

Lindenwood University

Digital Commons@Lindenwood University

Theses

Theses & Dissertations

1998

The Wage Gap Between Men and Women is Narrowing: Fact or Fiction

Tabatha A. White

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.lindenwood.edu/theses>



Part of the Business Commons

**THE WAGE GAP BETWEEN
MEN AND WOMEN IS NARROWING:
FACT OR FICTION?**

Tabatha A. White, B.S.

An Abstract Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Lindenwood
University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of
Human Resource Management

ABSTRACT

This thesis will focus on the study of how "traditionally female" and "traditionally male" occupations impact the wage gap between men and women. It will also touch on how the wage gap has been decreasing throughout the years.

There has been considerable debate and controversy regarding the issue of wage discrimination between men and women particularly with regard to women working in male dominated occupations. Some researchers believe that the wage gap between men and women has been declining because of an increase in women's education and experience, whereas, some researchers believe it has been declining because of the decrease in men's salaries. Still other researchers believe that the narrowing of the wage gap is deceiving.

Research indicates that the number of women in the workplace today nearly equals the number of men, however, women are still paid substantially less than men regardless of the occupation they choose to enter.

It would appear then, that there is wage discrimination

between men and women in particular occupations. However, it is the purpose of this paper to investigate if there is wage discrimination pertaining to women working in "traditionally male" positions compared to men working in "traditionally female" positions. Specifically, it is hypothesized that women who are employed in occupations that are considered "traditionally male" will be paid less than men who are employed in occupations considered "traditionally female". In addition, this paper will look at how the wage gap is narrowing and if it will continue to do so in the future.

The results of the author's research efforts would suggest that the hypothesis is supportable. The author concludes that the female and male wage gap will continue to narrow.

**THE WAGE GAP BETWEEN
MEN AND WOMEN IS NARROWING:
FACT OR FICTION?**

Tabatha A. White, B.S.

Culminating Project Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of Lindenwood University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Human Resource Management

1998

COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF CANDIDACY:

Associate Professor Gary Gardiner,
Chairperson and Advisor

Associate Professor Betty LeMasters

Senior Vice President/COO Laura Heebner,
Crider Center for Mental Health

Table of Contents

List of Tables.....	iv
List of Figures.....	v
I. Introduction.....	3
Statement of Hypothesis.....	9
II. Literature Review.....	10
III. Selective Review.....	41
IV. Discussion	50
V. Summary	57
Summary.....	57
Limitations.....	60
Suggestions for Future Research.....	63
Works Cited.....	64
Vita Auctores.....	67

List of Tables

Table 2-2	Percentage of women employed by industry	16
Table 2-3	Weekly earnings for men and women in 1982 with 50,000 Or more employees	20
Table 2-4	Median Weekly Earnings of Full Time Wage and Salary Workers By Sex	23

List of Figures

Figure 1	Percent of Labor Force Population by Women	11
----------	--	----

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The creation of patriarchy which took place prior to the formation of Western-Civilization incorporated a set of unstated assumptions about gender which affected the development of history and human thought. Men and women are essentially different in their needs, capacities, and functions. Men explain and order the world. Women by their nurturant function sustain daily life and the continuity of the species. Men are engaged in "transcendent" activities, women are engaged in "immanent" activities. Men have an inherent right to control the sexuality and the reproductive functions of women, while women have no such right over men (Gerda 3-4). These unproven assumptions are not laws of nature or society, although they have been regarded as so and have been incorporated into human law.

Aristotle reasoned that "the male is by nature superior and the female inferior; and the one rules and the other is ruled" (Gerda 6). He believed that women have less than human status; a mutilated male. More than 2,000 years after Aristotle, the founding fathers of the American Republic debated their Constitution. The Declaration of Independence states that "all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" (Gerda 7). All human beings were endowed with the same rights. However, this referred to men only, women did not have the right to vote or to be elected to public office.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was the best known and most conspicuous advocate of women's rights in the nineteenth century. For almost 50

years she led the first women's movement in America. She set its agenda, drafted its documents, and articulated its ideology (Gerda 7).

In addition to suffrage, she advocated co-education, girl's sports, job training, equal wages, labor unions, birth control, cooperative nurseries and kitchens, property rights for wives, child custody rights for mothers, and divorce law reformation. (Griffith XIII). Her followers grew from a scattered network of local reform groups into a national constituency of politically active women. In 1890, Stanton founded the National American Women's Suffrage Association. This Association demanded equal education, equal employment opportunities, and voting rights for women (Griffith XIII).

Stanton was the first person to enumerate every major advance achieved for women in the last century and many reforms still on the agenda in this century. However, Stanton was better known as Susan B. Anthony's cohort even though she proposed the women's suffrage movement three years prior to meeting Anthony. Stanton took a backseat to Anthony because suffragists feared that Stanton's radical feminism would hurt their chances for success with the Association (Griffith XIII).

After her death in 1902, newspapers hailed Stanton as "America's Grand Old Woman." Journalist Ida Husted Harper regarded Stanton as the principal philosopher, publicist, and politician of the first women's movement. "If the intellect of Elizabeth Cady Stanton had been possessed by a man, he would have had a seat on the Supreme Bench or in the Senate of the United States, but our country has no rewards for its great women" (Griffith XIX).

In the literature dealing with the subject of women in history, the emphasis has been on the various discrimination and disabilities under

which women have lived. Structural, legal, and economic inequalities between men and women have held the focus of attention.

The right to vote, the right to birth control, and the right for equal education were issues that women held conventions about and campaigned for in the nineteenth century. As the Constitution states, no woman was allowed to vote. Distribution of birth control information was illegal in the United States. Women had to argue for their right for equal education and prove their capacity to be educated.

Prior to the end of the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States, women had to choose between wifedom, motherhood, and education. No group of men in history has ever had to make such a choice for intellectual growth (Gerda 11).

In 1837 women were unable to enroll in college. In 1870, women constituted 21% of college students, in 1880, 32% of students were women, and in 1910, women made up about 40% of college students enrolled (Gerda 43). Emma Willard, Mary Lyon, Catharine Beecher, and several other women pioneers established institutions of higher learning for women equal in content to curricula offered to men. They wanted to upgrade the "women's sphere" and extend their educational and economic opportunities (Gerda 44).

In 1920, the United States Constitution granted American women the right to vote. Social reformers supported birth control as a way to relieve poverty so that in 1920, it was possible for doctors to dispense birth control information legally. Finally in 1920, women obtained equal access to a college education that was offered to men (Gerda 44).

In the 1950s adult American women had two traditional roles, one as a wife and one as a mother. Society thought women were inferior

compared to men. The justification for this attitude related to the biological and physical differences between the sexes. Women were more emotional, less decisive, less intelligent, and less creative than men by nature. They were the child bearers which created more responsibility for women "inside" the home. Men were free to work "outside" the home. This division of labor gave men economic superiority, therefore, a woman who stayed home had to depend on the man to earn money.

To further promote superiority for men, women are smaller and less powerfully muscled. These physical differences defined certain jobs as being demanding or dangerous. The division of tasks determined by physical differences became a matter of tradition, hence, the term "men's work".

Women throughout history have wanted to broaden their horizons. They wanted equality with the men. They wanted to work outside the home and receive compensation equal to men doing similar or equal job duties. Comparable worth, which has been also referred to as equal pay for equal work, bases pay rates on job evaluations that measure "job worth" by utilizing factors such as skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions (Killingsworth 792). Implementation of comparable worth would help reduce the male-female pay gap, or so women thought.

In 1963, the Equal Pay Act was enacted which requires equal pay for men and women doing equal work. The act was intended as a charter of women's rights in the business world. This act prohibits variations of pay rates based solely on sex (Killingsworth 792).

In *Shultz v. Wheaton Glass Company*, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals found that a manufacturing plants' 10% pay differential for male selector-packers over the pay for female selector-packers, where the

males spent a small portion of their time doing unskilled tasks and lifting was a violation of the Equal Pay Act (Twomey 112).

However, the act sets forth four exceptions allowing variances in wages to be based on a seniority system, a merit system, a system that measures earnings by quantity or quality of production, or a differential based on any factor other than sex (Twomey 112).

In *Hodgson v. Robert Hall Clothes, Inc.*, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals allowed an employer to pay male salespersons at a higher rate than female salespersons holding that the exception for "any other factor other than sex" included the greater profits that an employer received for the men's clothing department as compared to the women's clothing department (Twomey 112).

In 1964 the Civil Rights Act was enacted in order to eliminate employer and union practices from discrimination against employees and job applicants on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. This act covers private employers, state and local governments, and educational institutions that have 15 or more employees. This act was amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 and the Civil Rights Act of 1991. In 1991, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission recorded 35,995 sex discrimination charges. (Twomey 2).

These two acts brought about important legal gains for women which led to the growing participation in the paid labor force. In the United States, the number of employed women rose from 28% in 1940 to 57% in 1989. Married women employed with children under 18 rose from 18% in 1950 to 66% in 1988. (World Book Encyclopedia 389).

Historically, women have worked in occupations that were considered "female", such as bank tellers, cashiers, teachers, nurses,

and secretaries. Men worked in occupations that were considered "male"; such as carpenters, engineers, lawyers, mechanics, and physicians. Predominantly, "female" jobs are paid substantially less than they are worth relative to "male" jobs. Entry into these "female" occupations has a lower pay scale compared to the "male" occupations.

According to the cultural theory, our society has a pervasive tendency to undervalue women and the work they typically perform. Women's traditional nurturing role in the family goes unpaid and underappreciated. Thus, when women take up the nurturing and helping jobs in the force such as nursing or teaching, the jobs are seen as natural to women and require less skill than comparable male dominated jobs like police officers, electricians, and administrators. Because women and women's work have been historically devalued, the jobs women hold are undervalued and underpaid. Through a long process of socialization, women come to believe that they are meant to help and support, not lead and exercise authority. The result is that "women are paid less because they are in women's jobs, and women's jobs are paid less because they are done by women" (Rhoades 9).

When campaigning for the Equal Rights Amendment in the 1970s, the National Organization for Women featured a campaign button saying "59 cents." It represented the full time annual earnings ratio for females compared to earnings for a male. The pay disparity has narrowed since 1979 to seventy cents in 1988 to seventy four cents in 1991. This means that women make seventy four to a mans' one dollar (Rhoades 9).

Although there have been some improvements relating to pay disparity between males and females, discrepancies between male and female job opportunities and earnings remain significant. The majority of

job opportunities for women still fall within a narrow range of occupations; nursing, teaching, retail sales, and secretarial work.

The women's movement and unions with large female populations have kept the issue of equal pay for equal work alive in the public arena in order to obtain a substantial reduction in the female-male wage gap. The hypothesis of this investigation is that women who are employed in occupations that are considered "traditionally male" will be paid less than men who are employed in occupations considered "traditionally female", but that the gap is now closing and will continue to close.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the early 1940s, severe labor shortages resulting from the wartime mobilization of men and the production requirements of the war began to create a greater demand for women in the labor market (Dooley 47).

In the 1950s, steady labor force gains continued. In the 1960s and 1970s, the rise of the feminist movement, women attaining higher levels of education, and the fact that the economy was expanding provided jobs for most women who sought them (Dooley 47).

During the 1980s, despite back to back recessions and structural changes in the economy, women's labor force activity continued to increase, although at a slower pace (Dooley 47).

During 1990-1991, the rise in labor market participation by women essentially stopped. A recession during those years included an unusually large share of job losses in industries that employed many women. After 1991, participation among women remained relatively flat as shown in Figure 1 (Dooley 47).

**PERCENT OF LABOR FORCE POPULATION BY WOMEN
(1948-1994)**

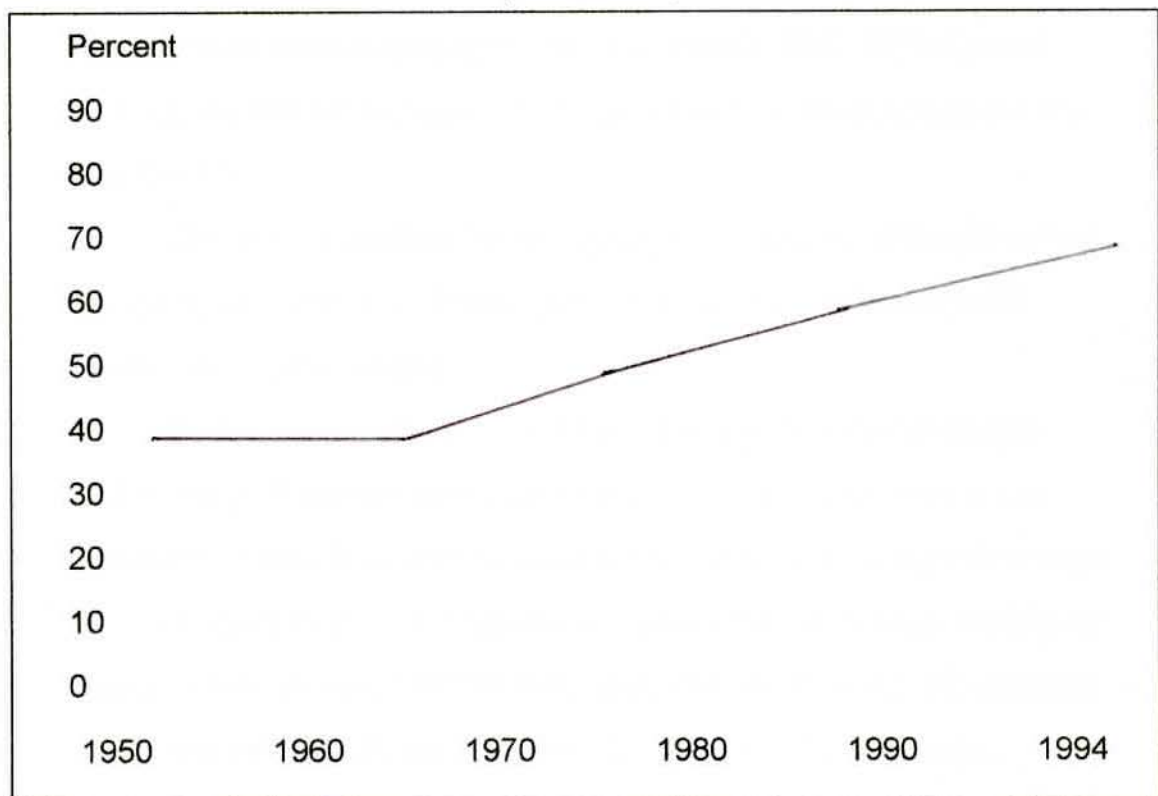


Figure 1

SOURCE: Dooley, Betty. The American Woman 1996-97 Where We Stand. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996, p58.

Of the 100 million women 16 and older in the United States, 58 million were in the labor force during 1992. Women experienced their highest labor force participation rate of all time in 1992; 57.8 percent. They accounted for 45.6 percent of every 100 U.S. adult worker in 1992 (Dooley 47).

Women will account for 15 million, or 62 percent, of the 26 million net increase in the U.S. civilian labor force between 1990 and 2005. (Boston Women's Health).

Today women who work are the rule rather than the exception. Out of every 10 women age 16 and over, nearly six participate in the workforce. Labor force participation is more common among women age 25 to 54; three fourths of these women were either working or looking for work in 1994. Among mothers more than one half of those with children under age one work full or part time (Dooley 44). For all women, employment rates range from about 75 percent for women with school aged children, to 52 percent for women with children under two (Dooley 44).

Statistics show that the number of women in the workforce today nearly equals the number of men. There are 60 million women in the American workforce. Most women work for economic need. In 1992, nearly two-thirds of America's working women were single (25 percent), widowed (4 percent), separated (4 percent) or had spouses whose 1990 earnings were less than \$17,500 (17.7 percent). (U.S. Bureau of Census).

The United States Department of Labor's Glass Ceiling Commission reported that the infamous sex discrimination in the work place barrier remains very much intact. The Equal Employment

Opportunity Commission reports that the number of sexual harassment claims increased 41 percent in 1992, compared with claims filed in 1991. More than 25,800 claims alleging sex discrimination were filed in fiscal year 1994; complaints of sexual harassment increased by more than 13 percent from the last fiscal year (Dooley 36). Approximately 85 percent of American women will experience some form of sexual harassment during their academic or working life. Ninety percent of sexual harassment cases involve men harassing women, nine percent involve same-sex harassment, and one percent involve women harassing men. (Statistical Handbook on Women in America).

Persistent discrimination underlies the very real wage gap that continues to depress women's earning power. Discrimination keeps disproportionate numbers of women stuck in low wage jobs with limited opportunities for advancement and success. In the author's opinion, qualifications and merit still take a backseat to the old boys' network and old fashioned discrimination. For years qualified women were shut out of employment, education, and business opportunities solely because of their sex. Women's choices generally were limited from their earliest school years through high school; girls and young women frequently were tracked into certain careers and cut off from other educational opportunities.

As late as 1968, newspaper want ads often were segregated by gender, one section for the "male" jobs and a separate section for the "female" jobs. As a result, women were systematically excluded from many opportunities without regard to their qualifications. What is different for today's typical female worker is that unlike her mother, she will probably work steadily for pay from the time she leaves school until she

reaches retirement, even when her children are small. Women are much more likely than men to be living in poverty despite participating in the labor force. About two-thirds of the 5.6 million workers who earned the minimum wage or less in 1991 were working women (Dooley 55).

Technological and organizational changes create new kinds of jobs continually. Because of this, substantial shifts in the gender distribution of many occupations have occurred and despite these shifts, women and men still tend to be concentrated in different occupations; women are highly over-represented in clerical, sales, and services while men are disproportionately employed in craft and laborer jobs (Dooley 56).

Women continue to remain occupationally segregated in low-paying jobs. Almost half, 44 percent, of employed women work in service, sales, and administrative support jobs, amounting to 23.5 million women. These jobs, which often pay lower than average wages, accounted for nearly six in ten working women in 1994. More than nine in every 10 of the 39 million women employees added to American payrolls in the last three decades worked in the service sector. Because the majority of women workers work in these particular jobs, today's female workers are likely to be employed in a job traditional to her gender (Dooley 24). Seventy percent of female secondary vocational school students are enrolled in programs leading to traditionally female, low-wage jobs. The majority of women enrolled in publicly funded job training programs are trained for traditionally female, low-wage clerical and service jobs (Dooley 24).

Differences in industry employment patterns by gender to a large degree reflect differences in occupational employment patterns within industries as shown in Table II-2.

EMPLOYED WOMEN BY INDUSTRY

Industry	1974	1994
Agriculture	1.8%	1.5%
Mining	0.2%	0.2%
Construction	1.0%	1.3%
Manufacturing	18.0%	11.4%
Transportation	3.6%	4.4%
Wholesale Trade	2.3%	2.4%
Retail Trade	20.1%	19.0%
Finance/Insurance	7.3%	8.5%
Services	41.7%	46.9%
Public Administratio	4.1%	4.4%
	100%	100%
Total Employed	33,769	56,610

Table II-2

SOURCE: Dooley, Betty. The American Woman 1996-97 Where We Stand. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996, p.61.

In 1990, 99 percent of all secretaries were women, but only two percent of workers in the construction trades were women. Women hold only 10 to 20 percent of managerial and administrative jobs worldwide and less than 20 percent of manufacturing jobs. Women are concentrated in lower paying industries and under-represented in the higher paying ones (Dooley 60).

Women have made considerable headway in gaining highly visible, powerful positions, however, few women can be found among the "captains of industry".

Of the Fortune 500 companies, women comprise a mere two point six percent of corporate officers. Of the Fortune Service 500 industries, including retailing, banking, insurance and finance, women comprise 61 percent of all employees, but only four point three percent of corporate officers. (U.S. Department of Labor).

Only three percent of managers at the nation's 1,000 largest companies were women in 1990, compared to one percent in 1979. The recent fact-finding report issued by the bipartisan Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) revealed that less than five percent of senior managers in Fortune 1000 companies were women even though they make up 46 percent of the overall workforce (Dooley 38).

Women held only 31.3 percent of high-level state and local government jobs nationwide in 1990. In 1993, women comprise six percent of the U.S. Senate and 11 percent of the U.S. House. Women hold 22.2 percent of statewide elected executive offices in 1993. This is an increase from 18.2 percent in 1992. Currently, three women are serving as Governors of their states. Eleven of the 42 states with

Lieutenant Governors have women in that position (Statistical Handbook on Women in America).

In 1910, 20 percent of college faculty were female. In 1985, women comprised only 28 percent of college faculty. The number of colleges and universities headed by women increased from five percent in 1975 to 10 percent in 1990 (Dooley 24).

While women's gains in professional and managerial occupations have increased, the odds that a working woman has the same type of job her father had holds true only for white-collar occupations. Women have made virtually no headway in the skilled construction trades and other traditionally male blue-collar occupations (Dooley 24).

Women continue to face significant barriers when seeking higher-paying, non-traditional jobs, particularly in the skilled and construction trades. Overall in 1993, women were only 0.6 percent of auto mechanics, 0.9 percent of carpenters, 0.7 percent of plumbers, 1.1 percent of electricians, and 3.5 percent of welders (Dooley 38). As of June 1992, 12.1 percent of officers and 11.7 percent of enlisted soldiers of the United States Army were women. For the Navy, 11.8 percent of the officers and 10 percent of enlisted were women. In the U.S. Marine Corps, 3.3 percent of officers and 4.7 percent of enlisted were women. (U.S. Department of Labor).

Among wage and salary workers, women actually are more likely than men to work in the professional and technical group but are less likely to hold the higher paying jobs within this group. Women make up very large shares of the lower paying professional and technical jobs, that is 94 percent RNs, 79 percent health technicians, 67 percent teachers below college level, and 65 percent social workers. (Mellor 19).

Weekly earnings for men and women in 1982 with 50,000 or more employees is shown in Table II-3 (Mellor 20).

WEEKLY EARNINGS OF WOMEN AND MEN

<u>Engineers</u>	<u>Physicians</u>	<u>Professional/Technical</u>
M: \$592	M: \$530	M: \$371
W: \$479	W: \$421	W: \$241
<u>Lawyers</u>	<u>Registered Nurses</u>	<u>Health Technicians</u>
M: \$653	M: \$363	M: \$365
W: \$492	W: \$366	W: \$298
<u>Teachers High School</u>	<u>Teachers College</u>	
M: \$413	M: \$528	
W: \$338	W: \$415	
<u>Social Workers</u>	<u>Protective Services</u>	
M: \$382	M: \$338	
W: \$307	W: \$254	

Table II-3

SOURCE: Mellor, Earl. "Investigating the Differences in Weekly Earnings of Women and Men." Monthly Labor Review June 1984: 17-27.

According to Dooley in her work, not only do male earnings outpace the earnings of women, but men also get a better return on their education. College educated women earn only \$2,000 more a year than men with a high school diploma, and earn \$12,000 less than men with college degrees (38). However, women who have college degrees and work full time year round earn 40 percent more than women who have only a high school diploma (Dooley 38).

The increasing number of women entering the paid labor force in the United States since the 1950s raised several issues concerning measures of social standing, including both prestige and socioeconomic status. Interest also began in the occupational mobility of women as individuals. It was no longer clear if within particular occupations, women's occupational standing was the same as that of male incumbents or if the social standing of any occupation was affected by its gender composition (Rose 316).

Discussions of gender and occupational prestige have mainly focused on three concerns:

1. Whether men and women in the same occupational niche receive, the same levels of occupational prestige, especially in sex-stereotyped jobs.
2. The prestige of predominantly female and predominantly male occupations.
3. The correlates of occupational prestige, whether or not income and education contribute to prestige among women in the same way as among men (Rose 323).

Traditional jobs are detrimental to women's status attainment in two ways:

1. The average prestige in female jobs is 12 points lower than that in male jobs.

2. The maximum achievable prestige within the traditional women's labor market realm is 21 points below that attainable within traditional male jobs (Rose 323).

Women today say that the biggest problem they face is equal pay. Ninety four percent of women surveyed in a poll by the AFL-CIO stated that equal pay for equal work is their number one priority. Thirty seven percent of women find that "making ends meet" has grown tougher and one-third of the women surveyed said that they do not get equal pay compared to men (O'Connell 116).

More than one-half of the respondents in the Women's Bureau Survey said that ensuring equal opportunity in the workplace was a priority for them. The second concern ranked for working women was "unequal or unfair pay" and the third was "lack of equal treatment and equal opportunity" (Dooley 32).

Employed women do earn less on average than employed men; however, the earnings gap has been declining for many years as shown in Table II-4 (Dooley 63). As Dooley state, the male-female wage gap has narrowed primarily because of decreases in men's salaries.

**MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FULL TIME
WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS BY SEX**

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>M-EARNINGS</u>	<u>F-EARNINGS</u>	<u>RATIO OF EARNINGS</u>
1979	\$291	\$182	62.5%
1980	\$312	\$201	64.4%
1981	\$339	\$219	64.6%
1982	\$364	\$238	65.4%
1983	\$378	\$252	66.7%
1984	\$391	\$265	67.8%
1985	\$406	\$277	68.2%
1986	\$419	\$290	69.2%
1987	\$433	\$303	70.0%
1988	\$449	\$315	70.2%
1989	\$468	\$328	70.1%
1990	\$485	\$348	71.8%
1991	\$497	\$368	74.0%
1992	\$505	\$381	75.4%
1993	\$514	\$395	76.8%
1994	\$522	\$399	76.4%

Table II-4

SOURCE: Dooley, Betty. The American Woman 1996-97 Where We Stand. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996, p.64.

Data from the current population survey conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics was used to look at sex earning differences. The survey includes data on how much full time workers usually earn per week by race, age, education, and occupation. In this study, the median usual weekly earnings of full time workers for women was \$241 and for men \$371, in 1982. The 35 percent wage gap in 1982 was explained through standardizations by age, education, occupation, industry, and history of work (Mellor 18).

Fewer women than men are in jobs involving the supervision of other workers; such jobs require supervisory responsibilities that offer a wage premium. Deborah Swiss conducted a study in 1995 of female managers, and the vast majority of them said they still experience unfair treatment and negative attitudes on the job. "The old boy network still exists and there are behind the scene rules that sabotage so many women's productivity and recognition" (Rheem 12). Respondents were given less responsibility upon returning from maternity leave. Male supervisors watched and scrutinized them more closely than their male colleagues. Having children makes a woman vulnerable to bias on the job. "Once a woman has a child, she is automatically perceived to be less committed to her career" (Rheem 12). Despite all these shortcomings, many of the respondents developed effective ways to overcome gender-based obstacles.

It is hypothesized that involvement in domestic activities (housework and child care) negatively affect wages and is likely to be an important factor in explaining women's lower wages relative to men. The more compatible women's occupations are with the demands of their home responsibilities, the more likely these occupations will pay less,

require less overtime, and require less commuting time. In 1970, wives employed full time averaged 25 hours of work in the home while husbands average 13 hours (Rhoades 13).

Human capital (education and work experience) and structural variables (occupational sectors and organizational size) generally account for no more than one-half of the male-female earnings gap. Coverman states one under-researched mechanism that may be responsible for a major component of the sex gap in income is the sexual division of labor in the home (623).

Many women today are involved in both paid (market) and unpaid (household) labor. It is hypothesized that time devoted to domestic labor decreases women's and men's wages, therefore this influences the relative economic achievements of both sexes. Women average 11.5 years out of the paid labor force, primarily because of care giving responsibilities; men average 1.3 years. The sexual division of labor in the home and the attitudes which underlie and perpetuate it influence labor market aspirations, participation, and achievement (Coverman 623).

The organization of market work in this society with its emphasis on competition and maximization of efficiency and profits facilitates a reward structure that promotes continuous employment and long, inflexible working hours. Success in such a structure is more likely to be attained by those who have relatively minimal involvement in family care and activities (Coverman 623).

Because sex role prescriptions have traditionally freed husbands from many daily household tasks, they are in an advantageous position regarding this dimension in the labor force, relative to wives. The

organization of domestic production in a family will directly and/or indirectly affect family members' labor force achievements, and the effects are not likely to be the same for all members (Coverman 624).

Although no studies have investigated directly the influence of time spent in domestic activities on earnings, those which analyze how family characteristics affect labor force participation and achievement suggest the existence of a negative relationship between women's domestic and wage labor activities. The apparent inverse relationship between involvement in the domestic sphere and labor market activities may be reflected in women's "looser attachment" to the labor force; (ie: part time, temporary, and/or intermittent labor force participation) (Coverman 629).

In this particular study, the influence of domestic labor time on womens' and mens' wages was analyzed along with other independent variables (number of children, sex-role attitudes, age, spouses' domestic time, and several employment related characteristics (education, number of hours spent in the labor market, establishment size, and union membership).

Women's total weekly workload (labor and domestic hours) was 87.4 hours, greater than mens' 76.53 hours. This sex difference in total workload underscores the burden placed on women who combine family and employment activities within a structure of traditional gender roles (Coverman 629).

Domestic labor time decreases both womens' and mens' wages. It appears that women in the non-working class who adhere to modern sex roles have an advantage in earnings because they adopt male-type traits such as assertiveness and competitiveness that enhance labor market success (Coverman 629).

The number of preschool children decreases men's earnings whereas school aged children benefit their earnings. The number of children did not affect women's wages. Education, unions, employment in core industries and hours worked benefit both mens' and womens' wages. Membership in working class decreases men's earnings but not womens (Coverman 630).

Time currently married, the amount of time spent on housework between men and women, and child care exerts a negative influence on female and male wages. These findings imply that there are important linkages between the familial and economic spheres whereby sexual inequality in the familial division of labor helps perpetuate sexual inequality in the labor market (Coverman 634).

Evidence also suggests that the conflict between job and family priorities may prevent, inhibit, or divert many talented and accomplished women from reaching the highest pinnacles of success (Dooley 24). Social policy can facilitate a more egalitarian domestic division of labor through a variety of extra-familial solutions implemented, such as government or employer sponsored child care facilities for preschool children, homemaker payments, and changes in the organization of work (Coverman 635).

Two reasons that may contribute to women's lower median earnings are that women are employed in a general concentration of jobs that pay lower than average wages and women's earnings are greatly affected by the amount of education, as education is a pre-requisite for entering higher-paying occupations (Dooley 66).

Single women between 25 to 64 earn 91 percent of the income of men who are single. The addition of each child enhances the married

man's earnings by another three percent while decreasing that of the married woman by seven to ten percent. Marriage decreases promotion seeking among women and it increases among men (Rhoades 12). Women are more likely to drop out of the labor force and this can have a profound effect by lowering future wages. A worker who drops out of the labor force for five years earns one-third less on returning (Rhoades 13).

Other factors contributing to wage gap are women have less time for their jobs because they do much more of the housework; and that large quantities of energy are being used compared to leisure time spent by men (Rhoades 13). Previous studies of the gender pay gap in the United States have found a narrowing of that gap in the past two decades, but have differed substantially in the reported magnitude of that change. (Ashraf 537).

The panel study of income dynamics conducted a study to calculate gender earnings using data from 1968-1989. The results are as follows:

1. Earnings in the South have risen and drawn closer to the rest of the country.
2. Union membership had a strong, positive impact on earnings.
3. White workers; male and female, earned more than their black counterparts.
4. Married men earned significantly more than unmarried men over the entire period.
5. The presence of children did not influence earnings in either sample.
6. Female and male earnings ratios steadily climbed.

7. Earning differentials was 45 percent in 1968 and 21 percent in 1989. (Ashraf 542).

The narrowing of the overall earnings differential was reinforced by a relative rise in female earnings. The increase in women's median earnings (still below the median earnings for men) has been attributed to the improvement of women's educational levels (Dooley 31). Less than 15 percent of the wage gap can be attributed to differences in educational levels, labor force experience and work interruptions (Dooley 31).

Another line of inquiry focusing on the wage gap between men and women besides human capital characteristics, is the concentration of women in low-paying occupations. When industrial segregation is considered, the wage gap increases to 36 percent (Jacobs 439). As Jacobs and Steinberg argue in their work, sex segregation is not just a result of early life socialization but rather a consequence of a life-long system of social control that channels and re-channels women into female dominated fields (440).

In the article, Pay Equity: Empirical Inquiries, Randall Filer, holds that sex segregation of occupations is largely voluntary because of differences in "tastes" regarding working conditions (440).

Wages between female and male dominated occupations differ because women choose to take a larger proportion of their compensation package in non-pecuniary amenities, whereas men opt for a larger proportion of their benefits in wages. Filer maintains that female-dominated occupations are not underpaid, but women work in "lower paying but otherwise more attractive jobs" and that the wage gap can be accounted for by the wage premium paid to men because of undesirable working conditions in their jobs (Jacobs 440).

Adam Smith, In Wealth of Nations, states that an undesirable feature of a job reduces the supply of individuals interested in that job and that anything that reduces the supply of workers increases the wage employers must pay to fill that position. Economists refer to this phenomenon as a "compensating differential."

JOB CONDITIONS LISTED AS UNDESIRABLE

1. Requiring heavy physical labor
2. Noise
3. Temperature extremes
4. Dirt, hazardous materials
5. Repetitious work
6. Fast paced environment
7. Low autonomy
8. Stressful
9. Job insecurity
10. Work with machines
11. Involves risk of injury or death

SOURCE: Jacobs, Jerry and Ronnie Steinberg. "Compensating Differentials and the Male-Female Gap: Evidence From the New York State Comparable Worth Study." Social Forces December 1990: 439-468.

The logic of compensating differentials has been employed as an explanation for the difference in pay between male-dominated and female-dominated jobs (Jacobs 442).

Filer maintains that once compensating differentials for a job's effort, responsibility, fringe benefits, and working conditions are taken into account, there is no significant relationship between an occupation's gender composition and its wages for either men or women (442).

A study was conducted testing "compensating differentials" with the New York State Government. Male-dominated positions do not have a monopoly on undesirable working conditions. Neither men nor women are positively compensated for working in unpleasant or unsafe conditions. Women's work remains significantly undervalued, putting women in jobs with the same working conditions as men would not reduce the sex gap in wages (Jacobs 458).

In a neoclassical economist view, female jobs possess certain advantages; higher starting wages, lower depreciation of human capital while not employed, and more pleasant working conditions. Economists contend that average differences in pay between male and female jobs are all "compensated" for by other advantages of female jobs such as lower skill demands, more pleasant job requirements or working conditions, higher starting wages, and a lower risk of depreciation. Neoclassical theory predicts that market forces will eventually eliminate hiring and wage discrimination. (England, Farkas 545).

In the case of hiring discrimination, if some employers will not hire women in male jobs, women who want these jobs will offer to work at a lower wage, thereby providing an incentive for other employers to hire them. Wage discrimination against female occupations should erode

because employers have an incentive to stop paying men more than is necessary to induce them to work in male occupations and to encourage women who will accept lower wages to enter the male occupations (England, Farkas 545).

A sociological view contends that female jobs have uncompensated disadvantages, that is, lower wages than male jobs with an equivalent requirement for education, experience, skill, and working conditions. The sociological view emphasizes that if reinforcement and role modeling that make up socialization teach that certain jobs are appropriate for each sex, this will not affect supply-side training and job choices, but will also produce anew in each generation employers who hold discriminatory values and beliefs (England 546).

If women are selectively and routinely assigned to jobs encouraging traditionally feminine skills and preferences this amplifies those gender differences that existed prior to such discrimination. Sex composition of jobs affect their pay as a consequence of norms that devalue whatever work women do. Those who work in occupations with more females earn less (England 554).

When a certain type of skill is generally performed by a women, whether outside paid labor or in predominantly female occupations, the skills itself gets stigmatized and devalued, so its contribution to organizational goals is not recognized (England 67).

Vocational and on the job training are important in explaining the sex gap in pay and men on the average are in jobs that provide more training specific to the occupation. Wages are higher in industries containing firms that are larger, more capital intensive, unionized, and more profitable. Women's occupations may be disproportionately located

in marginal industries and a job requiring nurturing carries a net wage penalty (England 70). Pay equity policies would help reduce the sex gap in pay based on these two findings and that theorists should recognize the gendered nature of the valuation of occupations and skills. (England 94).

The Quality of Employment Survey shows that men and women hold jobs with substantially different working conditions and that these differences are of a pattern suggesting the need to pay higher wages to attract employees to the jobs held by men (Filer 426). These differences in working conditions contribute significantly to the ability to explain average earnings for each sex.

Men and women systematically report that they value particular features of their jobs differently. Men attach themselves more to wages and fringe benefits, while women value interpersonal and other non-wage aspects of the job more highly (Filer 427). We should expect that men and women with equal productive value but different job preferences "earn" different wages even with no discrimination on the part of employers.

There are differences in working conditions between the jobs held by men and those held by women. Women reported that their jobs had greater clarity of job roles, more involved relations with co-workers, and better supervision. Their jobs required less commuting time, which made taking time off easier, caused fewer illnesses, and involved exposure to fewer hazards. These factors make jobs more attractive thereby reducing wages (Filer 428).

Men reported that their jobs involved more variety, autonomy, less effort, more challenge, and a greater use of their skills. This could

indicate that men's jobs are "more demanding" than women's and therefore require compensation in higher wages. These differences could possibly be responsible for part of the observed differences in pay between the sexes (Filer 430). If an occupation is filled largely by women, employers may discriminate in wage administration by offering lower wages to both male and female workers in that particular occupation. (England, Herbert 66).

There are two types of job evaluations that can be used to study wage differentials between men and women. The first type of evaluation is the policy capturing system. Employers pick up factors valued by current employers in the market. They capture statistically the relationship between wages paid for benchmark jobs and the job's content (skill, responsibility). The second evaluation is the priori system. This evaluation uses a predetermined set of factors to evaluate jobs within any given organization. This system is used for comparable worth in all states except New York (Rhoades 20).

Despite the possible shortcomings, the National Academy and other analysts have cautiously endorsed the use of job evaluations. The Academy noted that job evaluations "do provide a systematic method of comparing jobs to determine whether they are fairly compensated" and the use of job evaluation scores to determine pay rates will generally go some way toward reducing discriminatory differences in pay when they exist. Job evaluation systems allow comparisons of different jobs so as "to determine to what extent persons in female-dominated jobs are unfairly underpaid" (Rhoades 25).

Proponents of comparable worth say that their interest is in raising the pay of female-dominated occupations and not in reducing the pay of

male-dominated occupations below some market equilibrium (Rhoades 30).

Understanding the historical context of wage differentials is critical to grasping the important role that affirmative action plays for women. Affirmative action generally means positive steps taken by a company, organization, agency, or institution to end discrimination, to prevent its recurrence, and to create new opportunities that previously were denied to qualified women (Dooley 34).

Examples of lawful affirmative action programs are:

1. A Chicago real estate developer established an outreach program called the Female Employment Initiative. The program creates opportunities for women in the building trades through special training programs, counseling, information services, and referral listings that identify available women workers for employers.

2. A number of universities and employers have developed initiatives to provide specialized counseling and training to encourage women to enter engineering and other technical programs.

3. Other employers have instituted targeted reviews by senior management staff to identify promising women candidates for consideration when senior job opportunities emerge (Dooley 34).

These programs may include mentoring programs and ongoing leadership training for women to develop their understanding of the corporate culture and enhance their prospects for promotion (Dooley 35). All these programs are used to counteract continuing sex discrimination that too often taints decisions about jobs, education, and business opportunities.

The Supreme Court made clear that a lawful affirmative action program must apply only to qualified candidates, have a strong reason for being developed, and to be narrowly crafted to minimize negative effects. Recent polls indicate that Americans firmly support affirmative action to create opportunities for women while they oppose preferences for unqualified candidates (Dooley 36).

Because of affirmative action and other anti-discrimination measures, women have made significant progress:

1. Women earn more. In 1963, women earned 59 cents, while now they earn 71 cents for every \$1.00 earned by men.
2. More women are in the pipeline for top jobs. In 1980 women made up 27.1 percent of all managers. In 1990 women made up 35.3 percent of all managers.
3. Women have moved into professional jobs previously occupied by men. In 1993, 18.6 percent of architects were women, compared to 4.3 percent in 1975; 47.6 percent of economists compared to 13.1 percent; and 22.8 percent of lawyers and judges compared to 7.1 percent in 1975 (Dooley 39). Seventy-five percent of new entrants in the workplace between 1900 and 2000 will be women and people of color (Dooley 39).

Women owned businesses account for 28 percent of all businesses and are the fastest growing segment of the economy. Women own and operate businesses in every sector of the economy. Seventy-eight percent of women owned businesses are in the service sector, 15 percent in retail, and seven percent in manufacturing and construction. Women will own 50 percent of all U.S. businesses by the year 2000. (Women's Research and Educational Institute).

A growing number of businesses now recognize that affirmative action policies boost productivity and increase profits by creating a diverse workforce drawn from a larger talent pool generating new ideas, targeting new markets, and improving workplace morale. Taking advantage of the diverse talents in the labor market is good for business (Dooley 39).

The first Equal Pay laws began in the Canadian province of Ontario in 1951 with the Ontario Female Employees Fair Remuneration Act. The requirement that jobs be substantially similar in the composite of skills, effort, responsibility, and working conditions was adopted in all provinces that passed conventional equal pay legislation (Kovach 41).

At the federal level, gender-based wage discrimination was addressed in the Canadian Human Rights Act passed in the mid 1970s. Under the "Equal Wages" title of the legislation, wage differentials between men and women performing "work of equal value" was deemed illegal discrimination (41). Despite federal legislation, surveys conducted in the 1980s revealed a consistent gender-based wage gap seven years after passage of the Canadian Human Rights Act. In 1989, the female average earnings were 75 percent to 80 percent of male average earnings (42).

Comparable worth policies have the potential to address the low wage structure that is not associated with the components of the job itself. This is important for older women or others who may be unable or unwilling to leave female-dominated lower-paying jobs (42). However, as a policy, comparable worth possesses some flaws that render it unlikely to result in the complete closure of the gender-based wage gap.

In Canada, all provinces have passed conventional equal pay legislation. Conventional equal pay legislation limits comparisons to the

same occupation, whereas comparable worth relies on comparisons that use some job evaluation procedure (Kovach 43).

The Pay Equity Act of 1987 became effective on January 1, 1988 "to redress systematic gender discrimination in compensation for work performed by employees in female jobs" (43). Discrimination in this form is to be identified by comparing each male and female job class in a firm in terms of compensation for the work performed and its value. (Kovach 44).

When wage discrepancies appear, employers are required to prepare pay equity plans and post them in the workplace. Failure to comply with any provision of the act issued can result in fines up to \$2,000 for individuals and up to \$25,000 for organizations (44).

Canada's experience with comparable worth is of significant interest and relevance for a number of reasons. Its extensive breadth of coverage, its application to the private sector, and its proactive approach, all stand as models of comparable worth policies worldwide (46).

Today the discussion of comparable worth in Canada has turned to a debate on how best to implement it. American business leaders would be well advised to watch this situation, and the resultant debate, as it unfolds (46).

Two laws proposed in Congress may help force disclosure of workplace wage discrimination:

1. The Fair Pay Act- introduced by Senator Tom Harkin and Congress-woman Eleanor Holmes Norton would extend protection of the 1963 law to women whose jobs are equivalent to those of men earning more. This act will also require companies to file an annual report with the Equal Employment Occupation Commission listing pay ranges for

different jobs and the number of people of each sex who hold the jobs. (O'Connell 116).

2. The Paycheck Fairness Act- proposed by Senate Leader Tom Daschle would lift the so called gag order some companies impose to keep employees from comparing salaries with co-workers. (O'Connell 116).

Some resources that a woman has if she suspects she is not being paid fairly are:

1. Try to find out how her salary compares to others.
2. See what her experience is worth.
3. Ask for the pay she deserves.
4. Boost awareness in her office.
5. File a complaint if all else fails.
6. Write to her members of Congress to support the pending legislation.

Gloria Johnson, Vice-President of the AFL-CIO says , "we are being shortchanged, whether through legislation, through collective bargaining, through education, something's got to give" (116).

The National Committee on Pay Equity , a coalition of labor, women's civil rights, religious, and other organizations working to achieve pay equity; reports that 20 states and 1700 local governments, school districts, and universities have begun to make comparable worth pay adjustments for their employees (Rhoades 2).

States controlled by the Democratic party have been the most likely to institute comparable worth, often called "pay equity." Comparable worth is dependent on finding a reliable way to compare the

value of predominantly male and predominantly female jobs (Rhoades 4).

Comments frequently made among working women are that "males give lip service to equal work/equal pay, but good ole boy politics exist" and "equal pay and equal respect" (O'Connell 116). However, women are now doing things to overcome gender inequality; rather than blaming the system, women are beginning to use more effective approaches:

1. Females are building relationships outside the male only domain with colleagues and clients.

2. They are taking risks in career choices, and in personal style on the job. They are acting more like themselves instead of trying to blend in.

3. They are taking control of their compensation and performance reviews. They enter performance and pay review sessions armed with evidence.

4. They are building alliances with people in the organization; both male and female.

5. They are not litigating. Most women are dealing with harassment and other legal issues through dialogue and diplomacy. (Rheem 13).

Women today are tired of waiting for organizations to deliver equality. They are setting the agendas for their own careers now.

Chapter III

SELECTIVE REVIEW

Statistics show that the number of women in the workforce today nearly equals the number of men, and that women will account for 62 percent of the 26 million net increase in the United States civilian labor force between 1990 and 2005. Even though these statistics are significant, women are still paid substantially less than men for various reasons. The wage gap has decreased from 62.5 percent in 1979 to 76.4 percent in 1994, however, this decrease has been attributed to many factors except for the persistent discrimination that underlies the very real wage gap problem (Dooley 47).

Women and men tend to be concentrated in different occupational sectors despite the shifts in the gender distribution of these occupations. Women continue to remain segregated in low-paying jobs. Women are highly over-represented in service, clerical, and sale positions. These jobs, which are dominated traditionally by women, are paid lower than average wages. Occupational assignment is the primary determinant of the pay gap, a result of women choosing from a limited number of occupations, thereby crowding each other and driving the market down.

If women are selectively assigned to jobs encouraging traditionally feminine skills and preferences, this amplifies those gender differences that existed prior to such discrimination. Sex composition of jobs affects their pay as a consequence of norms that devalue whatever work women

do. Those who work in occupations with more females earn less. When a type of skill is generally done by a women, whether outside paid labor or in predominantly female occupations, the skills get stigmatized and devalued (England, Farkas 554).

Today's female workers are likely to be employed in a job traditional to their gender. The majority of women enrolled in vocational school programs or job training programs are trained for traditionally female, low-wage jobs. Women's occupations may be disproportionately located in marginal industries that carry a net wage penalty simply because the job requires nurturing. Men, however, are in larger industries that are more profitable and which carry a much higher wage premium. Women continue to face significant barriers when seeking higher paying, non-traditional jobs; particularly in the skilled and construction trades. Expansion of traditionally female industries has been accompanied by the "feminization" of occupations within industries due to the restructuring of work to reduce labor costs.

A mechanism that may be responsible for the sex gap in income between men and women could be the sexual division of labor in the home. It is hypothesized that involvement in domestic activities (child care and housework) negatively affects wages. The more compatible women's occupations are with the demands of their home responsibilities, the more likely these occupations will pay less, require less overtime and require less commuting time (Rhoades 13). The sexual division of labor

in the home and the attitudes which underlie and perpetuate it, influences labor market aspirations, participation, and achievement. (Rhoades 13).

The organization of outside paid labor in this society facilitates a reward structure that promotes continuous employment and long inflexible working hours. Women average 11.5 years of non-participation in the paid labor force, primarily because of care-giving responsibilities; men average only 1.3 years. Success in such a structure is more likely to be attained by those who have relatively minimal involvement in family care and activities. Because sex role prescriptions have traditionally freed husbands from many daily household tasks, they are in a advantageous position regarding this dimension in the labor force, relative to wives. In the past, the common practice of paying men more than women for the same work was widely accepted because men had families to support. Now, a large proportion of women work to support a family but they are still earning less money than men. Because women invest a large amount of their time and energy on housework and child care, they tend to make less money than men. In addition, women have a tendency to drop out of the paid labor force to raise their children which leads to a profound decrease in their future wages. A person who drops out of the labor force for five years or more earns less upon returning (Rhoades 13).

Individuals who analyze how family characteristics affect labor force participation and achievement suggest the existence of a negative

relationship between women's domestic and wage labor activities. When looking at the total domestic and labor hours associated with men and women, women have 10.87 more combined hours than men. This workload difference underscores the burden placed on women who combine family and employment activities within a structure of traditional gender roles. The amount of time spent on housework and child care exerts a negative influence on wages of women. This implies that there is an important linkage between family and economic labor whereby sexual inequality in the division of domestic labor helps perpetuate sexual inequality in the labor market. Evidence also suggests that the conflict between job and family priorities may prevent, inhibit, or divert many talented and accomplished women from reaching the highest pinnacles of success (Dooley 24).

For years qualified women were shut out of employment opportunities because of their educational limitations. Women were frequently tracked into certain careers and cut off from other educational opportunities. Because men were allowed to have more opportunity for learning and education is considered a pre-requisite for entering higher paying positions, men received a better return on their education. Women, however, are becoming the primary pool of educated workers. This in itself should affirm that women have earned the right to attain higher wages and higher positions in the workplace. A woman with a college education earns significantly less than a man with the same

education. In addition, men with only a high school diploma make only slightly less than a woman with a college education (Rhoades 14).

Compensating differentials have been employed as an explanation for the difference in pay between male and female dominated occupations. This phenomenon states that an undesirable feature of a job reduces the supply of individuals interested in that job and that anything that reduces the supply of workers increases the wage employers must pay to fill that position (14).

Men and women hold jobs with substantially different working conditions and these differences suggest the need to pay higher wages to attract employees to the jobs held by men. Women contend that their jobs has greater clarity of job roles, better supervision, and less exposure to job hazards. These factors make jobs attractive thereby reducing wages (14).

Men are compensated with a wage premium because their jobs have a certain number of undesirable working conditions. Women work in lower paying but otherwise more attractive jobs because their jobs do not have the same number of undesirable elements. Some undesirable conditions are heavy physical labor, temperature extremes, hazardous materials, and risk of injury or death. Because mens' jobs can hold a certain number of undesirable elements and require more challenge, their jobs could be considered "more demanding" requiring compensation in higher wages (15).

Wages between female and male dominated occupations differ because women choose to take a larger proportion of their compensation package in non-pecuniary amenities. They value interpersonal and other non-wage aspects of the job more highly while men opt for a larger proportion of their benefits through fringe benefits and wages (Rhoades 15).

Today work among women is the rule rather than the exception. Out of every 10 women, six participate in the workforce. What is different for today's typical female worker is that unlike her mother, she will probably work steadily for pay from the time she leaves school until she reaches retirement, even when her children are small (15).

Because of the increase in the number of women entering the workforce it is no longer clear if women's occupational standing (prestige) is the same as that of male incumbents within particular occupations. Prestige in traditional female jobs is substantially lower than traditional male jobs (16).

Working women are concerned with ensuing equal opportunity in the workplace regarding equal pay, equal treatment, and equal opportunity. The United States Department of Labor's Glass Ceiling Commission reported that this infamous sex discrimination barrier remains very much intact. Although civil rights laws have barred gender discrimination for 30 years in hiring, pay, promotions, and terminations; schools, families, and society at large still remark upon exceptions to the

rule that women work in "women's" jobs. Qualifications and merit still take a backseat to the old boys' network and old-fashioned discrimination (Rhoades 16).

Women have made considerable headway in gaining highly visible, powerful positions, however, few women can be found among the "captains of industry." The recent fact finding report issued by the Glass Ceiling Commission revealed that less than five percent of senior managers in Fortune 1000 companies were women. The vast majority of female managers still experience unfair treatment and negative attitudes on the job (16).

While women's gains in professional and managerial occupations have increased, the odds that a working woman has the same type of job her father had holds true only for white-collar occupations (16).

The earnings gap between men and women has been declining mainly because mens' salaries have been decreasing. Womens' earnings have had a slight rise which has been attributed to the improvement of women's educational levels and their increase in experience. Although women are moving into professions traditionally dominated by men, they continue to encounter overt and covert discrimination through job segregation and a gender earnings gap. It appears that women who adopt male-typed traits such as assertiveness and competitiveness enhance labor market success (16).

Job evaluations are used to study wage differentials between men and women. Job evaluation systems allow comparisons of different jobs in order to determine to what extent persons in female-dominated jobs are unfairly underpaid. Evaluation schemes are used to measure the value of a job based on a combination of skill, responsibilities, effort, and working conditions. Endorsing the use of job evaluations hopefully will reduce discriminatory differences in pay and increase pay equity; which refers to paying men and women according to a single, gender-free pay scale (Rhoades 17).

Affirmative action programs play an important role for women. Affirmative action generally means that an organization takes positive steps to end discrimination, prevent its recurrence, and create new opportunities that were previously denied to qualified women (17).

These programs may include mentoring programs or ongoing leadership training for women to develop their understanding of the corporate culture and enhance their prospects for promotion. Much work is being done to prepare and encourage women to expand their choices of occupation. Affirmative action and employment equity programs are prescribed to ensure those choices exist (17).

Americans firmly support affirmative action programs to create opportunities for women. In addition, a growing number of businesses now recognize that affirmative action programs boost productivity and increase profits by creating a diverse workforce drawn from a larger talent

pool generating new ideas, targeting new markets, and improving workplace morale.

The relationship between wage inequality by gender and occupational segregation has been used to document the need for comparable worth policies designed to reduce the portion of the gender-based wage gap due to the under-evaluation of female dominated occupations. Policies targeting female-dominated occupations for wage increases could also have an impact on overall wage dispersion.

Two laws proposed in Congress to help force disclosure of workplace wage discrimination are The Fair Pay Act and The Paycheck Fairness Act. Despite the shortcomings women have to overcome regarding gender-based obstacles and until these two laws are passed in Congress, women are doing things to overcome gender inequality. They are setting their own career agendas now (Rhoades 18).

Organizations who need to feel threatened are those who have been knowingly promoting discriminatory practices. Organizations can nurture a diverse workplace because they believe in fairness, or they can wait to be forced to do so by legislature initiatives.

Chapter IV

DISCUSSION

By the year 2000, there will be more women employed than men in the domestic workforce. The roles of women and men are undergoing the greatest changes in history. In less than a generation, many of the key roles by which masculinity has been traditionally judged have become redundant or men have been increasingly excluded as the breadwinner (Lashmar 33).

Of the 26 million net increase of civilians in the labor force between 1990 and 2005, women will account for 15 million. However, of those women employed, they will still make less money than men. The wage gap continues to remain 76.4 percent for women to 100 percent for men (Dooley 47).

Even though women lead men in the attainment of higher education, it is generally unnoticed or unappreciated with regard to higher wages. Higher paying non-traditional jobs in certain industries are very difficult for women to obtain. In the past 20 years, women have made virtually no increase or a slight increase in certain industries of employment. For example, mining employment rates stayed the same for women with 0.2 percent and construction increased by a mere 0.3 percent. In some cases, employment has decreased. For example, in the manufacturing sector, women have decreased their employment rate by

6.6 percent and in agriculture, employment rates for women decreased 0.3 percent (Dooley 47).

Society at large still remarks upon exceptions to the rule that women should work in "women's" jobs. Both men and women have been found to veer towards sex-typed occupations; in fact, men have been found to choose traditional jobs more often than women (Dooley 47). This choice of occupations should not penalize women by paying them less money for jobs that may not measure up to the job standards that men choose to obtain. Women may choose careers that have a higher level of social involvement. Does this mean that women are less valuable than men because they work with their mouths instead of their hands?

Working women are still concerned with ensuring equal opportunity in the workplace regarding equal pay and equal treatment. Qualifications and merit take a backseat to the old boys' network, and old-fashioned discrimination still persists especially regarding highly visible powerful positions; the "captains of industry." Women usually move into upper-middle management and stop. They run into the "glass ceiling" which continues to exist. Less than five percent of senior managers in Fortune 1000 companies are women. Of those managers they still experience negative attitudes and unequal treatment on the job (Dooley48).

Working women are still concerned with ensuring equal opportunity in the workplace regarding equal pay and equal treatment. Qualifications and merit still take a backseat to the old boys' network and old-fashioned

discrimination. Less than five percent of senior managers in Fortune 1000 companies are women. Those managers still experience negative attitudes and unequal treatment on the job (Dooley 48).

Although women are moving into professions traditionally dominated by men, they continue to encounter discrimination in the form of a gender earnings gap. The earnings gap between men and women has been declining due to women's increased education and experience and the decrease in men's salaries. In addition, comparable worth policies and affirmative action programs have helped women by creating better opportunities. A greater variety of occupations that are not considered "feminine" are available to women if they choose to work in these industries. However, due to how society rewards individuals who work continuously with a certain number of undesirable working conditions, success is most likely to be attained by individuals who have minimal involvement with domestic activities. Typically men still have an advantage regarding this issue. In addition, women choose to work in environments that promote socialization with others, require less overtime, and less commuting time.

The Equal Pay Act is still considered one of the best attempts to help close the gap between men and women. The Act does not make it easy for women to prove they have been discriminated against regarding wages paid. A woman has to prove in court that she is receiving unequal

pay for work that is substantially equal and that the basis of this differential is due to their gender (Dooley 48).

The Equal Pay Act and the Civil Rights Act both allow for two individuals to have exactly the same job, however, they may be paid differently for a number of reasons. These reasons would include the use of a merit system, a bona fide seniority system, measuring quality or quantity of the work performed, and a pay differential for any reason other than sex (knowledge, skills, abilities, etc.) (48).

Since 1984, the courts have taken a more narrow view concerning equal employment opportunity issues. The courts are requiring a greater burden of proof on women in their attempt to prove workplace discrimination with regard to pay. Overall, the number of discrimination charges increased by 46.7% between 1989-1994. Unfortunately, the time gap appears to be widening between when a charge is filed and when it is finally resolved. Given the way the legal system is currently operating, both employees filing complaints and the affected employers are negatively impacted. These conditions notwithstanding, there have been changes in the area of pay differentials between men and women in the workplace (Dooley 48).

Interestingly enough women's wages have increased throughout the years, however, younger women (25-34) have out-earned older women (45-54) (49). This is puzzling when one considers that the older age group should have more experience and seniority and thus, more pay

when compared to younger women. The reader should keep in mind the gains that women have made pertaining to the pay differential decrease are misleading. Male incomes have decreased, women are still not represented in top jobs and the higher a woman's job classification, the wider the wage gap becomes.

The gender wage-discrimination process reflects an interaction between the organization, the job, and individual characteristics. In the context of paid labor relations, male privilege is created primarily through the exclusion of women from good jobs or by defining whatever work is done by men as more valuable and of higher status. Male workplace privileges are potential outcomes of organizational practices. They are not inevitable. Barriers for women's equal integration into the workplace are institutional impediments (job structures, procedures, and rules) and cultural impediments (which arise in interactions). Workplace structures are created in interactions, and interactions are influenced by structure and rules. Structures predispose how people think and act, thus stifling change (Anderson 328).

Pay equality is not just a woman's issue. Lower pay for women affects husbands and children. When women are not paid what they are worth, families get cheated. Most individuals in the 90s would agree that if all factors are the same and the only difference is gender, their job performance should be paid accordingly. Human resource professionals

need to be vigilant in their efforts to provide all employees with equal treatment.

To create a climate where all employees feel that they are being treated the same, the following suggestions might help:

1. Develop a policy that communicates a philosophy of equal treatment of all employees.
2. Review all employment related decisions to ensure that all employees are given equal access and treatment by the organization.
3. Audit salary data to identify any salary differentials to ensure individuals as well as groups of employees are being equally treated. Where discrepancies exist, undertake measures to ensure that pay differentials are based on job related factors such as performance, seniority, etc.
4. Clear cut standards and procedures that ensure compensation and raises will be more fairly carried out and will make it easier to prevent any sort of biases that may occur based on someone's sex.
5. Develop an open-door policy so all employees are encouraged to discuss any problems concerning any employment related decisions.
6. Assign someone in human resources to monitor the organizations' overall salary program.

7. Remember, there are still improvements that can be made in the area of pay differentials between men and women (Anderson 328).

As introduced in Congress and passed, The Fair Pay Act prohibits discrimination in equivalent jobs-meaning pay scales should be equal if the skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions stack up evenly, even if the actual work is not similar and the job titles are different. The bill allows class action lawsuits, so women can join together in fighting an employer instead of being forced to do it alone.

Things that can be done to fight pay discrimination:

1. Shame companies into changing. Publicly disclose pay scales for particular jobs, and turnover rates by gender.
2. Use gender clout. Woman's professional organizations can press for pay equity within their industries. They can get employers to admit that there is a problem.
3. Use managerial power to help. Female managers and human resource professionals can be recruited to urge internal reviews of company practices even if these are not released to employees (Anderson 529).

Women can not stop pushing for fair pay until they see the results in their paychecks, whether this results from changing the law or changing the workplace culture.

Chapter V

SUMMARY

What exactly does the evidence presented tell us? By the year 2000, women will make up the majority of the workforce and continue to make less money than men, regardless of the occupation they choose for employment. As discussed in previous chapters, there are many reasons that could explain this discrepancy.

Women continue to remain in occupations that encourage traditional feminine skills which result in wages that are considerably less than occupations that encourage traditional masculine skills. Sex composition of jobs affects a woman's wage as a consequence of norms that devalue the work they do. The exception to the rule that women should work in jobs that are considered "women's " work remains constant to many individuals in society. It has been documented that both men and women veer toward occupations that are traditional for their gender. If a woman chooses to work in an occupation that is considered "traditionally female", they should not be penalized because their job standards may not measure up to the job standards of a "traditionally male" occupation. Occupations that focus on women are located in industries that carry a wage penalty simply because the job requires nurturing (Rhoades 9).

Involvement in domestic activities, childcare and housework, can affect women's wages negatively. Reward structures in work

environments promote continuous employment and long inflexible working hours. Success in these structures are more likely to be attained by those who have minimal involvement in domestic activities. Women average 11.5 years of non-participation in the paid labor force, due to care-giving responsibilities and men average only 1.3 years. The sexual inequality in the division of domestic labor helps perpetuate sexual inequality in the paid labor market. In the past, the practice of paying men more money than women to support a family was accepted, however, women today are burdened with combining family and employment activities in order to support a family, but yet they are still earning less money than men (Rhoades 13).

Women have been frequently tracked into certain careers because of their lack of educational opportunities. Men were given the opportunity for higher education, which allowed them to enter the higher paying positions that required more than a high school diploma. If a man and a woman had the same college education, the woman would still make less money than the man. In addition, if a woman received a college education and the man had only a high school diploma, the woman would make only slightly more than the man. Men receive a better return on their education (Dooley 44).

Men and women hold jobs with substantially different working conditions. Undesirable features of a job reduces the supply of individuals interested in that job. The need to pay higher wages to individuals

employed in jobs with undesirable elements, is necessary to keep them from leaving and finding a more desirable position. Most jobs held by women have factors that are more attractive but yet they pay less. Men are more willing to work in environments that have a high degree of undesirable factors in order to get the higher pay rate. Women value interpersonal aspects of the job whereas men value wage and fringe benefits. Because a position carries a certain number of undesirable elements and may require more challenge, the more demanding it appears, therefore, a higher compensation package is needed (Jacobs 440).

Workplace structures create male privilege by defining job structures, procedures, and rules that exclude women from jobs that are considered valuable with a higher status. Old fashion discrimination persists in organizations regarding highly visible powerful positions. Women run into the "glass ceiling". Workplace structures predispose how people think and act, thus stifling change. Fewer women are in jobs involving the supervision of other workers; such jobs require supervisory responsibilities that offer a wage premium (Rheem 12).

The wage gap between men and women currently remains at 76.4% for women and 100% for men. One of the reasons the wage gap has been declining is the increase in women's educational attainment.

Women today lead men in the attainment of higher education. Higher paying non-traditional jobs are hard for women to obtain unless they have the education to back them up (Coverman 629).

Women are remaining in the workforce longer and beginning their careers in the workforce sooner. They will start to work straight out of high school or college and remain in the workforce until retirement. They are taking time off to have children but unlike their mothers, they are returning to work even when their children are small. The increased time spent in the job market increases a woman's experience thereby improving her salary. In addition to the longer employment span, women who are assertive and competitive in the workplace appear to have a greater chance to enhance their careers (Coverman 629).

Another reason for the decrease is that men's salaries are decreasing. The median weekly earnings for men working full time has ranged from \$291 in 1979 to \$522 in 1994. The increase from year to year has been declining. From 1979-1980 the increase was \$21.00 compared to the increase in 1993-1994 which was only \$8.00. Even though men are getting an increase in their salaries each year, the rate has been decreasing (Dooley 32).

The Equal Pay Act is still considered one of the best attempts to help close the wage gap between men and women. Women have to prove in court that they are receiving unequal pay for work that is substantially equal to men and that the basis of this differential is their

gender. This act allows individuals to have the same job but they can be paid differently for a number of reasons with the exception of their gender. Two laws that have been proposed to Congress to help disclose wage discrimination for women are The Fair Pay Act and The Paycheck Fairness Act. The Fair Pay Act prohibits discrimination in equivalent jobs. This means that pay scales should be equal if the skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions are the same for each individual, even if the work is not exactly the same and the titles are different (Dooley 33).

Affirmative action programs play an important role for women. Organizations are taking positive steps to end discrimination, prevent its recurrence, and create new opportunities that were previously denied to women. These programs include mentoring and leadership training for women to develop their understanding of the corporate culture and enhance their prospects for promotion. Affirmative action programs are supported as an avenue to create better opportunities for women. These programs boost productivity, increase profits, generate new ideas, target new markets, and improve workplace morale. Comparable worth policies are designed to reduce the wage gap between men and women due to the under-evaluation of occupations dominated by women (Dooley 34).

It has been disclosed throughout this research paper that women and men are paid substantially different in the workplace, however, the wage gap has been closing. Despite the fact that there are few men that

work in organizations that are mostly female and that there are few women that work in organizations that are male, men are still paid higher than women in occupations that are considered "traditionally female." In addition, women in "traditionally female" positions earn less money compared to men in "traditionally male" occupations. Therefore, the hypothesis of this investigation, women employed in occupations that are considered "traditionally male" will be paid less than men employed in occupations considered "traditionally female", but that the wage gap is now closing and will continue to close, can be accepted for this study.

Although there were numerous articles pertaining to wage discrimination, only a select few focused on women working in occupations dominated by men. The documentation collected focused on how men were paid more than women regardless of their employment choice. In addition, the research articles collected were several years old; few articles were published between the periods of 1996-1998.

Research on the subject of wage discrimination appeared to be very broad and generalized. It made it difficult to choose which articles to include in the study and which ones to bypass. Articles that emphasized specific wage discrimination occupations between men and women were limited to professions that were predominantly female. Given the multitude of articles pertaining to this subject, many of them revealed equivalent information and the findings were consistent; however, there were little, if any, new pertinent observations relating to wage

discrimination that would assist in supporting my study, therefore, validating my hypothesis.

For future research, it may be beneficial to conduct a statistical study on females in male dominated occupations by soliciting information through a survey compiled by myself from large industries. At the same time, I would develop a survey for organizations that have male employees in a female dominated environment. I would get opinions from both men and women regarding the issue of wage discrimination. Instead of relying on other researchers' results, it would be easier to analyze the data and report on the information with less bias.

If a full scale research effort was to be attempted, the author would concentrate more on finding solutions to the wage discrimination problem instead of the reasons why there are wage discrepancies. The history of how men and women were paid in the job market can not be changed but the future can. Change must start in the workplace culture with regard to how women are valued for the work they do. It would be interesting to find out how certain organizations deal with pay discrimination in the workplace and what companies are the biggest culprit regarding this problem.

The author feels it is vital for women to understand that the wage war between men and women will continue, however, the wage gap will continue to decrease if women stand together in fighting for equal pay for equal work.

Works Cited

- Anderson, Cynthia, D., David Tomaskovic-Devey. "Patriarchal pressures; An Exploration of Organizational Processes that Exacerbate and Erode." Work and Occupations August 1995: 328.
- Asharf, Javed. "Is Gender Pay Discrimination on the Wane? Evidence from Panel Data 1968-1989." Industrial and Labor Relations Review April 1996: 537-546.
- Castro, Ida L., "Worth More Than We Earn." National Forum Spring 97: 17.
- Coverman, Shelley. "Gender, Domestic Labor Time, and Wage Inequality." American Sociological Review October 1983: 623-637.
- Crampton, Suzanne, Hodge, John. "The Equal Pay Act: The First 30 Years." Public Personnel Management Fall 97: 335.
- Dine, Philip. "Working Women See Plenty of Inequality." St. Charles Journal September 1997: 1.
- Dooley, Betty. The American Woman 1996-97 Where We Stand. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996.
- England, Paula, Barbara Stanek Kilbourne, George Farkas, and Thomas Dou. "Explaining Occupational Sex Segregation and Wages: Findings from a Model with Fixed Effects." American Sociological Review August 1988: 544-558.

- England, Paula, Melissa S. Herbert, Barbara Stanek Kilbourne, Lori L. Reid, and Lori McCreary Megdal. "The Gendered Valuation of Occupations and Skills: Earnings in 1980 Census Occupations." Social Forces September 1994: 65-100.
- Farrant, Sylvia. "The Pay Equity Decision." Canadian Manager Spring 91: 12.
- Figart, Deborah M. and June Lapidus. "The Impact of Comparable Worth on Earnings Inequality." Work and Occupations August 96: 297.
- Filer, Randall K. "Male-Female Wage Differences: The Importance of Compensating Differentials." Industrial and Labor Relations Review April 1985: 426-437.
- Gerda, Lerner, The Creation of Feminist Consciousness. New York: Oxford, 1993.
- Griffith, Elisabeth, In Her Own Right. The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. New York: Oxford Press, 1984.
- Groschen, Erica L. "Comparable Worth: Is it a Worthy Policy?" Journal of Economic Literature March 1996: 162-163.
- Jacobs, Jerry A. and Ronnie J. Steinberg. "Compensating Differentials and the Male-Female Wage Gap: Evidence from the New York State Comparable Worth Study." Social Forces December 1990: 439-468.
- Killingsworth, Mark R. "Sex Discrimination in the Labour Market: The Case for Comparable Worth." Journal of Economic Literature June 1996: 792-793.
- Kovach, Kenneth. "Comparable Worth: The Canadian Legislation." Business Horizons January-February 1996: 41-46.
- Lashmar, Paul. "The Men's Gloom." New Stateman and Society.

March 1996: 33.

Matlin, Margaret W. The Psychology of Women. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc. 1987.

Mellor, Earl. "Investigating the Differences in Weekly Earnings of Women And Men." Monthly Labor Review June 1984: 17-27.

O'Connell, Vanessa. "Equal Pay: Round 2 Self August 1997:116.

Rheem, Helen. "Equal Opportunity for Women." Harvard Business Review July/August 1996: 12-13.

Rhoades, Steven E. Incomparable Worth. Pay Equity Meets the Mark. New York: Cambridge UP, 1993.

Rose, Christine and Peter H. Rossi. "Gender and Jobs: Prestige Standings of Occupations as Affected by Gender." American Sociological Review June 1983: 316-330.

Solberg, Eric and Teresa Laughlin. "The Gender Pay Gap Fringe Benefits and Occupational Crowding." Industrial and Labor Review July 95: 692.

Twomey, David P. Equal Employment Opportunity Law. Cincinnati: South-Western Publishing Company, 1994.

World Book Encyclopedia, 1995.