

# LIMITATIONS ON CAREER ADVANCEMENT FOR BLACK AND LATINA/LATINO WORKERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA



A Supplemental Research Brief to  
*Pioneering Inequality: Race, Gender, and Income  
Disparities at the University of California*

October 2018

“This is a very impressive study that documents how racial/ethnic disparities in wages and conditions of employment are perpetuated. The findings imply that both implicit bias and structural issues are at the root of these disparities.”

— **James Stewart,**  
**Professor Emeritus of Labor and Employment**  
**Relations at Penn State University**





## Introduction and Summary

In April 2018, AFSCME Local 3299 released a report—[“Pioneering Inequality: Race, Gender, and Income Disparities at the University of California”](#)—analyzing demographic data on the University of California’s workforce.<sup>1</sup> It featured a case study of UC’s lowest-paid and most diverse employee segment\* that revealed a racial and gender dimension to the widening gap between the highest- and lowest-paid workers. The report also examined the decline of Black workers within this workforce and related outsourcing practices. The analysis identified the need for a “future study of patterns of retention and promotion among different demographic groups.”<sup>2</sup> This current research brief looks at just that, supplementing the previous findings by incorporating UC data related to employment separations, promotions and other transfers.

An examination of how service and patient care workers leave their jobs, or achieve upward mobility, uncovers additional patterns of racial and gender hierarchy, raising new questions about inequities in UC’s employment practices.<sup>3</sup> These findings also reveal potential contributing causes of previously identified disparities, and provide valuable context for the disappearance of Black workers within this workforce. Given UC’s size and reach as California’s third-largest employer, growing income inequality and disparate treatment within its ranks have an outsized impact on the broader state economy.

This analysis is based on UC service and patient care workforce data that provides information on demographics, movement between UC jobs, and the reasons for workers’ departure from UC employment. To examine and compare patterns of career advancement, we tracked career employees in frontline service and patient care jobs employed in the month of October starting in 2013 through 2017. Service and patient care job titles constitute a workforce segment represented by AFSCME Local 3299. In total, we tracked 25,000 unique employees, more than 3,000 transfers between titles within this workforce segment, and more than 5,000 voluntary and involuntary job separations.

### **Key findings of this analysis include:**

- Black workers leave their jobs involuntarily, for reasons such as layoffs or dismissals, at a high rate—nearly double that of white men, and more than double the rate for Asian/Pacific Islander (API) women.<sup>4</sup>
- White men are, by far, the most likely to leave their jobs voluntarily, which suggests higher labor market mobility.

---

\* AFSCME-represented employees work in service and patient care jobs throughout the UC system. They include custodians and groundskeepers, nurse’s aides, unit secretaries, respiratory therapists, X-ray technicians, and workers who clean patient rooms. Together, these employees are the lowest-paid and most diverse segment of the University workforce.

- Low rates of voluntary job separations for other demographic groups suggest reduced labor market mobility, and underscores the importance of public sector jobs for workers of color, especially Black workers.
- When UC service workers are promoted or transferred within the service/patient care workforce, there are distinct racial and gender patterns in the impact of those job changes on workers' pay. Not only do white and male employees earn more on average than all other groups, the average pay increase following a promotion or transfer is higher in both relative and absolute terms. White men receive more than double the average salary increase of Black women—the equivalent of \$2,014 more per year.
- For UC patient care workers, white and API workers who changed job titles within the service/patient care workforce experience higher wage increases on average compared to Black or Latina/a workers. The average pay increase of an API man who changed titles is nearly twice that of a Black woman—a difference of \$3,071 annually.

A consortium of researchers aiming to explain the science behind social bias synthesized over two hundred studies to conclude that, “Implicitly biased behavior is best detected by using data to determine whether patterns of behavior are leading to racially disparate outcomes.”<sup>5</sup> While our previous report found racial and gender income disparities reflected in job title segregation, these new findings point to the challenges facing workers—especially Black men and women employed directly by the University—who hope to overcome these disparities and advance their careers, or to simply hold on to their jobs.

**UC offers promising careers for whites and some APIs while Black and Latina/o workers see limited chances for career advancement and less job security.**

Ultimately, this research brief, considered together with the previous report's findings, suggests that UC offers promising careers for whites and some APIs, while Black and Latina/o workers see limited chances for career advancement and less job security. Meaningful career development for many Black and Latina/o workers remains elusive at the University of California.

The first part of this brief looks at racial and gender patterns associated with involuntary and voluntary separations from the University of California for both service and patient care workers. The second half analyzes racial and gender disparities in pay among those who were promoted or took new jobs within the University.

This analysis calls on the University of California to genuinely consider reforms to promote social equity within its workforce. UC officials should conduct a thorough review of how racial bias may be affecting employment outcomes in order to create tailored interventions that safeguard against implicit and explicit discrimination.<sup>7</sup> UC should do more to establish meaningful career ladders and support career development for UC's most racially diverse workforce segments. A list of concrete policy reforms is detailed in our preceding report.<sup>8</sup>

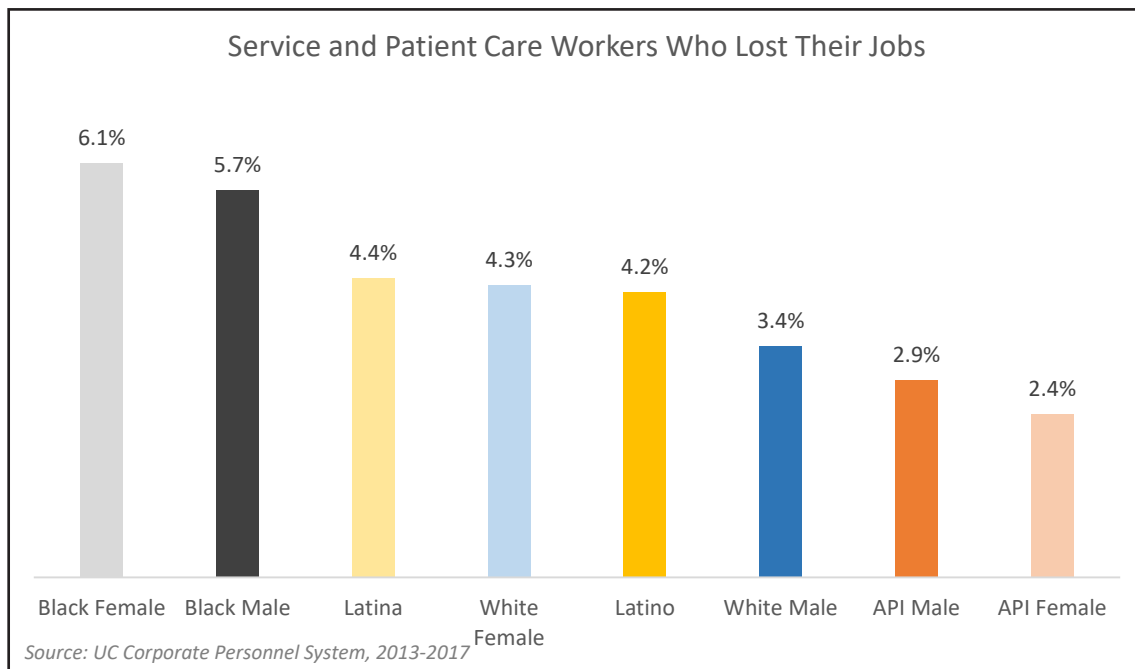
## INVOLUNTARY AND VOLUNTARY SEPARATIONS FOR UC SERVICE AND PATIENT CARE WORKERS

### **Black Workers Lose Their Jobs Much More Often Than Any Other Demographic Group**

In our analysis, we tracked approximately 25,000 patient care and service workers from 2013-2017. We looked at the demographics for workers who left their jobs involuntarily, such as those who were dismissed from their positions, laid off, or let go before the end of their probationary period.<sup>9</sup>

Our findings show Black men and women lose their jobs at much higher rates than any other demographic group. Among the 3,000 Black workers tracked over the four-year period, over five percent lost their jobs. Latinos and Latinas were the next most likely to lose their jobs, while whites and APIs were the least likely to do so. Black men and women lose their jobs at a rate nearly double that of white men, and more than double that of API women.

Figure 1. Involuntary Separations by Race and Gender for UC Service and Patient Care Workers, 2013-2017



Studies on employer bias may help explain these trends. Black workers and other workers of color may face an automatic association of negative stereotypes or attitudes about their group.<sup>10</sup> A National Bureau of Economic Research paper examined how Black workers receive extra scrutiny, leading to worse reviews, lower pay, and more frequent job loss irrespective of actual performance. They consequently face longer periods of unemployment, which reinforces and re-initiates this negative cycle.<sup>11</sup>

**Black men and women lose their jobs at UC at a rate nearly double that of white men.**

Researchers have also studied racial patterns related to layoffs. A paper by the Local and Regional Government Alliance on Race & Equity found that the public sector jobs in which people of color are most likely to be employed are often the first to be cut during an economic downturn.<sup>12</sup> This underscores a lack of labor mobility for people of color.

UC Berkeley Researcher Dr. Stephen Pitts notes that, “The public sector is the single most important source of employment” for Black communities.<sup>13</sup> One in five Black adults works in the public sector.<sup>14</sup>

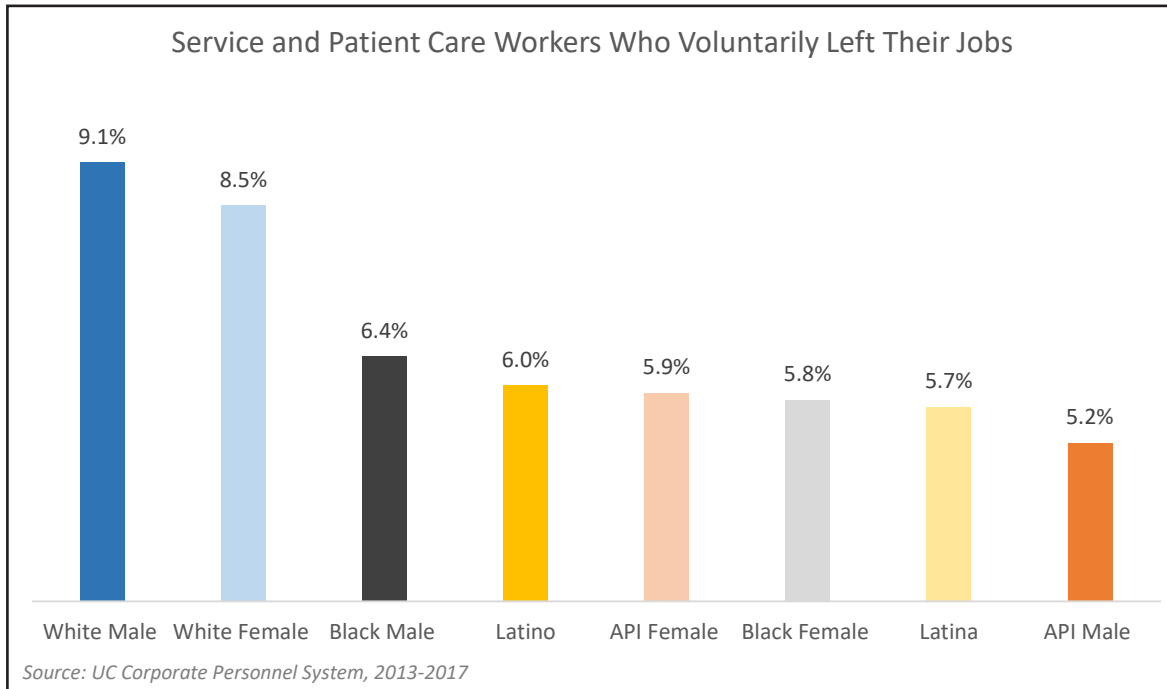
Given this context, the higher involuntary job separation rate for Black workers compared with all other demographic groups—particularly in light of their precipitous decline as a proportion of UC’s service and patient care workforce—is especially significant.

### **White Workers Leave Their Jobs Voluntarily at the Highest Rates**

To obtain a complete picture of racial and gender patterns in employment, we also analyzed voluntary job separations. These separations are predominantly resignations for non-health reasons, which may include taking another job or attending school.<sup>15</sup>

Between 2013 and 2017, white career workers in patient care and service titles voluntarily left their jobs more often than any other demographic group. These separations included 9 percent of all white men and 8.5 percent of white women. The voluntary departure rate of white workers varies substantially from all other demographic groups—50 percent higher than API, Latina/o or Black workers. These patterns present a stark contrast to the rates of involuntary employment separations.

Figure 2. Voluntary Separations by Race and Gender for UC Service and Patient Care Workers, 2013-2017



The higher voluntary job separation rate of both white men and women suggests a greater confidence in their ability to secure higher-paying work elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> The link between race, gender, and economic mobility continues to be an important area of study,<sup>17</sup> as many researchers have noted that “race continues to be a major predictor of success and life chances.”<sup>18</sup>

While one could potentially interpret low voluntary separation rates as signifying employee satisfaction, results from UC’s 2017 systemwide Employee Engagement Survey suggest otherwise.<sup>19</sup> This survey asked UC employees for their views on a range of topics, such as their interactions with management and career development. Under the category of “Diversity & Inclusion,” it asks whether they believe management supports equal opportunity and treats employees with dignity and respect regardless of differences in position or background.<sup>5</sup> Of the 10,539 survey respondents, women and Black employees were more likely to disagree with this assertion compared to other demographic groups.<sup>20</sup>

Similarly, UC San Francisco (UCSF) Health sponsored a Gallup survey of its staff and found that Black and Latina/o workers were much less engaged than white and API workers.<sup>21</sup> During a town hall with employees to discuss the survey results, UCSF Health CEO Mark Laret remarked, “What was most disturbing to me, and I speak on behalf of Chancellor Hawgood and the leadership of UCSF, was seeing the disparities in engagement across racial and ethnic lines.”<sup>22</sup>

The contrast between voluntary and involuntary job separations puts into focus the racial and gender dynamics of labor market mobility, and further highlights the important role large employers like the UC can play to ensure equitable treatment of underrepresented groups by implementing policies and programs to attract and retain them. These results suggest UC is falling short of this standard.

<sup>†</sup> UC asked survey participants to agree or disagree with these statements: “I feel that management at my campus/location supports equal opportunity for all employees, of all differences, including, but not limited to, age, gender identity, ethnicity and disability status” and “Employees at my campus/location are treated with dignity and respect, regardless of their position or background.”



## **Workers of Color Are Losing Their Jobs in Titles UC Outsources to Private Contractors**

For service workers, over 71 percent of Black employees who lost their jobs held custodial or food service job titles. These are two of the largest job categories that the University of California outsources to private contractors in terms of UC dollars spent. According to the most recent available data, UC spent over \$54.3 million a year on 99 distinct contracts with private companies that supply UC with custodial and food service workers.<sup>23</sup> In a recent five-year period, UC spent nearly \$71 million outsourcing this work to just two companies, ABM and Sodexo.<sup>24</sup> Recent employment data for a UCSF medical facility shows that as many as one in four jobs that would otherwise be performed by career Medical Center Custodians were instead outsourced to low-wage contractors.<sup>25</sup>

“What was most disturbing to me, and I speak on behalf of Chancellor Hawgood and the leadership of UCSF, was seeing the disparities in engagement across racial and ethnic lines.”

— UCSF Health CEO Mark Laret,  
September 2018

For patient care workers, the highest concentration of Black workers who lost their jobs in non-clinical titles were Hospital Assistants. According to detailed contractor data available for UCSF,<sup>26</sup> Hospital Assistant was also among the two titles most likely to be outsourced to low-wage private companies. The single most outsourced non-clinical title at UCSF was Patient Support Assistant (PSA), a job performed by a workforce that is 96 percent non-white. Over approximately a two-year period through 2016, UCSF outsourced the equivalent of work that

could have been performed by 62 full-time UC PSAs. Overall, as many as one in six jobs that would otherwise be assigned to UCSF patient care workers were instead outsourced to contractors.<sup>27</sup> The visibility of low-paid contractors working side-by-side with direct UC employees creates a fear that these jobs are not secure.

## **RACIAL AND GENDER DISPARITIES ASSOCIATED WITH JOB MOBILITY AND PAY**

### **The Economic Benefits of Job Mobility are Lower for Black and Latina/o Workers, Especially Women**

While the “Pioneering Inequality” study identified racial and gender disparities in service and patient care worker pay, this supplemental report looks at whether these patterns also exist in the level of pay increases workers receive after changing into a different service or patient care position.<sup>28 29</sup>

Between 2013 and 2017, the average pay increase for those changing job titles was lowest—in both relative and absolute terms—for Black and Latina/o workers. In contrast, white workers experienced the highest pay increases. This holds true for white workers in both service and patient care titles.

White men who moved between UC frontline patient care and service jobs experienced an average pay increase of 9 percent more than workers who did not change titles. For Black and Latina/o employees, the economic benefits of changing jobs were substantially less. On average, Latina/o workers received a boost of 7 percent; Black men received a 7.4 percent bump; and Black women just 6.3 percent.



Figure 3. Average Salary Increases for Service Workers Promoted or Transferred into Another Service or Patient Care Job Title, 2013-2017

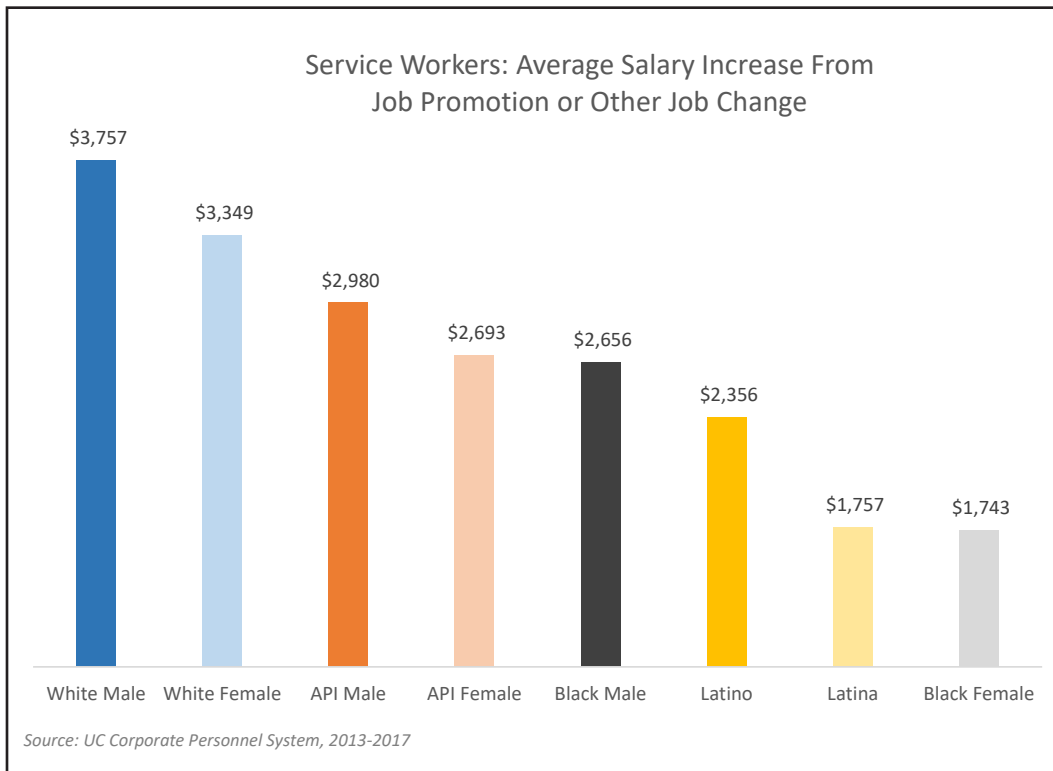
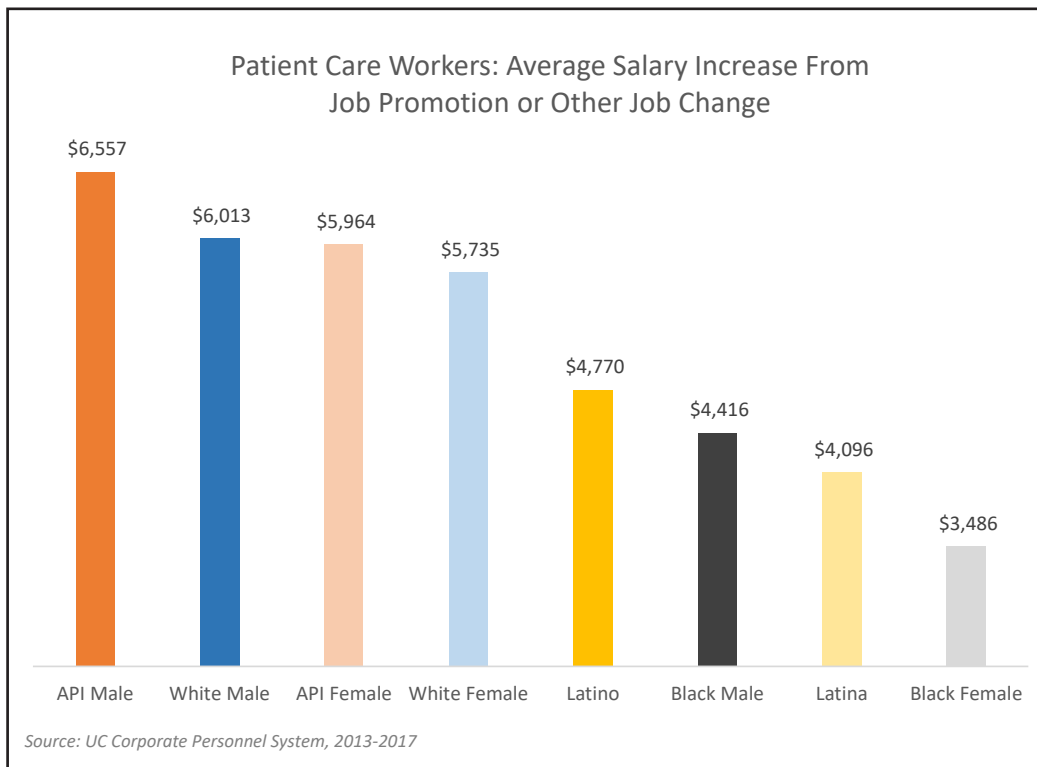


Figure 4. Average Salary Increases for Patient Care Workers Promoted or Transferred into Another Service or Patient Care Job Title, 2013-2017





The lower starting pay of workers of color compounds the effect of lower pay growth from movement between jobs. For patient care workers, the average starting salary of white men who transferred was 20 percent more *before the transfer* than that of Black women; 19 percent more than Latinas; 18 percent more than Black men; and 15 percent more than Latinos. Amongst service workers, while the differentiation between starting wages is lower, the difference in pay due to a promotion or other job change is more substantial.<sup>30</sup> Racial and gender differences in pay growth further exacerbate existing wage inequality.

Among service workers, a white man who moves into another typically higher-paid service or patient care position sees an average increase of \$3,757 in his annual salary. In contrast, when Latina and Black women change jobs in the service/patient care workforce segment, the increase they receive is, on average, less than half of this amount—just \$1,757 and \$1,743, respectively—or \$2,000 less than white men. Black men gain just \$2,656 and Latinos gain \$2,356—or \$1,101 and \$1,401 less than white men.

For patient care workers, similar trends emerge. On average, a promotion or transfer will boost a white man's annual salary by a little over \$6,000. In contrast, when a Black woman secures a promotion, her salary increases by just \$3,500 per year on average. Latina, Black men and Latino workers gain \$4,100, \$4,400, and \$4,800 from promotions, respectively. In other words, compared to white men, Black women on average receive \$2,500 less per year; Latinas \$1,900 less; Black men, \$1,600 less; and Latinos \$1,200 less.

Ultimately, these findings suggest Black and Latina/o workers do not benefit from the same advancement opportunities afforded to other groups. Not only are Black and Latina/o workers concentrated in lower-paying titles, as revealed in the “Pioneering Inequality” report, they also have fewer opportunities to move into positions that advance meaningful career development.

## CONCLUSION

The previous “Pioneering Inequality” study identified significant job title segregation by race and gender amongst the University of California’s service and patient care workers, the University’s most diverse workforce segment. The new supplemental research in this brief reveals alarming disparities in career advancement opportunities for this same workforce. As a result, workers who are concentrated in lower-paying titles face significant barriers to overcoming their relative position within the UC workforce. This is particularly significant for Black men and women who are also losing their jobs at much higher rates than other demographic groups.

**Workers who are concentrated in lower-paying titles face significant barriers to overcoming their relative position within the UC workforce. This is particularly significant for Black men and women who are also losing their jobs at much higher rates than other demographic groups.**

Ultimately, these findings suggest that the UC provides promising careers for white workers and some API workers, but only dead-end jobs for many Latina/o and Black workers. The absence of meaningful career development for Latina/os and Blacks likely exacerbates the growing income gap at the University of California.

Whether these racial and gender disparities are the result of implicit or explicit bias, or are more structural in nature, UC should consider well-defined and transparent career ladders for AFSCME-represented occupations. Additional policy reforms are also listed in the “Pioneering Inequality” report.<sup>31</sup>

If the University of California is to serve as a vehicle for social mobility for underrepresented groups, it is imperative that UC officials consider these recommendations in order to tackle the pervasive employment and income disparities experienced by its workers of color.

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> "Pioneering Inequality: Race, Gender, and Income Disparities at the University of California." AFSCME Local 3299. April 2018, [https://afscme3299.org/documents/reports/Pioneering-Inequality\\_WhitePaper.pdf](https://afscme3299.org/documents/reports/Pioneering-Inequality_WhitePaper.pdf). AFSCME-represented employees work in service and patient care jobs throughout the UC system.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- <sup>3</sup> Race and gender categorization followed the same methodology as the previous "Pioneering Inequality" report. Binary gender categories reflect limitations in the underlying data. Ethnic categories were aggregated into racial categories to mirror the same method used in the UC's annual Accountability Report, which corresponds to census categories.
- <sup>4</sup> Researchers in the field of ethnic studies note that the standardized "API" category is problematic because it combines ethnic groups with generally higher socioeconomic status with some of the most disadvantaged ethnic groups in the U.S., such as Southeast Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. See, for example, Robert Teranishi et al., "iCount: A Data Quality Movement for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Higher Education," Educational Testing Service and the National Commission on Asian-American and Pacific Islander Research in Education, June 2013, [http://care.gseis.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/2013\\_iCount\\_Report.pdf](http://care.gseis.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/2013_iCount_Report.pdf).
- <sup>5</sup> Rachel Godsil et al., "The Science of Equality, Volume 1: Addressing Implicit Bias, Racial Anxiety, And Stereotype Threat In Education And Health Care," Perception Institute, November 2014, <https://equity.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Science-of-Equality-Vol.-1-Perception-Institute-2014.pdf>.
- <sup>6</sup> This analysis specifically explored movement between AFSCME-represented service and patient care titles. While the available data does not differentiate between promotions and other transfers, the small percentage of employees who appear to have experienced a pay decline were excluded when computing average pay growth rates. The resulting differences in pay may reflect discrimination and implicit biases, or may reflect structural issues such as the absence of defined career ladders and other opportunities for economic advancement. Clearly, more study and a plan of action is warranted.
- <sup>7</sup> The UC Office of the President recently announced that it would commit over \$7 million annually to increase diversity among faculty, utilizing many approaches that could also apply to staff. University of California, "UC launches major push to increase faculty diversity," September 26, 2018, <https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/press-room/uc-launches-major-push-increase-faculty-diversity>.
- <sup>8</sup> "Pioneering Inequality: Race, Gender, and Income Disparities at the University of California" p. 26-27. AFSCME 3299 has also presented proposals to UC officials, such as better-defined and more transparent career ladders for patient care and service workers and career pathways related to transfers and promotions, in negotiations for a successor collective bargaining agreement to address some of these inequities.
- <sup>9</sup> Approximately 18% of career employees listed in October membership records (2013-2016) separated sometime before October 2017. This analysis aims to identify differences in the reasons why AFSCME employees leave UC employment and discern patterns in the data showing who has chosen to leave UC employment voluntarily, for reasons such as taking another job, compared to those forced to leave involuntarily, due to layoff or dismissal. While dismissals are the most frequent reason for involuntary separation, this group also includes layoffs, terminations, releases during the probationary period, and medical separations. UC defines a medical separation as one that occurs after the University determines that it is unable to provide reasonable accommodation to a disabled employee. (See <https://policy.ucop.edu/doc/4010415/PPSM-66>.) We hope to conduct a subsequent analysis that looks at race, gender, workplace injuries, and medical separations that could be attributed to short-staffing. Lastly, since retirement rates principally reflect age and tenure, not differences in opportunities for career development, retirements were not included in this analysis.
- <sup>10</sup> Julie Nelson and Syreeta Tyrell, "Public Sector Jobs: Opportunities for Advancing Racial Equity," p. 7, Local and Regional Government Alliance on Race & Equity. <https://www.racialequityalliance.org/resources/public-sector-jobs-opportunity-for-advancing-racial-equity/>.
- <sup>11</sup> Costas Cavounidis and Kevin Lang, "Discrimination and Worker Evaluation," National Bureau of Economic Research, October 2015, <http://www.nber.org/papers/w21612.pdf>.
- <sup>12</sup> Nelson and Tyrell, "Public Sector Jobs: Opportunities for Advancing Racial Equity," p. 6.
- <sup>13</sup> Steven Pitts, "Black Workers and the Public Sector." UC Berkeley Labor Center. April 4, 2011, p. 1, [http://laborcenter.berkeley.edu/pdf/2011/blacks\\_public\\_sector11.pdf](http://laborcenter.berkeley.edu/pdf/2011/blacks_public_sector11.pdf).
- <sup>14</sup> Patricia Cohen, "Public-Sector Jobs Vanish, Hitting Blacks Hard," *The New York Times*, May 24, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/25/business/public-sector-jobsvanish-and-blacks-take-blow.html>.
- <sup>15</sup> The methodology to calculate rates of voluntary separations is the same as that used to calculate involuntary separations (see Footnote 9).
- <sup>16</sup> Lucia Mutikani, "U.S. job quits rate hits 17-year high; labor market tightening," Reuters, July 10, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-economy/u-s-job-quits-rate-hits-17-year-high-labor-market-tightening-idUSKBN1K02B>.
- <sup>17</sup> Based on a sweeping U.S. census study, *The New York Times* recently created an interactive graphic tracing the lives of millions of children to show the correlations between demographics and economic mobility. Emily Badger et al., "Income Mobility Charts for Girls, Asian-Americans and Other Groups. Or Make Your Own," *The New York Times*, March 27, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/03/27/upshot/make-your-own-mobility-animation.html>.
- <sup>18</sup> Chris Ringewald and Katie Smith, "RACE COUNTS: Advancing Opportunities for All Californians," Race Counts. Winter 2017, p. 4, <http://www.racecounts.org/data/launch-report/>.
- <sup>19</sup> Council of UC Staff Assemblies and University of California Systemwide Human Resources, "2017 UC Staff Engagement Survey," September 2017, [https://www.ucop.edu/human-resources/\\_files/employee-relations-documents/2017-uc-engagement-survey-overall-results.pdf](https://www.ucop.edu/human-resources/_files/employee-relations-documents/2017-uc-engagement-survey-overall-results.pdf).
- <sup>20</sup> Women disagreed more than men. Black workers disagreed more than any other ethnic group, except for American Indians, who responded slightly more negatively to these questions.
- <sup>21</sup> UCSF Health Vice President for Human Resources Jeff Chiu presented these findings during a town hall on survey results. He also noted that racial background was unique in that it had low correlation with other factors influencing disengagement. In other words, unlike other factors, racial background was a consistent predictor of an employee's level of engagement. UCSF and Gallup, "UCSF Staff Engagement Town Hall," September 14, 2018, available at <https://lecture.ucsf.edu/ets/Play/07a75a0d3d724acab2c05060782be8691d>.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>23</sup> At the UC Davis campus, for example, custodial and food service job titles (on a spend basis) comprised 79 percent of all service work outsourced to private contractors. The University provided this data to legislators as an Excel workbook consisting of tables that broke down total spend and total number of contracts for 19 separate job categories. University of California, State Governmental Relations, UC Office of the President, "UC SB 959 Campus Data," May 23, 2016.

<sup>24</sup> These companies also provide staffing for work performed by other union-represented UC job titles, such as laundry and maintenance workers. University of California, “UC Vendor Transparency Report for Fiscal Year 2010-2011,” “UC Vendor Transparency Report for Fiscal Year 2011-2012,” “UC Vendor Transparency Report for Fiscal Year 2012-2013,” “UC Vendor Transparency Report for Fiscal Year 2013-2014,” “UC Vendor Transparency Report for Fiscal Year 2014-2015,” available at <http://reportingtransparency.universityofcalifornia.edu/>

<sup>25</sup> The data is compiled from a database of invoices ZeroChaos submitted to UCSF for contract staff it placed throughout the UCSF Health system. ZeroChaos is a one-stop employment service that UCSF Health routinely uses for non-clinical work it outsources. The invoices cover the period March 1, 2014 to July 31, 2016. The union received the data in response to a subpoena in unfair labor practice charge proceedings pending before the Public Employment Relations Board (PERB). AFSCME Local 3299 v. Regents of the University of California, Case No. SF-CE-1093-H.

<sup>26</sup> While AFSCME submitted a systemwide Request for Information (RFI) under the Higher Education Employment Act (HEERA) seeking contractor information for patient care titles at all five medical centers, only UCSF Health provided employee-level information for its contractor workforce.

<sup>27</sup> The data draws from the database of ZeroChaos invoices described in Footnote 25, as well as a database of invoices MedAssets submitted to UCSF for registry staff it placed throughout the UCSF Health system. UCSF routinely uses MedAssets for the clinical work it outsources. The invoices cover the period March 2014 through June 2016. AFSCME received the information from UCSF in response to its Request for Information (AFSCME-17-027).

<sup>28</sup> To investigate the economic value of job promotions and transfers, we identified service and patient care employees who moved between titles within this segment of the workforce in a given year. We then compared post-transfer pay growth against the average annual pay growth of employees who did not change job titles. This additional pay is the transfer pay premium attributed to changing titles. While we expected to find substantial differences in pay growth between those who changed titles and those who did not, we also found significant variation in the pay premium received by those who transferred. Not only are women and people of color often working in titles with lower pay rates, the average pay increase when promoted or taking on a new job within the University is lower in both relative and absolute terms. By applying the transfer premium for each demographic group to that group’s average pay before transfer, we can observe how these differences in both pay and pay growth magnify racial and gender patterns of wage inequality.

<sup>29</sup> A promotion refers to any transfer between AFSCME-represented jobs titles that results in a year-over-year pay increase. To isolate the portion of year-over-year pay growth attributable to the promotion itself, rather than cost of living and other increases negotiated by AFSCME through collective bargaining, we subtract the average of pay growth of employees who did not change titles to calculate the promotion premium.

<sup>30</sup> In the Service unit, the average pay of white men who transferred between titles was 12% higher than Latina employees, 7% more than Black men, and 4% higher than Black men and Latinos. The average 8.6% pay increase of white men in changing positions in the unit is substantially more than the 4.2% pay increase for Black women, 4.6% for Latinas, 5.7% for Latinos, and 6.5% for Black men.

<sup>31</sup> “Pioneering Inequality: Race, Gender, and Income Disparities at the University of California,” p. 26-27.



AFSCME LOCAL 3299 | 2201 BROADWAY SUITE 315 | OAKLAND, CA 94612 | (510) 844-1160 | [AFSCME3299.ORG](http://AFSCME3299.ORG)