public services. A computerized version is available and is widely used in whole-employer evaluation exercises and includes grading and pay modelling functions, utilising the NJC pay scales.

In recognition of the changes which have occurred within local government and the wider employment context since the NJCS was first developed, the system was reviewed at the national level in 2012 and 2020. While no changes were made to either the instrument structure and factors, or the associated weighting and scoring, updated guidance for users of the NJCS was issued, together with new model role profiles for school-based posts and a new technical note to ensure that the instrument reflects new developments in the use of IT, team working and the impact of Covid on employees.

NJCS: A Factor- Based Job Evaluation System

The NJCS is based on factors that reflect characteristics of jobs existing across local government, schools and non-profit organizations and at different levels of hierarchy. It is a points-rated, analytical system that analyzes jobs according to factors reflecting the core requirements of the entire range of local government jobs. It is based on the principle of joint application and, when used in UK local authorities, is implemented through joint job evaluation panels comprising employer and trade union representatives, trained in its use.

The 'factor plan' for the NJCS can be found in Exhibit A. It shows the factors used to analyze jobs and their 'weighting' within it. The NJCS has a maximum total of 1000 points which are distributed across the factors. To achieve 1000 points, a worker would have to score the maximum for all factors. Very few employees would achieve maximum points on every factor. For example, senior white-collar employees are

[8] https://www.unison.org.uk/content/uploads/2018/06/NJC-Technical-Notes.pdf

unlikely to achieve maximum points for Working Conditions, however high their scores for Knowledge and Initiative and Independence.

As can be seen in Exhibit A, there are 13 factors, grouped within four broad headings – Knowledge and Skills, Effort Demands, Responsibilities, and Environmental Demands. There is a maximum of 8 'levels' within the instrument. Level 8 can only be attained for two factors - Knowledge, and Initiative and Independence, which were viewed as the most definitive aspects of jobs used to devise the NJCS and which are also the highest scoring factors in most other modern job evaluation (JE) systems.

Table 1 below is an extract from Technical Note 5 which accompanies the NJCS and outlines the justification for each of its factors. The Note highlights the fact that 'Knowledge' is a main factor in all modern JE systems and measures the 'major input' to the job. It also notes that most of the factors are present in other current JE systems and that the 'Emotional Demands' and 'Responsibility for People' factors have been included to ensure that the demands and responsibilities of jobs that involve working with people and in front-line occupations are captured. The 'Working Conditions' factor has also been devised to include people-related working conditions associated with care jobs, as well as environmental ones.

Table 1: Rationale for Inclusion of Factors in the NJCS

Factor	Justification for Inclusion
Job Knowledge	Occurs as a main factor in nearly all modern JE systems; measures the major 'input' to the job; defined in the NJC JES in relation to the actual job knowledge requirements rather than qualifications and experience, which have proved discriminatory in the past
Mental Skills	Occurs in some other JE systems as Problem Solving or Analytical/ Creative/ Innovation Skills; defined to include developmental and creative skills in relation to people as well as to e.g., policies, for equality reasons
Communication Skills	A standard factor in modern JE systems; defined in the NJC JES specifically to include caring skills to ensure fair assessment of jobs such as home carer, nursery nurse
Physical Skills	Included to ensure that the skill of jobs involving driving and/or keyboard work are fairly measured, as there is evidence that these are undervalued when measured under a Job Knowledge heading
Initiative and Independence	A standard JE factor, sometimes labelled Freedom to Act or Discretion; included to ensure that scope for decision making and exercising responsibilities is taken into account
Physical Demands	Commonly found in JE schemes covering manual jobs, less commonly in schemes covering non-manual jobs; defined to include stamina as well as strength-related job features
Mental Demands	Defined to measure demands for concentration, alertness and attention demands of the work
Emotional Demands	Not always recognised in JE schemes; defined to measure the effort demands arising from dealing with clients or others whose behaviour or circumstances cause distress
Responsibility for People	Adopted as a factor from the earlier local government manual worker JE scheme to measure the responsibilities of front-line, direct service providing jobs
Responsibility for Supervision etc of Other Employees	A traditional JE factor; measures managerial and supervisory responsibilities; defined in terms of the nature and demands of the responsibility, rather than through numbers or types of employees supervised or managed, as the latter have proved indirectly discriminatory
Responsibility for Financial Resources	Commonly found in JE schemes, although sometimes measured through an Impact factor: included as a separate factor distinct from other physical resources to avoid under-valuation of finance jobs; defined to cover all forms of financial resources, including e.g., accounts processing and income generation jobs
Responsibility for Physical Resources	Commonly found in modern JE schemes, sometimes covering financial as well as other forms of physical resources; defined to include information resources, as well as responsibilities for stocks, supplies, security, design and development of physical assets
Working Conditions	Commonly included in JE schemes covering manual jobs, less commonly in schemes covering non-manual employees; measures unavoidable and inevitable unpleasant conditions in line with good JE practice; defined to include people-related working conditions (e.g., body odours, verbal aggression) as well as environmental conditions (e.g., dust, fumes, extremes of temperature)

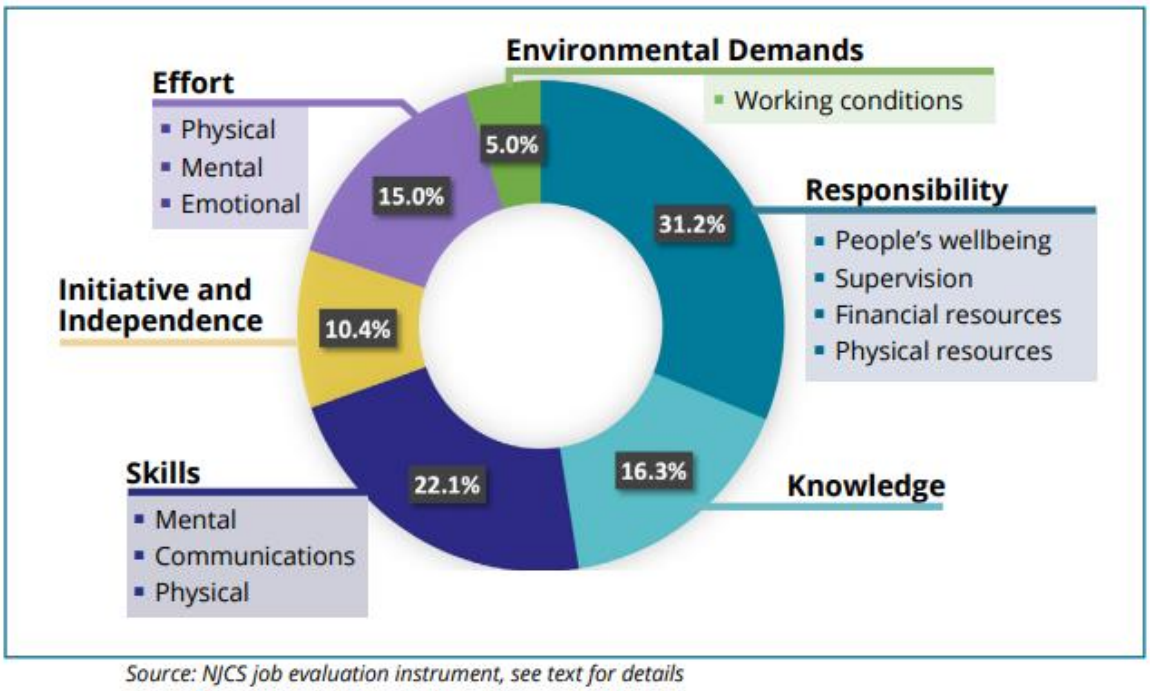
Source for Table 1: Local Government Services Job Evaluation Scheme: Technical Note 5: Factors and Weighting of the NJC Job Evaluation Scheme, April 2005; <chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://www.unison.org.uk/content/uploads/2018/06/NJC-Technical-Notes.pdf>.

NJCS Factors

As can be seen from Exhibit A, individual factors are weighted differently. Knowledge is the most heavily weighted and therefore accrues the most points. It accounts for 16.3% of the points total. Initiative and Independence account for 10.4%. Mental Skills, Communication Skills, Responsibility for People, Supervision, Financial Resources and Physical Resources each represent 7.8% of the points, while Physical Skills accrue 6.5%. Physical, Mental, Emotional Demands and Working Conditions each accrue 5% of the total number of points. Overall, the Knowledge and Skills factors accrue 38.4% of the total, Responsibilities 31.2%, Effort Demands 25.4% and Working Conditions 5%.

In Figure 1 below, 'Responsibilities' includes the four Responsibility factors: People, Supervision, Financial Resources, and Physical Resources. Each accrues 7.8% of the JE points, leading to an overall total of 31.2%. 'Skills' includes Mental, Communication and Physical Skills. Mental and Communication Skills each account for 7.8% of the JE points, while Physical Skills accrue 6.5%, leading to the overall 22.1% total.

Figure 1: NJCS Job Evaluation Factors and Share (%) of Total Job Evaluation



Source: NJCS job evaluation instrument, see text for details

Formal qualifications and individual performance are not evaluated within the NJCS, which looks at the actual content of the jobs performed. This is to ensure that jobs whose demands exceed the scope of the minimum required qualifications are appropriately evaluated. It also ensures that qualifications that are not genuine requirements of jobs do not inflate their overall value. However, qualifications are used as a reference point where a factor level may not be immediately clear. The NJCS

assumes that employees are performing at full competence – unless it is specifically a trainee or apprenticeship JE instrument – and assumes that normal management practices and statutory requirements for health and safety and other employee protections are fully operational.

The NJCS includes a detailed job evaluation questionnaire, designed to elicit the core components of jobs by factor. This information is used as the basis for one-one interviews with jobholders.

Methods: Analyzing human services jobs in Seattle and King County

Job evaluation (JE) questionnaire

In the present study, job holders completed the NJCS job evaluation questionnaire. We used the original NJCS questionnaire, adapted to use U.S. terminology. Questions relating to the Working Conditions factor were slightly amended to reflect the impact of COVID-19 as well as the potential for micro-aggressions in the workplace. The questionnaire is comprehensive and designed to elicit key details about the job and to provide a framework for the follow-up in-depth interview. Exhibit B contains a full copy of the questionnaire. Ten of the twelve jobholders in our benchmark sample are women, and nine are people of color.

Sampling

The study used purposive sampling to recruit job holders in commonly occurring benchmark positions representing an array of jobs and responsibilities, at different levels of responsibility and across different types of work settings, including different-sized organizations. The study aimed to recruit a sample of human service job holders (n=12) and a sample of comparison job holders (n=10) to participate in the study. The human services benchmark jobs evaluated include four common positions, specifically "Caseworker," "Director", "Coordinator," and "Childcare worker". The range of types of human services organizations represented include those providing homelessness and housing support services, domestic violence services, multi-service community centers, and early learning care providers. The sample also represents jobs in organizations of differing sizes - (Small (<50), Medium (50-199), Large (200+)).

It should be noted that while job titles are often not accurate descriptions of job content, jobs have been allocated to the most accurate descriptor in the grid.

Table 2: Human services jobs evaluated in the study

Job (columns) Service area (rows)	**Case Worker**	**Program Director**	**Program Coordinator**	**Childcare Worker**

Homelessness and Housing Support Services	Case Manager	HR Director, Housing Organization Director – Housing Services	Housing Services Manager	
Domestic Violence Services		Director of Programs and Membership		
Multi-Service Community Center	Youth Advocate Children's Advocate	Early Learning Director/Site Co-ordinator	Office Assistant/Intake Co-ordinator Program Manager	
Early Learning				Teaching Assistant School-Age Enrichment Worker

Recruitment of benchmark and comparator job holders was conducted beginning in October through December 2022. The research team and Steering Committee networks and connections were utilized to recruit a sample of benchmark job holders and a sample of comparator job holders. The JE team was greatly assisted by organizations within the Seattle Human Services Coalition in identifying human services worker volunteers from the non-profit sector. With the support of the Steering Committee, a locally based member of the JE team oversaw recruitment, obtained informed consent, ensured that participants completed the NJCS self-administered online questionnaire, and conducted most of the interviews.

In recognition of the time required for completing the detailed questionnaire and the follow-up interview, each lasting approximately one hour, compensation of $750 was paid to the non-profit employers for allowing employees to have time to complete the questionnaire; all benchmark and comparator job holders who participated were given $200 gift cards each for their time and effort.

Recruitment of comparator job holders

The criteria for inclusion of comparator jobs were that they were employees and working full-time. Comparator job holders in the sample are all working in the for-profit

sector, except for one public sector worker and two trade union employees. To identify comparators, the JE team sought individuals from a range of occupations outside of the non-profit, human services sector. The goal was to include occupations either predominantly performed by men – such as construction or IT – or administrative and professional occupations, from entry to senior executive level. The team also aimed to include individuals from a range of organizations, including smaller and larger employers, and from the for-profit as well as the public sector. Direct outreach, including a snowball sampling principle drawing on pre-existing relationships and acquaintances, was used to identify comparators. Those interested initially completed a brief screening questionnaire on the sector, size of their employer, and their occupations to ensure that they met the criteria for the study and to inform our purposive sampling. Once selected into the sample, comparison job holders completed the NJCS job description questionnaire and participated in a follow-up interview.

Data collection

Data collected for the job evaluation includes the responses to the JE questionnaire, and simultaneous transcription of the interviews, which were conducted virtually. In addition, job holders or their supervisors provided copies of their contracts, personnel policies, benefits information, and organizational charts where possible.

Analysis

Completed questionnaires were reviewed by two team members, to check for content and consistency and to identify questions to ask during the in-depth interview. A separate individual conducted the interviews, to ensure that it was not the same person doing interviews and analyses. Transcripts and completed questionnaires were analyzed to assess and score the job on each of the 13 factors measured by the NJCS, following a structured scoring rubric and protocol. Points for each factor were totaled to allow for comparison of salaries across JE scores both within and across sectors.

Analysis and scoring of the NJCS job evaluation questionnaire and interview transcript data was carried out by a member of the team who was involved in establishing the original NJCS job evaluation tool and who has twenty years' experience applying the scoring rubric in job evaluation analyses across local government, schools, and the non-profit sector in the UK. Another member of the team recruited and interviewed the volunteer job holders and a further member also identified interview questions and analyzed non-pay benefits.

Findings

The comparator and benchmark jobs used in the study are shown in Tables 3a and 3b below. Jobs are ranked by total JE score. For reasons of confidentiality, employers have not been disclosed in this study. Salaries shown are the actual salaries earned by the individuals interviewed for each job and are the basis of the job evaluation analysis.

Table 3a: Benchmark Jobs – JE Score and Pay*

OCCUPATION	JE SCORE	ANNUAL SALARY
Teaching Assistant	404	$37,565
School Age Enrichment Worker	430	$47,320
Youth Advocate	447	$43,680
Office Assistant/Intake Coordinator	460	$49,950
Early Learning Director/Site Coordinator	505	$44,990
Case Manager	522	$52,855
Program Manager	528	$49,920
Manager – Housing Services	581	$55,557
Coalition Director Programs and Membership	601	$80,000
Children's Advocate	669	$50,107
HR Director, Housing Organization	684	$130,000
Director – Housing Services	716	$68,120

Note: *See Table 9 below for the median annual earnings of the closest occupation in the 2021 King County Non-profit Wage & Benefits Survey.

Table 3b: Comparator Jobs – JE Score and Pay*

OCCUPATION	JE SCORE	ANNUAL SALARY
Office Manager	367	$74,880
Public Sector Administrator/Project Manager	370	$86,653
Journey Electrician	427	$136,698
TU Dispatcher/Office Manager	449	$66,000
TU Public Sector Business Rep	492	$164,028
Facilities Manager/Administrator	512	$68,500
Private School Equity Director	577	$110,000
Attorney	593	$130,000
Compliance Director	599	$160,000
Construction Project Manager	710	$130,270 + 40% bonus

Note: *See Table 10 below for the median earnings of the closest occupation for the Seattle-Bellevue-Tacoma Metropolitan Statistical Area based on U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics O*Net data.

Range of job evaluation scores

The twelve benchmark job evaluation scores range from 404 to 716. Eight of the twelve – 75% - fall between 400 and 600 points. The ten comparator scores range from the bottom score of 367 – lower than the lowest benchmark score of 404 – to 710, which is marginally lower than the highest benchmark score of 716. Seven of the ten comparator jobs – 70% - fall between 400 and 600 points.

The link between job evaluation scores and pay

Tables 3a and 3b demonstrate that within the benchmark group, there is a relationship between job evaluation points and increases in pay rates between the lowest point score of 404 and the Coalition Director job with 601 points. Pay for the Children's Advocate and the Director of Housing Services do not reflect their higher job evaluation scores, while the pay of the HR Director is a clear salary outlier, but probably reflective of typical remuneration levels of HR Directors in both the private and public sectors.

There is a much less clear relationship between job evaluation scores and pay in the comparator group. This would be expected given that the comparators come from a range of sectors, with much less homogenous employment backgrounds than the human services workers.

The pay of the lowest-scoring comparator – Office Manager – is almost double that of the lowest-scoring benchmark job – Teaching Assistant. The pay of the highest scoring comparator – Construction Project Manager – is more than double that of the highest scoring benchmark job – Director, Housing Services – when their 40% bonus is included and almost double without the bonus.

Explaining the differences between evaluation scores

The following are four separate, paired comparisons from Tables 3a and 3b above, each pairing a benchmark and a comparator job with very similar scores – and very different levels of pay. In each case, the comparator job is more highly paid. They are shown here in order to demonstrate how different jobs of similar value accrue job evaluation points according to different factors.

Teaching Assistant and Administrator/Project Manager: Analyzing the difference in factor levels

Table 4: Teaching Assistant and Administrator/Project Manager – JE Score Differences

	Benchmark Job: Teaching Assistant	**JE Score: 404**	**Comparator Job: Administrator/Project Manager**	**JE Score:370**
Factor	**Factor level**	**Points**	**Factor level**	**Points**
Knowledge	4	80	3	60
Mental Skills	3	39	3	39
Interpersonal/Communication Skills	4	52	4	52
Physical Skills	2	26	2	26
Initiative/Independence	3	39	3	39
Physical Demands	2	20	1	10
Mental Demands	3	30	2	20
Emotional Demands	2	20	1	10
Responsibility for People	3	39	2	26
Responsibility for Supervision	1	13	2	26
Responsibility for Financial Resources	1	13	2	26
Responsibility for Physical Resources	1	13	2	26
Working Conditions	2	20	1	10
Total points		**404**		**370**
Annual Pay		**$37,565**		**$86,653**

The Teaching Assistant scores higher than the Administrator/Project Manager on the Knowledge, Physical Demands, Mental Demands, Emotional Demands, Responsibility for People and Working Conditions factors (Table 4). The Administrator/Project Manager scores higher than the Teaching Assistant on the Responsibility for Supervision, Financial Resources and Physical Resources factors.

The difference between the Teaching Assistant's Level 4 and the Administrator/Project Manager's Level 3 scores on the 'Knowledge' factor accounts for 20 points – the largest single points difference in the overall evaluation - and reflects the wider knowledge base of the Teaching Assistant job, which includes the requirement for knowledge of preschool development and behavior and signs of child abuse, including in children with special needs, as well as family dynamics and responses. Knowledge of first aid and

resuscitation procedures and community resources is also required. The knowledge base for the Administrator/Project Manager is largely founded in council structures, policies and procedures, including a database, document retention and archiving policies and widely used IT software packages.

The Teaching Assistant's higher scores for Physical, Mental, Emotional Demands reflect the walking and lifting, mental attention and emotional demands of the job, including dealing with distressed children and anxious and angry parents. The Responsibility for People score is higher because of the impact of the job on the development, safety and wellbeing of children and parents, while the impact of the Administrator/Projects Manager job is largely on council processes.

The Administrator/Project Manager's higher scores on the Responsibility for Supervision, Financial Resources and Physical Resources factors are reflective of the requirement on the Administrator/Project Manager to train new staff in new software systems and City processes 'as needed', while the Teaching Assistant has no formal supervisory or training requirements placed upon them – although they help new staff as required. The Administrator/Project Manager has to provide IT cost estimates for future budget planning, while the Teaching Assistant has no responsibility for finance. The Administrator/Project Manager is required to ensure that staff and offices have sufficient and working IT equipment and manages the contract management system.

Case Manager and Facilities Administrator – Analyzing the difference in factor levels

There is only a 10-point overall difference in scores between the jobs, however, the Case Manager scores higher than the Facilities Administrator on the Knowledge, Mental and Interpersonal/Communication Skills, Emotional Demands and Responsibility for People factors. The Facilities Administrator has a higher score on the Physical Skills, Physical Demands, Responsibility for Supervision, Financial Resources and Physical Resources and Working Conditions factors (Table 5).

Table 5: Case Manager and Facilities Administrator – JE Score differences

	Benchmark Job: Case Manager	**JE Score/ Pay: 522**	**Comparator Job: Facilities Manager/Admn**	**JE Score/ Pay: 512**
Factor	**Factor level**	**Points**	**Factor level**	**Points**
Knowledge	5	100	4	80
Mental Skills	4	52	3	39
Interpersonal/Communication Skills	4	52	2	26
Physical Skills	3	39	4	52
Initiative/Independence	5	65	5	65
Physical Demands	1	10	3	30
Mental Demands	4	40	4	30
Emotional Demands	4	40	3	30
Responsibility for People	4	52	3	39
Responsibility for Supervision	1	13	2	26
Responsibility for Financial Resources	1	13	2	26
Responsibility for Physical Resources	1	26	3	39
Working Conditions	2	20	3	30
Total points		**522**		**512**
Annual Pay		**$52,855**		**$68,500**

The required knowledge base for the Case Manager job is broader than for the Facilities Administrator and accounts for 20 points. It includes knowledge of the social and psychological issues faced by clients and their family members, crisis prevention, health, legal and social security rights, taxation, and death procedures. In addition, the post holder is required to have CPR, Covid guidelines and first aid training and knowledge of widely used IT software packages. The Facilities Adminstrator is required to have knowledge of routine maintenance procedures for catering equipment and associated tools, health and food safety regulations and basic IT software packages.

The Case Manager's higher score for Mental Skills can be accounted for by the problem-solving and research requirements related to the "myriad of issues" contained in the job, which are more complex than the mental skills required by the Facilities Administrator. The Case Manager requires a high level of interpersonal skills in order to engage with angry and distressed clients, where de-escalation, persuasion and listening

skills are required. The Facilities Manager is required to deal with occasional conflict situations when clients have been waiting for repairs or maintenance.

The Emotional Demands on the Case Manager posed by clients who are terminally ill, suicidal or facing family breakdown score higher that the demands on the Facilities Manager, who nonetheless faces the stress and anger of café managers and food producers on a daily basis. The Case Manager has a higher level of responsibility for people and a greater immediate impact on their well-being. The Facilities Administrator has some responsibility for the safety of clients which is exercised through ensuring appropriate fire and health and safety procedures and building regulations are followed.

The Facilities Administrator scores more than the Case Manager on the Physical Skills, Physical Demands, Responsibility for Supervision, Financial and Physical Resources and Working Conditions factors. The difference in the Physical Skills score can be accounted for by the use of small power tools and regular driving contained in the Facilities Manager job, while the Case Manager is required to use a computer for email and report writing, with only occasional driving requirements to take clients to meetings.The physical demands on the Facilities Manager are greater than those on the Case Manager. They involve carrying, lifting, and moving sometimes heavy equipment and regular driving of a truck.

The Facilities Manager is required to give regular demonstrations and training to co-workers on catering machine maintenance, while the Case Manager has no formal requirement to train or supervise other staff. The Facilities Manager can approve invoices from contractors and spend “a few $100” on them without permission, while the Case manager has no responsibility for finances. The Facilities Manager is responsible for maintaining and organizing tools and spare parts and the maintenance of catering equipment and therefore scores higher on Responsibility for Physical Resources than the Case Manager, who has no specified responsibility for physical resources. The Facilities manager scores higher than the Case Manager on Working Conditions as a result of a greater degree of outdoor working, exposure to chemical, mechanical and electrical hazards, fluctuating workplace temperatures and working in small cramped spaces. The Case Manager is however exposed to COVID-19 and other health risks from clients and occasional abuse.

Coalition Director and Attorney: Analyzing the difference in factor levels

Although there is only an 8-point difference in overall JE score between the Coalition Director and the Attorney, as Table 6 below demonstrates, the Coalition Director earns just over 60% of the Attorney’s pay.

Table 6: Coalition Director and Attorney – JE Score Differences

	Benchmark Job: Coalition Director	**JE Score/ Pay: 601**	**Comparator Job: Attorney**	**JE Score/ Pay: 593**
Factor	**Factor level**	**Points**	**Factor level**	**Points**
Knowledge	6	121	7	142
Mental Skills	5	65	5	65
Interpersonal/Communication Skills	5	65	5	65
Physical Skills	2	26	2	26
Initiative/Independence	5	65	6	78
Physical Demands	2	20	1	10
Mental Demands	3	30	4	40
Emotional Demands	3	30	4	40
Responsibility for People	4	52	4	52
Responsibility for Supervision	3	39	1	13
Responsibility for Financial Resources	3	39	1	13
Responsibility for Physical Resources	3	39	3	39
Working Conditions	1	10	1	10
Total points		**601**		**593**
Annual Pay		**$80,000**		**$130,000**

The Coalition Director scores higher than the Attorney on the following factors: Physical Demands, Responsibility for Supervision and Responsibility for Financial Resources. The Attorney scores higher than the Coalition Director on Knowledge, Initiative/Independence, Mental Demands, and Emotional Demands.

The Coalition Director has greater physical demands placed on them because they are required to drive regularly and regularly stand when in community meetings and training other staff and stakeholders. The Attorney expends comparably little physical effort: “I have a desktop so the greatest physical effort may be walking to the office from the parking garage and sitting most of the day”. The Coalition Director supervises five people, while the Attorney is not responsible for supervision. The Coalition Director is required to be involved in the agency’s budget development and maintain oversight of the budgets for the programs they supervise. They have monthly reporting responsibilities to a number of funders for funding amounting to over $600,000.The Attorney has no responsibility for finances and budgeting.

The Attorney scores higher than the Coalition Director on the Knowledge factor because of the depth of knowledge required to practice as an Attorney. This includes knowledge of the law itself, legal practices and procedures and court procedures. They are required to acquire 45 Continuing Legal Education credit hours in the law every three years in order to maintain their legal practice requirements. The Coalition Director also has significant knowledge requirements placed upon them. Their role demands detailed knowledge of the "gender-based violence landscape", knowledge of over thirty membership organizations with different approaches and philosophies, contract management, personnel and HR policies and the New Day Database.

The Attorney also scores higher on Initiative and Independence as they handle their own caseload and have the primary responsibility for decisions on cases. The potential consequences of error are significant. The Coalition Director also has significant autonomy in their daily role but refers to their manager for support and guidance on some issues. The mental demands on the Attorney are scored higher than on the Coalition Director as a result of "the extreme level of attention to detail" required to formulate motions and the active listening required in court hearings, interviews, and when counseling clients, which forms a significant part of the job. The Coalition Director also has significant, but slightly lower mental demands placed upon them, including training preparation, meeting facilitation, reviewing contracts and budgets, and student learning contracts and evaluation.

The higher score for Emotional Demands awarded to the Attorney represents the regular demand for counseling activities with many individual clients "under severe emotional distress" who are largely victims of sexual abuse, harassment, violence or discrimination, although the Coalition Director is required to manage the trauma of others and their own secondary trauma related to gender-based violence and the need to support Coalition members "struggling with colleagues and organizational dynamics".

Director of Housing Services and Construction Project Manager: Analyzing the difference in factor levels

Table 7. Director of Housing Services and Construction Project Manager – JE Score Differences

	Benchmark Job: Director of Housing Services	**JE Score/ Pay: 716**	**Comparator Job: Construction Project Manager**	**JE Score/ Pay: 710**
Factor	**Factor level**	**Points**	**Factor level**	**Points**

Knowledge	6	121	7	142
Mental Skills	5	65	6	78
Interpersonal/Communication Skills	5	65	5	65
Physical Skills	2	26	3	39
Initiative/Independence	6	78	6	78
Physical Demands	2	20	2	20
Mental Demands	4	40	4	40
Emotional Demands	4	40	2	20
Responsibility for People	5	65	4	52
Responsibility for Supervision	5	65	3	39
Responsibility for Financial Resources	4	52	5	65
Responsibility for Physical Resources	3	39	4	52
Working Conditions	4	40	2	20
Total points		**716**		**710**
Annual Pay		**$68,120**		**$130,270 (+possible 40% bonus)**

The highest-scoring benchmark and comparator jobs are the Director of Housing Services and the Construction Project Manager – scoring 716 and 710 respectively out of a possible total of 1000 points. However, the difference in their salaries is marked – with the Construction Project Manager earning almost twice the basic wage of the Director of Housing Services, with the possibility of an additional annual 40% bonus.

The Director of Housing Services scores more than the Construction Project Manager on the Emotional Demands, Responsibility for People, Responsibility for Supervision and Working Conditions factors, while the Construction Project Manager scores more than the Director of Housing Services on the Knowledge, Mental Skills, Physical Skills, Responsibility for Financial Resources and Responsibility for Physical Resources factors (Table 7).

The difference in the scores for Emotional Demands reflects the fact that the Director of Housing Services works with individuals experiencing homelessness, domestic violence survivors, and low-income families "in crisis." The work requires dealing with emergency situations and homeless people in severe need, often involving conflict and the need for de-escalation and trauma-informed intervention by the Director. There is an occasional need for police involvement. The job also involves directly supporting supervised staff in stressful situations in which "providing options and creative resolution can be extremely

challenging at times." In contrast, the Construction Project Manager must deal with the lower-level conflict derived from safety, quality and contract administration issues when dealing with individual clients.

The difference in the scores for Responsibility for People is derived from the fact that the work of the Director of Housing Services has a major direct impact on the future well-being of large numbers of people across King County and Washington State. The Construction Project Manager's score on this factor is derived from the need for compliance with building, health and safety, and other regulations which could have a high direct impact on the well-being of smaller numbers of people.

The Director of Housing Services supervises 18 staff – and sometimes more- even when understaffed, while the Construction Project Manager supervises 6 employees. The Director of Housing Services holds weekly or every other week one-to-one supervision sessions with staff, program-focused meetings every other week, and monthly training sessions. The Construction Project Manager undertakes on-the-job instruction of their staff.

The difference in scores for Working Conditions reflects the fact that the Construction Project Manager works outside for 5-15% of their time and faces abuse or harassment "Sometimes, but not often." In contrast, the Director of Housing Services is more regularly exposed to micro-aggressions, saying "it does happen." The role is also largely performed at a location that provides on-site emergency housing services and therefore there is significant exposure to health risks, including Covid.

The Construction Project Manager scores higher than the Director of Housing Services on Knowledge, Mental Skills, Physical Skills, Responsibility for Financial Resources and Responsibility for Physical Resources. They require broad and high-level knowledge across a range of specialist areas including the design, planning and execution of construction projects, financial analysis, cost-reporting, payroll and taxation, and building regulations for which they are ultimately responsible. The Director of Housing Services also requires advanced theoretical, practical or procedural knowledge, but across a narrower range of subjects. Both jobs require a high level of mental skills, but the Construction Project Manager has to analyze and interpret more varied and complex information than the Director of Housing Services.

The difference in the score for Physical Skills reflects the considerable requirement for precision in the use of design technology, financial software, machinery, and more regular driving in the Construction Project Manager's job. This is higher than the level required by the Director of Housing Services. While the job of the Director of Housing Services involves a high level of responsibility for budgeting as well as reviewing all check requests for programs and vouchers, the Construction Project Manager has

responsibility for budgets exceeding $1 billion, financial forecasting, and generating income for the company.

The Director of Housing Services has shared responsibility for the maintenance and repair of emergency shelter buildings and the development of policies and procedures for programs and health and safety, while the Construction Project Manager has high direct responsibility for developing information systems and the design of a wide range of construction projects. This accounts for the difference in scores for the Responsibility for Physical Resources factor, which includes policies and procedures for using physical spaces.

Comparing benchmark and comparator jobs by hypothetical grade

Table 8 below shows the benchmark and comparator jobs organized within a hypothetical grading structure, based on 20 JE points per grade for illustrative purposes. The grades start at 360 points and end at 719, to encapsulate all the benchmark and comparator jobs evaluated. (Grade boundaries can be drawn at different points boundaries in comprehensive, real-life, job evaluation exercises).

The Table highlights the difference in salary between benchmark and comparator jobs falling within the same grade. The School Enrichment Worker earning $47,320 dollars would both fall within Grade 4 alongside the Journey Electrician earning almost three times as much. The Youth Advocate and the Dispatcher/Office Manager would both fall within Grade 5, with the Dispatcher earning over a third more than the Youth Advocate. The Early Learning Director on Grade 8 earns almost a third less than the Facilities Manager/Administrator in the same grade.

Table 8: Benchmark and Comparator jobs in a hypothetical, 20-point grading structure

JE scores/Grade	Benchmark Jobs (12)	Benchmark Annual Pay	Comparator Jobs (10)	Comparator Annual pay
360-379 / 1	x	x	Office Manager	$74,800
	x	x	Administrator/Project Manager	$86,653
380-399 / 2	x	x	x	x
400-419 / 3	Teaching Assistant	$37,565	x	x
420-439 / 4	School Enrichment Worker	$47,320	Journeyman Electrician (Union)	$136,698
440-459 / 5	Youth Advocate	$43,680	Dispatcher/Office Manager	$66,000
460-479 / 6	Office Asst/Intake Co-ordinator	$43,950	x	x
480-499 /7	x	x	Public sector Trade Union Business Rep	$164,028
500-519 /8	Early Learning Director	$44,990	Facilities Manager/Admin	$68,500
520-539 /9	Program Manager	$49,920	x	x
	Case Manager	$52,855		
540-559 /10	x	x	x	x
560-579 /11	x	x	Private School Equity Director	$110,000
580-599 /12	Housing Services Manager	$55,557	Attorney	$130,000
			Compliance Director	$160,000
600-619 /13	Coalition Director – Projects and Membership	$80,000		
620-639 / 14	x	x	x	x
640-659 / 15	x	x	x	x
660-679 / 16	Children's Advocate	$50,107	x	x
680-699 / 17	HR Director, Housing Organization	$130,000	x	x
700-719 / 18	Director of Housing Services	$68,120	Project Manager Construction	$130,270 + bonus

Comparison of earnings of benchmark and comparator jobholders to median earnings in official survey data

In Tables 9 and 10 below, we report survey data for median earnings in jobs closest to those held by our benchmark and comparator job holders. For the benchmark job

holders, we used the 2021 King County Non-profit Wage & Benefits Survey (501 Commons, 2021). For the comparator jobs, we use U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data reported via the O*Net system (National Center for O*NET Development, n.d.). As noted in the 2021 King County Non-profit Wage & Benefits Survey, job titles are often not a very good indication of job content. As far as possible, we matched the job descriptions provided by O*Net to the job content of people interviewed, but it was not always possible to identify a directly corresponding job (and hence salary) for the Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue area.

On average, the non-profit human services job holders in our sample earned 8.1% less than the reported medians for their respective job titles. This may be due to the demographics of our sample. While we did not recruit for any particular worker characteristics, nine of the 12 non-profit human services workers in our study were persons of color; survey data show that employers on average pay white workers more than workers of color.

In contrast, as far as direct comparisons were possible, the comparison job holders in our sample were relatively well-paid within their fields, an average of 12.7% more than the median wage estimated for that position using federal survey data for Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue. The inclusion of two workers whose salaries are set by collective bargaining agreements drove part of this difference, as both of those salaries reflect the higher wages paid to unionized workers. Excluding these two workers, our comparator interviewees were paid an average of 11% more than the median. One explanation for these high rates is that our contact-based recruitment method led to more mid- and later-career workers whose salaries reflect considerable experience in their roles.

Table 9: Comparison of earnings of benchmark jobholders to the 2021 King County Nonprofit Wage & Benefits Survey[9]

OCCUPATION	JE SCORE	ANNUAL SALARY $	KING CO SURVEY MEDIAN SALARIES $	INTERVIEWEE V. SURVEY MEDIAN
Teaching Assistant	404	$37,565	$39,177	-4.1%
School Age Enrichment Worker	430	$47,320	$45,752	3.4%
Youth Advocate	447	$43,680	$43,663	0.0%
Office Assistant/Intake Coordinator	460	$49,950	$41,600	20.1%
Early Learning Director/Site Coordinator	505	$44,990	$66,048	-31.9%
Case Manager	522	$52,855	$60,099	-12.1%
Program Manager	528	$49,920	$66,048	-24.4%
Manager -– Housing Services	581	$55,557	$58,033	-4.3%
Coalition Director Programs and Membership	601	$80,000	$66,048	21.1%
Children's Advocate	669	$50,107	$55,059	-9.0%
HR Director, Housing Organnization	684	$130,000	$140,442	-7.4%
Director – Housing Services	716	$68,120	$78,162	-12.8%
Median benchmark pay in relation to survey pay:				-5.1%

[9] 501 Commons. 2021. "Putting People First: King County Non-profit Wage & Benefits Survey."

Table 10: Comparison of earnings of comparator job holders to U.S Bureau of Labor Force data for Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue [10]

OCCUPATION	JE SCORE	ANNUAL SALARY $	O*Net WA Median Earnings (Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue)	Interviewee v. survey median	O-Net definition
Office Manager	367	$74,880	$62,710	16.3%	Closest match: **Meeting, Convention, and Event Planners**: Coordinate activities of staff, convention personnel, or clients to make arrangements for group meetings, events, or conventions.
Public Sector Administrator/Project Manager	370	$86,653	$76,860	11.3%	Closest match: **Executive Secretaries and Executive Administrative Assistants**: Provide high-level administrative support by conducting research, preparing statistical reports, and handling information requests, as well as performing routine administrative functions such as preparing correspondence, receiving visitors, arranging conference calls, and scheduling meetings. May also train and supervise lower-level clerical staff.

[10] National Center for O*NET Development, n.d. O*NET OnLine. Retrieved January 22, 2023, from https://www.onetonline.org/

OCCUPATION	JE SCORE	ANNUAL SALARY $	O*Net WA Median Earnings (Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue)	Interviewee v. survey median	O-Net definition
Journey Electrician	427	$136,698	$79,020	42.2%	**Electrician** (job titles: *Building Mechanic, Equipment Engineering Technician, Facilities Technician, Maintenance Engineer, Maintenance Journeyman, Maintenance Man, Maintenance Mechanic, Maintenance Specialist, Maintenance Technician, Maintenance Worker)* Perform work involving the skills of two or more maintenance or craft occupations to keep machines, mechanical equipment, or the structure of a building in repair. Duties may involve pipe fitting; HVAC maintenance; insulating; welding; machining; carpentry; repairing electrical or mechanical equipment; installing, aligning, and balancing new equipment; and repairing buildings, floors, or stairs.
Dispatcher/Office Manager	449	$66,000	$55,070	16.6%	**Dispatchers, Except Police, Fire, and Ambulance**: Schedule and dispatch workers, work crews, equipment, or service vehicles for conveyance of materials, freight, or passengers, or for normal installation, service, or emergency repairs rendered outside the place of business.

OCCUPATION	JE SCORE	ANNUAL SALARY $	O*Net WA Median Earnings (Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue)	Interviewee v. survey median	O-Net definition
					Duties may include using radio, telephone, or computer to transmit assignments and compiling statistics and reports on work progress.
Public Sector Union Business Rep	492	$164,028	$130,750	20.3%	Closest match: **Administrative Services Managers**: Plan, direct, or coordinate one or more administrative services of an organization, such as records and information management, mail distribution, and other office support services.
Facilities Manager/Administrator	512	$68,500	$81,465 (This figure is the mid-point between the two median salaries as explained in the right-most column)	-18.9%	Between **Facilities manage**r: Plan, direct, or coordinate operations and functionalities of facilities and buildings. May include surrounding grounds or multiple facilities of an organization's campus. (median salary $119,750) And **Maintenance and repair worker, general**: Perform work involving the skills of two or more maintenance or craft occupations to keep machines, mechanical equipment, or the structure of a building in repair. Duties may involve pipe fitting; HVAC maintenance; insulating;

OCCUPATION	JE SCORE	ANNUAL SALARY $	O*Net WA Median Earnings (Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue)	Interviewee v. survey median	O-Net definition
					welding; machining; carpentry; repairing electrical or mechanical equipment; installing, aligning, and balancing new equipment; and repairing buildings, floors, or stairs. Median salary $43,180).
Private School Equity Director	577	$110,000	$133,243	-21.1%	Closest match: **Education Administrators, Kindergarten through Secondary**: Plan, direct, or coordinate the academic, administrative, or auxiliary activities of kindergarten, elementary, or secondary schools.
Attorney	593	$130,000	$129,147	0.7%	**Lawyer**
Compliance Director	599	$160,000	$132,230	17.4%	**Compliance manager**: Plan, direct, or coordinate activities of an organization to ensure compliance with ethical or regulatory standards (Earnings estimates only for 'managers, all others')
Construction Project Manager	710	$130,270 $182,378 (Including typical 40% annual bonus)	$104,458	42.7%	**Construction Manager**: Plan, direct, or coordinate, usually through subordinate supervisory personnel, activities concerned with the construction and maintenance of structures, facilities, and systems. Participate in the conceptual development of a

OCCUPATION	JE SCORE	ANNUAL SALARY $	O*Net WA Median Earnings (Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue)	Interviewee v. survey median	O-Net definition
					construction project and oversee its organization, scheduling, budgeting, and implementation. Includes managers in specialized construction fields, such as carpentry or plumbing.
Average difference between comparator pay in relation to survey median pay:				12.7%	

Interpretation of the findings of the job evaluation exercise

This analysis investigates the factors behind low earnings in the human services sector by analyzing the levels of job demands that characterize non-profit human services compared to other work. Our findings show the complexity and high levels of job demands in human services jobs and that the wage differentials estimated by the market analysis do not reflect easier work or jobs that require less skill; on the contrary, at every wage level, non-profit human services jobs rate higher than other jobs on the job evaluation instrument. At a given level of pay, the non-profit jobs in our small study are more demanding and require more expertise than the comparison jobs.

As such, this limited job evaluation exercise suggests that the wage gap based on a comparable worth analysis is even larger than the 30-41% wage gap found in the market analysis. How much larger? The job evaluation analysis was not designed to answer this. The nature of this analysis, which examined a small number of jobs in detail, precludes statistical generalizability about the exact level of a comparable wage. While comparable worth- like most aspects of compensation and performance management- is partly subjective, this study applied an established measure (the NJCS) that takes a comprehensive set of job activities into account and was developed specifically to reflect the characteristics of human services jobs and avoid gender bias. We adapted the NJCS job questionnaire slightly to reflect pandemic-related job risks and a sub-set of microaggressions faced by workers in the U.S. context; rating such aspects of jobs was fully possible within the UK job evaluation system. However, we did not

have a full and public development process for this instrument as had taken place in its original UK context. Moreover, given funding and time constraints, the job evaluation exercise was an exploratory one, designed to highlight the basic principles and factors that would need to be used in a future comprehensive analysis. As we note in the recommendations below, establishing a local comparable worth wage scale requires a thorough and localized job evaluation process.

A living wage?

This study was not established to compare the pay of human services workers in non-profits with living wages, but to establish the value of their work relative to comparable jobs in the for-profit and state sectors. However, the Center for Women's Welfare at the University of Washington has devised the Washington State Self Sufficiency Standard (WSSSS) as a budget-based, living wage measure that defines the real cost of living for working families based on basic needs at a level that is just adequate. It takes into account family composition, ages of children, and geographic differences in costs. The Standard is an affordability measure and is an alternative to the official poverty measure – which it exceeds – whatever the household composition.

It is worth noting that the 2020 Washington state Self-Sufficiency Standard for a single adult with one pre-schooler ranges from $16.12 to $37.59 per hour, depending on the county, or 197% of the federal poverty guidelines to 460% of the federal poverty guidelines for a family of two. King and Snohomish Counties require the highest self-sufficiency wages, ranging from $29.11 per hour in East Snohomish County to $37.59 per hour in East King County, which is the most expensive area in Washington State, for a single parent with one pre-schooler. The Job Evaluation team did not seek details of the household composition of benchmark job holders and so we are unable to identify their specific hourly Living Wage requirements. However, the hourly rates of nine of them fail to achieve the WSSSS rate for a single mother with one school-aged child living in East Snohomish County and none reaches the required level for East King County.

Many human services workers in Seattle and King County are working for poverty pay, while all of our comparator jobs comfortably exceed minimum and living wage levels.

Benefits - a major part of compensation

> "Truthfully, I just cannot afford to have that money [for healthcare and retirement] taken out of my paycheck."
>
> *-Early Learning Director, under $50,000 per year annual salary*

Although JET's study was primarily concerned with basic pay levels, we were able to collect information from some

benchmark job holders about their workplace benefits, which was used to supplement the findings of the King County Wage and Benefit Survey.

Benefits such as health insurance, retirement contributions, and paid leave are essential to workers' economic security. Black, Native American, and Hispanic/Latino/a families are particularly likely to lack the wealth and savings to prepare for a secure retirement (Bhutta et al. 2020; Advisory Council on Employee Welfare and Pension Benefit Plans. 2021[11]). Inequality in access to quality healthcare is a key feature of structural racism in the United States; such inequality includes being able to afford quality healthcare, such as provided by good healthcare insurance (Yearby, Clark, and Figueroa 2022[12]).

Nationally non-wage benefits such as health care insurance, and retirement contributions account for 31 percent of total compensation for civilian workers: 29.5 percent for private sector workers, and 38.1 percent for state and local government workers -according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2022. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics no longer publishes specific data for the non-profit sector. The most recent national estimates from 2014 for all non-profit employers, which are not limited to human services, show that 30.9 percent of total compensation was spent on benefits.

The King County Wage and Benefit Survey provided comprehensive information about benefits offered to non-profit human services providers; the survey collected information on the type of benefits that are offered, not how much they cost the organization to provide. Most – but by no means all – non-profits surveyed provide some benefits: 85% provide some type of health insurance; 70% of surveyed organizations provide some type of retirement benefits, generally access to a 401(k) or a 403(b), and three in four (75%) of those with retirement support, employer and employees contribute, in 15% only the employee, and in 7% only the employer).

All interviewed benchmark job holders said that they had access to health care insurance, though at least two of them said that they were not making use of the health insurance option because they could not afford the monthly deductible on their earnings. At least one did not take up the option to contribute to a retirement fund for the same reasons, and thus also lost out on the employer contribution. Model practice on retirement contributions suggest that employers should contribute regardless of the

[11] Bhutta, Neil, Andrew C. Chang, Lisa J. Dettling, and Joanne W. Hsu. 2020. "Disparities in Wealth by Race and Ethnicity in the 2019 Survey of Consumer Finances," FEDS Notes. Washington DC: Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, September 28, 2020, https://doi.org/10.17016/2380-7172.2797; Advisory Council on Employee Welfare and Pension Benefit Plans. 2021. Gaps in Retirement Savings Based on Race, Ethnicity and Gender. December. Report to the Honorable Martin Walsh, United States Secretary of Labor https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/EBSA/about-ebsa/about-us/erisa-advisory-council/2021-gaps-in-retirement-savings-based-on-race-ethnicity-and-gender.pdf.

[12] Ruqaiijah Yearby, Brietta Clark, and José F. Figueroa. 2022. "Structural Racism in Historical and Modern US Health Care Policy." *Health Affairs* (41,2): 187–194 DOI: 10.1377/hlthaff.2021.01466

employee match to ensure that workers build up at least some savings towards their retirement needs (Advisory Council on Employee Welfare and Pension Benefit Plans 2021).

The importance of retirement contributions is clear. A worker who is now 30 years old, earns $50,000 per year, and makes a 1% monthly contribution to a 401k plan that is matched by her employer, at age 65 can broadly expect to have $190,722 in her retirement plan; a worker who saves 4% of her salary and gets a 4% match from the employer, can expect to have $730,859 in her retirement fund.[13]

Access to benefits in non-profit benchmark jobs was more comprehensive than for workers in comparator jobs. While all in benchmark jobs received at least some 401k contribution, among the comparators at least two did not receive any contribution to their 401k fund; on the other hand, three of the comparators interviewed were part of a defined benefit pension system; defined benefits provide much more reliable pension benefits than 401k plans.

Most notable is the difference in access to quality benefits for workers employed by the City of Seattle and workers employed by non-profits. According to the Employee Handbook, the City offers two systems, one with a 7 percent employee contribution, and one with a 10 percent contribution; for both cases, the City fully matches the employee contributions and may add additional funds as needed for the financial health of the retirement system.[14] City employees moreover do not have to pay a contribution to their healthcare plans.[15]

Other aspects of the work of human services workers in non-profit organizations

The job evaluation outcomes and the interviews carried out with the job holders in our sample have highlighted the dramatic underpayment of human services workers when the content of their jobs is compared to that of workers in comparable jobs in other sectors. The interviews also highlighted other significant aspects of the working lives of those in the benchmark jobs which complete the picture of the daily challenges they face alongside low pay. In this section, we use quotes from those interviews to illustrate those challenges:

[13] This calculation is based on a relatively conservative assumption of a 2% annual salary increase; estimates of returns are based on historical rates/performance of retirement investments 9and of course are not guaranteed); see Bankrate "401k Retirement Calculator;" https://www.bankrate.com/retirement/401-k-calculator/

[14] City of Seattle SCERS – Defined Benefit pension system, see SCERSHandbookDec2019.pdf (seattle.gov);

[15] City of Seattle healthcare insurance plans, see "Most" Employees Plans - Human Resources | seattle.gov

Lack of pay transparency, unclear job descriptions, and uncertain job advancement pathways

The interviews point to the lack of formal procedures, transparency, and clarity over key aspects of their jobs and pay systems for some of the interviewees. A number of employees in our benchmark sample were unaware of the pay and grading structures or maximum pay levels for their jobs or the pay and grading structures in their organizations. This was not the case for the small number of employees in our sample who were trade union members – a finding consistent with the 2021 King County Wage & Benefit Survey.

> "No annual increase in pay; set rate, no grading structure or progression points."
>
> *-Case Manager*

Likewise, several interviewees reported regularly performing tasks that were not in their job descriptions – either because of staff shortages or simply because they had been added to their duties. One worker in an advocacy role with children and families, already with a very wide range of responsibilities, teaches co-workers IT skills, despite the requirement not being in their job description.

Several of the jobs in our study appear to have no route to progression in qualifications, status or pay within their employing organizations, despite long service in some cases.

> " I want (employer) to give their employees who have been with them for many years like myself to have more of a leadership position with a pay increase as a way to recognize our time and effort we have put in at .....This would be especially helpful when program directors are out of the office and so you don't always have to rely on upper management for everything when certain situations arise."

The lack of pay transparency, combined with often inaccurate job descriptions and unclear or non-existent path for growth and advancement, does not serve human services workers well. Lack of transparency regarding pay and advancement opportunities is a major contributing factor to pay inequity. Without such basic information, it is more difficult for workers to clearly understand how they may progress within the organization. Such lack of transparency also makes it more difficult for workers to challenge management overreach or negotiate over their pay.

High stress, high volume work

Understandably, stress levels appear high amongst some of the human services workers in our sample. Lack of resources and staffing, combined with the needs of clients, can make working life very difficult for those who need to support their colleagues as well as clients.

Despite the low levels of pay of our human services worker sample – and for some, the unaffordability of benefits – many are working within organizations that are not adequately funded and resourced, are often understaffed and which some feel are not

offering adequate resources and support to clients as a consequence. This in itself is a source of stress, in addition to the microaggressions and harassment which are often a feature of the jobs in our sample.

- "In this position, the cause of emotional stress is the volume of clients that are coming through the program in such distress and seeing some come through multiple times in a cycle of homelessness, knowing that more wrap-around support is needed to help many families transition from homelessness..." - *Director of Housing Services*

For others, stress is derived from other areas of their jobs and working lives:

- "Also, being the one that is called upon to deal with the most challenging situation from my staff causes emotional stress. When dealing with real life situations, providing options and creative resolution can be extremely challenging at times." -*Director Housing Services*
- "Being surrounded by so much trauma and crisis significantly impacts my mental health and well-being. I experience stress every day and would say that I feel upset at least once or twice a week."
- "...and then you realize that you get numb to those things that you should not be numb to in this world". =*Children's Advocate*
- "Even if they don't get angry, they frequently try to plead their case to you and explain their desperate (and sometimes traumatic) situation ...Same pattern happens with people trying to access our housing and move-in funds. This can take a heavy emotional toll, even to the most experienced person. It happens once a day MINIMUM." -*Office Assistant*
- "I can tell when someone is really, really upset and you know like they're saying things that can be derogatory, disrespectful, unkind and all of those things ...what I usually do is walk away. I usually say okay, now is not the time to talk and I just walk away. "- *Case Manager*
- Worker employed to work 5 weekdays "but everything happens at the weekends"- *Housing Services Manager*

Dealing with microaggressions, harassment and violence

Many human service workers have to deal regularly with microaggressions and harassment from clients who are distressed or in very challenging life situations. For some, this is a daily occurrence. The experience of microaggressions and violence can be exacerbated when the workers are BIPOC and have to face the additional threat of racism.

- " Yes. It is part of being a person of color and living in the world, so it does happen." (occasionally calls the police). - *Director of Housing Services*
- **"**During the Summer where it just seemed...all of my clients seemed to be in crisis mode...I mean it was at that point. I have gone to counseling before ...and I realized that the real turning point was a client and he didn't go at me, he didn't come anywhere near me, but as I walked away a phone was thrown across the room. I really, really was about to go down into a deep depression." - *Case Manager*
- "Kids get into fights. We have to separate them" -*School Age Enrichment Staff*
- "I deal with people who have mental illness on a daily basis. I receive emails calling me names, accusing me of being racist, accusing my staff of things that aren't true, and even

threats that have led me to have to call the authorities…It is very stressful because while you want to be compassionate to everyone's circumstances, you have to do your job and that is very stressful."

- "I am exposed to verbal abuse and harassment on a daily basis from residents and surrounding neighbors. The longest time was for 4 hours at one time."
- "…there is a woman here who emails me 150 times a day. She calls the police on his kids every day, because she doesn't like the color of their skin. She says they can't walk up and down her side of the steps. She has brought up these kids so bad, so I literally have to mediate between these guys every day. "- *Housing Manager*

Understaffing

Understaffing and high turnover of staff were mentioned by a number of benchmark job holders. It is frequently assumed by employers that the job holder will fill the gaps in staffing. In some cases, this means covering several jobs. Turnover - as documented by the MAT team – is high in human services jobs:*Director Housing Services*:

- "It could be we're understaff(ed) (sic), so I step in to make sure there is coverage…"
- "We should get regular breaks, but not so much"

Youth Advocate :

- "I have to fill multiple roles"
- "I always do sub-tasks that a program manager really does" -

Case Manager:

- "I'm the only Case Manager because one person left in December."
- "We did have a case manager from … and it was a nurse…Her last day was at the end of the month as well, so I'm…trying to do it on my own."

Lack of support or supervision

The lack of support or supervision in some agencies poses a problem for workers having to face microaggressions, stress or overwork. One worker mentioned the inadequacy of support for staff which was "a big point of contention for staff with HR and upper management."

- "I've had to learn ways that I can do some self-care outside of work."
- "Everyone is burnt out!"

Conclusion

The Job Evaluation Team's study of four essential human services occupations highlights the systematic undervaluation of human services work compared to jobs in other sectors. This is a long-standing problem and the result of the lack of value placed on care-related and people-focused work, undertaken mostly by women and people of color, who face wider societal discrimination.

While the scope of this exercise was necessarily limited, it illustrates and highlights the difficult jobs, adverse working conditions, and unfair wages of human services workers and the underfunding of the organizations they work for. The study strongly suggests that immediate action needs to be taken to improve pay and benefits and to establish an adequately- funded, transparent, and non-discriminatory pay system across the non-profit sector.

EXHIBIT A. NJC JOB EVALUATION SCHEME FACTOR PLAN – SCORING AND WEIGHTING MATRIX

SCORING AND WEIGHTING MATRIX													
Factors and Points per Level													
Level	**Knowledge and Skills**				**Effort Demands**				**Responsibilities**				**Env. Demands**
	Knowledge	Mental	Comm.	Physical	Init. & Indep.	Physical	Mental	Emotional	People	Supervision	Fin. Res.	Phys. Res.	Work Conds.
1	20	13	13	13	13	10	10	10	13	13	13	13	10
2	40	26	26	26	26	20	20	20	26	26	26	26	20
3	60	39	39	39	39	30	30	30	39	39	39	39	30
4	80	52	52	52	52	40	40	40	52	52	52	52	40
5	100	65	65	65	65	50	50	50	65	65	65	65	50
6	121	78	78	-	78	-	-	-	78	78	78	78	-
7	142	-	-	-	91	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	163	-	-	-	104	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Factor %	**16.3**	**7.8**	**7.8**	**6.5**	**10.4**	**5.0**	**5.0**	**5.0**	**7.8**	**7.8**	**7.8**	**7.8**	**5.0**
Heading %	**38.4**				**10.4**	**15.0**			**31.2**				**5.0**

EXHIBIT B. JOB EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Confidential
We kindly ask that each Job Holder fills in this questionnaire prior to a Job Evaluation Interview being carried out. The purpose of filling in the form is twofold: first, to familiarize you with the factor headings that will be used during the interview; second, to get you to think about the subject headings prior to the interview. You are strongly encouraged to fill in this form as we believe that it will help you to prepare for interview and make you feel more comfortable about the process. The information may also be used to assist both the interview and moderation processes.

Job Title:	
Department:	
Location/Tel No:	
Name of jobholder being interviewed:	
Name of Line Manager:	

INTRODUCTION

This questionnaire will help you with the job evaluation process.

Before your meeting with a job analyst, it is very important for you to fill in the questionnaire and give as many details of your job as possible.

The aim of the questionnaire is to make you think about all aspects of your job. It may help you if you refer to your recent job description and person specification. Preparation beforehand will make the interview quicker and easier.

How does job evaluation work?

The job evaluation schema has 13 factors or criteria that are used to measure job demands. These give the necessary information to review your job (the factor definitions and examples of the questions you may be asked are set out below).

The system is highly efficient, no irrelevant questions are asked.

Your job is evaluated on what is discussed at the interview. This questionnaire is used to help you prepare for the interview and is not part of evaluation.

Remember that the job evaluation will assess the job that you do, not you as an individual.

GENERAL QUESTIONS

1. Can you please describe in one or two sentences the purpose of your job?

2. What are the main tasks/duties/ responsibilities of your job? (It may be helpful to look at your job description.)

3. Roughly, what percentage of your time do you spend on each?

	Main tasks/duties/responsibilities	Percent time
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

4. Are there any tasks/duties, which you do only occasionally, or at a certain time of the year? For example, payroll deadline is monthly. If yes, please list them and say how often you do them.

Occasional tasks/ duties	How often?

1. Knowledge

This measures the literacy and numeracy skills required to do the job, the amount of knowledge you need to do the job and the qualifications you must have.

a. In your job, which of the organization's procedures and working practices do you need to know about? (For example, cash handling procedure, student behavioral management procedures, and legal procedures). Please give example(s).

b. Do you need any specialist knowledge to do your job? For example, information legislation, technology, financial, hr, or knowing languages other than English. If you do please give example(s).

c. Are any formal qualifications relevant to your job? If you do please give example(s)

Guidance notes for Knowledge Factor (Factor 1)

When providing examples to demonstrate your response, please consider the following questions:

- *Types of knowledge can include:*
  - *literacy - reading and writing documents,*
  - *numeracy - ability to undertake calculations,*
  - *tools and equipment - office machines, cleaning equipment, computers, and vehicles,*

- *practical and procedural - knowledge of instruments, admin systems, technical and specialist -practical, procedural, theoretical, and conceptual knowledge.*

- *Are you required to have knowledge of the practices and procedures within your own area? Does this knowledge need to extend beyond the area within which you work? Do you need to be aware that procedures exist and then follow them, or do you need to know these procedures without looking them up?*

2. Mental Skills

This measures what analytical, problem solving and judgment skills you need to do the job. It also looks at creativity and development skills, design, handling people, developing policies and procedures, and planning and strategy.

a. Do you need any analytical, problem solving, judgmental and creative skills to do your job? For example, dealing with customer enquiries, deciding which option to take in certain situations, analyzing figures. If yes, please give example(s).

b. In your job, do you need to plan ahead or organize for the future? If yes, please give examples and how far ahead you need to plan.

Guidance notes for Analytical Skills Factor (Factor 2)

When providing examples to demonstrate your response. Please consider the following questions:

- *Are you regularly faced with problems or situations that you must resolve personally?*
- *Do you have to create any strategies or plans for future implementation?*
- *How far ahead do you have to plan?*
- *Do you regularly have to make decisions or recommendations to resolve problems?*

3. Interpersonal and Communication Skills

This factor looks at the context, complexity, and nature of the subject matter to be communicated; and the context, form, process, and potential difficulty of the actual interaction with the recipient(s).

a. Do you need to have good persuasive skills to do your job?

If yes, please give examples

b. Do you need to have good interpersonal skills to do your job? (e.g., skills for identifying and responding to client or student needs, skills in de-escalation techniques)

If yes, please give examples

c. Do you ever have to produce reports or letters which are particularly sensitive to prepare? How often do you need to do this?

If yes, please give examples

Guidance notes for Interpersonal and Communication Skills Factor (Factor 3)

When providing examples to demonstrate your response, please consider the following questions:

- *Do you ever have to give or explain complicated information, instructions or procedures to other people, either within or external to the organization?*
- *Are you normally given guidance on how best to communicate any complex information?*
- *Do you have any face-to-face contact with people outside your work team as an essential part of the job?*
- *Do you have to produce any written information as part of the job?*

4. Physical Skills

This measures the physical skills required to do the job.
Which physical skills do you need to carry out your job? Check (X) all that apply and give examples:

Skill	Check	Example
Keyboard		
Using a mouse or equivalent		
Driving		
Other activities (e.g., hand tools or equipment)		

Guidance notes for Physical Skills Factor (Factor 4)

When providing examples to demonstrate your response, please consider the following questions:

- *What type of tools and equipment do you use? Please provide examples.*
- *Are your keyboard skills greater than those simply required for emails and memos? If so, please provide examples.*
- *Are both precision and speed required within your keyboard skills?*
- *Is driving an essential requirement of your job? Would someone who could not drive undertake the full range of duties and the normal workload of the job?*

5. Initiatives and Independence

This factor looks at how independent you have to be within your job. Are there guidance procedures to follow; is there help and advice available if difficult or unusual situations arise?

a. Are all the day to day activities, tasks and duties of the job undertaken in accordance with policies and procedures established by others?

   Yes_____ No _____

b. Is your work done from instructions which explain how all the main tasks are carried out?

   Yes_____ No_____

c. Are you free to organize your workload and decide priorities within the working day?

   Yes_____ No _____

d. In your job are you expected to deal with any unexpected or unanticipated problems or situations?

   Yes _____ No_____

Please give some examples:

Guidance notes for Initiative and Independence Factor (Factor 5)
When providing examples to demonstrate your response, please consider the following questions:

- *Do you follow instructions which define your tasks (please note: they do not need to be in writing)?*
- *Are you also free to vary the order in which you undertake allocated tasks?*
- *Are all the main tasks, activities and duties of the post covered by recognized, established procedures?*
- *Are you free to organize your own workload and determine priorities?*
- *Are you expected to resolve serious problems or make major decisions without consulting your line manager?*
- *Are you expected to deal with unexpected or unanticipated problems or situations that would arise or would they normally be referred to your supervisor or line manager?*
- *Do you work to recognized guidelines, such as professional standards, regulations and legislation?*

6. Physical Demands

The next few questions are to establish the normal "Physical Demands" which are placed on anyone doing this job.

Describe the greatest physical effort you need to do your job during a typical working day.	% of time (for what proportion of your total working time is this physical demand actually placed on you?)
For example	
Standing/walking	(e.g., school crossing guard would say 100% of time)
Lifting	
Carrying	
Digging	
Sitting in a constrained position	
Other (see list below)	

Guidance notes for Physical Demands Factor (Factor 6)

When providing examples to demonstrate your response, please consider the following questions:

- *What level of physical demand places the greatest physical effort on you during the course of your job?*
- *Do you have to lift or carry items, push, or pull items, stand, or walk for great lengths of time, or do you work in constrained positions? Examples could include digging, vacuuming, cleaning windows, bending, stretching, and crouching.*

7. Mental Demands

This looks at the degree and frequency of your concentration, alertness and attention to detail required by your job.

a) Do you need to use mental attention as part of your job? Please note: mental attention can cover areas such as concentration, alertness and awareness.	For what period?
If yes, please give examples and the period you require this mental attention at any one time.	
b) Do you need to use sensory attention as part of your job? Please note: sensory attention is attention to the senses as in watching, looking, listening, touching or smelling.	For what period?
If yes, please give examples and the period you require this sensory attention at any one time.	

Guidance notes for Mental Demands Factor (Factor 7)

When providing examples to demonstrate your response, please consider the following questions:

- *What level of mental attention is required to ensure that all of the tasks and duties of that job are carried out?*
- *What mental attention does your job require? Examples include carrying out calculations, checking documents for correctness, processing invoices, accounts, creating technical drawings, preparation of reports and interpretation of complex documents.*
- *How long do these periods of concentration last for?*
- *Are you interrupted during the course of your job? If so, how often and do the interruptions stop you from completing your task?*
- *Give details of what sensory attention your job requires, i.e. attention of the senses, eyes, ears, smell, as in watching, looking, listening, touching, and smelling.*
- *Give details of any work-related pressures, e.g. task-based targets, predictable deadline, unpredictable deadlines, conflicting demands, or unavoidable interruptions.*

8. Emotional Demands

Emotional demand is about the circumstances of the service users you deal with regularly, not the way they behave towards you.

1. Does your job involve contact (in person or by telephone) with people who by their circumstances or behavior (for example homelessness, mental illness, terminal illness) cause you emotional stress or upset? People can include the public, elected members, service users (including school students) or other employees of the organization, but not your immediate work colleagues.

   Yes _____ No_____

   If Yes, give examples(s)

These people – who are they?	Cause of emotional stress or upset	Frequency of stress (daily/monthly/etc)

Guidance notes for Emotional Demands Factor (Factor 8)
When providing examples to demonstrate your response, please consider the following questions:

- *Could someone doing this job experience emotional demand or upset because of the circumstances or behavior of the people you come into contact with?*
- *Is this emotional demand an integral feature of your job (i.e. does it occur at least twice a year)?*
- *What is the frequency (i.e. daily, weekly, monthly)?*

9. Responsibility for People – Well Being

This factor measures any job responsibilities which have a DIRECT (hands on) impact on the well-being of individuals, or groups of people.

a. Are any people reliant i.e., personally dependent on you for their care, education or social welfare provided?

   If yes, please give examples

b. Is it your responsibility to assess the needs of service users or to assess levels of service provision?

   If yes, please give examples

c. Is it your responsibility to personally implement or enforce any statutory regulations where the Local Authority is the enforcing agency (e.g., environmental, or public health)?

If yes, please give examples

Guidance notes for People – Well Being, Factor (Factor 9)
When providing examples to demonstrate your response, please consider the following questions:

- *Do you support the activities of other staff in delivering good customer care?*
- *Do you regularly meet with service users on a face-to-face basis?*
- *Are you personally responsible for assessing the needs of service users with more complex needs?*
- *Do you represent the organization at meetings with partner agencies or more formal meetings with service users?*
- *Do you take major decisions on service provision and activity regarding "regulatory issues"?*

10. Responsibility for Supervision/Direction/Coordination of Employees

This factor measures the DIRECT (hands on) responsibility of the jobholder for the supervision, co-ordination or management of employees, or others in an equivalent position.

a) Do you manage or supervise other employees? The "supervision or management" of people includes responsibility for work planning and allocation, for checking and evaluating the work done by these people and for their training, development, and guidance.

Yes_____ No_____

If Yes, what numbers are involved?

Are you responsible for more than one distinct area of activity	Please provide examples
In how many different workplaces are these people normally based?	One, two or three or more, provide details

b) Does your job involve the demonstration of duties, giving advice, or the training of other employees, students, and trainees?

Yes _____ No_____

If Yes, how often do you do this? Give example(s)

Duties / Advice / Training	Frequency

Guidance notes for Supervision/Direction/Coordination of other Organization employees (Factor 10)

When providing examples to demonstrate your response, please consider the following questions:

- *Does your job involve management or supervision of the organization's employees or people in an equivalent position?*
- *If yes, is this permanent or in the absence of others?*
- *Are you responsible for allocating and/or checking work of others? If so, for how many do you have this responsibility for?*

11. Responsibility for Financial Resources

This factor measures the DIRECT (hands on) responsibility of the jobholder for financial resources, including budgets, accounting for expenditure or the administration of invoices etc.

a) Do you have any responsibility for financial resources? For example, cash, vouchers, checks, budgets, income, financial planning.

Yes_____ No_____

If Yes, please describe

b) What is the annual total financial resource/budget for which you are personally responsible? For example, budgets, staffing costs, invoices, receipts, petty cash. Is this responsibility shared?

Name of resource/budget	Amount

Guidance notes for Responsibility for Financial Resources Factor (Factor 11)

When providing examples to demonstrate your response, please consider the following questions:

- *Do you have direct responsibility for financial resources, income generation or expenditure budgets? If so, how big is the target or budget, or total of targets/budgets?*
- *Do you play a role in budget setting? If so, what is the role? What is the total value of the budget(s) concerned?*
- *Does the work involve accounting for expenditure, income, and money in the form of cash, checks, direct debits, invoices or any other equivalent? If so, what are the total amounts involved?*

12. Responsibility for Physical and Information Resources

This factor measures the DIRECT (hands on) responsibility of the jobholder for physical resources, including information systems, equipment or tools, buildings, supplies or stocks, and personal possessions of others.

a) Are you responsible for any physical resources, as shown below?

Yes_____ No_____

If Yes, please check which two of the following for which you have the most responsibility:

Information or information systems (producing or processing information)	
Equipment or tools	
Building or premises	
Supplies and/or stocks	
Personal possessions of others	

Explain the nature of this responsibility, for example is it security, maintenance, repair, procurement, adaptation, or design of any of the items above?

Guidance notes for Responsibility for Physical, and Information Resources (Factor 12)
When providing examples to demonstrate your response, please consider the following questions:

- *Do you have responsibility for information systems (manual or computerized), equipment and tools, buildings and external locations, stocks and supplies or personal possessions of others, planning of purchasing and development of physical resources, adaptation, design or development of any physical resources, adaptation, design or development of any physical resources?*
- *From the point above, which two resources do you have the most responsibility for and why? What is the value of these resources?*
- *If you have responsibility for equipment or tools, does this include maintenance or day to day general use?*

Policy and Advisory Responsibilities

a) Are you responsible for the development of policies and supporting procedures and/or practices?

Yes_____ No_____

If Yes, please give examples

b) Are you responsible for giving advice and/or guidance on the application of policy, external regulations and/or legislation?

Yes_____ No_____

If Yes, please give examples

13. Working Conditions

This factor measures any exposure to unpleasant working conditions, for example dirt, dust, heat and cold.

a. Do you work outdoors? If so, are you exposed to the weather?

   Yes _____ No_____

b. Please estimate the percentage of time you spend outdoors?

c. Do you have the choice whether to work in-person or remotely?

   Yes _____ No_____

   Please explain:

d. Do your working conditions expose you to health risks? For example, COVID and other viruses.

   Yes _____ No_____

   If Yes, please give examples

e. Are you exposed to any unpleasant working conditions? For example, dirt, dust, heat, cold, fumes?

   Yes _____ No_____

   If Yes, please give examples

f. Are you exposed to physical abuse, verbal abuse, harassment, or micro-aggressions from service users or members of the public?

   Yes _____ No_____

   If yes, please state from whom and for how long at any one time:

From Whom	Duration

Guidance notes for Responsibility for Working Conditions Factor (Factor 13)
When providing examples to demonstrate your response, please consider the following questions:

- *Do your working conditions differ from a normal "office working" environment? If so, how do they differ?*
- *Can the working conditions be described as unpleasant or a hazardous situation?*
- *Do you wear any form of protective clothing?*
- *Are you subject to physical or verbal abuse, harassment, or micro-aggressions, such as those relating to racism, sexism, or heterosexism from members of the public or other external contacts? If so, what is the frequency and how long do these experiences last for? Please provide examples.*

Is there any information about your job you wish to add – please complete the box below:

Thank you for filling in the questionnaire. Please bring it with you when you come for your interview.

References

Acker, Joan. “Sex bias in job evaluation: A comparable worth issue.” *Ingredients for women’s employment policy* (1987): 183-196.

Advisory Council on Employee Welfare and Pension Benefit Plans. 2021. Gaps in Retirement Savings Based on Race, Ethnicity and Gender. December. Report to the Honorable Martin Walsh, United States Secretary of Labor https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/EBSA/about-ebsa/about-us/erisa-advisory-council/2021-gaps-in-retirement-savings-based-on-race-ethnicity-and-gender.pdf.

Bhutta, Neil, Andrew C. Chang, Lisa J. Dettling, and Joanne W. Hsu. 2020. "Disparities in Wealth by Race and Ethnicity in the 2019 Survey of Consumer Finances," FEDS Notes, September 28; Washington DC: Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Systemht tps://doi.org/10.17016/2380-7172.2797

Bishow, John L., and Kristen A. Monaco. "Non-profit pay and benefits: Estimates from the National Compensation Survey." *Monthly Labor Review* 139 (2016): 1. https://doi.org/10.21916/mlr.2016.4

Blau, Francine D., and Lawrence M. Kahn. “The gender wage gap: Extent, trends, and explanations.” *Journal of Economic Literature* 55, no. 3 (2017): 789-865.

Hartmann, Heidi I., and Stephanie Aaronson.1994. “Pay equity and women’s wage increases: Success in the states, a model for the nation.” *Duke Journal of Gender Law. & Policy* 1 (1994): 69.

Hess, Cynthia, Jessica Milli, Jeff Hayes, Ariane Hegewisch, Yana Mayayeva, Stephanie Román, and J. Augeri. 2015. “Chapter 2: Employment & Earnings” in *The status of women in the states: 2015*. Washington, DC: Institute for Women’s Policy Research

Institute for Women’s Policy Research. 2022. “The Gender Pay Gap, 1985 to 2021—with Forecast for Achieving Pay Equity, by Race and Ethnicity.” IWPR Quick Figure#105; Washington DC. <https://iwpr.org/iwpr-publications/quick-figure-the-gender-pay-gap-1985-to-2021-with-forecast-for-achieving-pay-equity-by-race-and-ethnicity/>.

Local Government Association. 2022. “Local Government Terms and Conditions (Green Book).” London, UK. https://www.local.gov.uk/local-government-terms-and-conditions-green-book.

McShane, Steven L. “Two tests of direct gender bias in job evaluation ratings.” *Journal of Occupational Psychology* 63.2 (1990): 129-140.

Milli, Jessica, Yixuan Huang, Heidi Hartmann, and Jeff Hayes. 2017. *The Economic Impact of Equal Pay by State* IWPR Fact Sheet #C457; Washington, DC: Institute for Women’s Policy Research. < https://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/C457.pdf>.

National Joint Council for Local Government Services- National Agreement on Pay and Conditions of Service, April 2022 version chrome-

extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://www.ascl.org.uk/ASCL/media/ASCL/Help%20and%20advice/Pay%20and%20Conditions/Green-Book-25-April-2022-untracked-version.pdf

National Women's Law Center. 2022. "The Gender Wage Gap State by State." Washington DC. <https://nwlc.org/resource/wage-gap-state-by-state/>

National Center for O*NET Development. n.d. "O*NET OnLine." O*Net Resource Center. n.d. https://www.onetonline.org/.

Robinson-Dorn, Trilby. 2021, "Fifty-State Pay Equity Law Summary"; The Pay Equity Project at UC Irvine School of Law, California < https://www.law.uci.edu/centers/pay-equity-project/images/50-state-law-chart.pdf>.

Scottish Government. 2021. *International Mechanisms to Revalue Women's Work: Research Exploring and Evaluating International Mechanisms that Aim to Revalue or Result in the Revaluation of Women's Work.* Director-General Communities, Directorate Fair Work, Employability and Skills Directorate https://www.gov.scot/publications/international-mechanisms-revalue-womens-work-research-exploring-evaluating-international-mechanisms-aim-revalue-result-revaluation-womens-work/

Semega, Jessica, and Melissa Kollar, *Income in the United States: 2021*. Current Population Reports P60-276 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022) < https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2022/demo/p60-276.html>

Steinberg, Ronnie J. "Gendered instructions: Cultural lag and gender bias in the Hay system of job evaluation." *Work and Occupations* 19.4 (1992): 387-423.

Treiman, Donald J., and Heidi I. Hartmann (eds). 1981. *Women, Work, and Wages Equal Pay for Jobs of Equal Value / Donald J. Treiman and Heidi T. Hartmann, Editors; Committee on Occupational Classification and Analysis, Assembly of Behavorial and Social Sciences, National Research Council.* Washington, D.C: National Academy Press, 1981.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2022a

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2022b

WAGE | EQUITY | STUDY

For more information:
https://socialwork.uw.edu/wageequitystudy

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
UNIVERSITY of WASHINGTON