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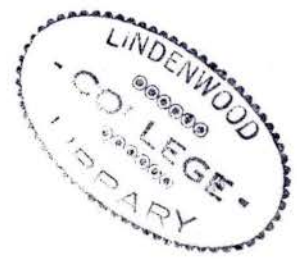
COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF CANDIDATE

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PAY EQUITY: THE TIME IS NOW

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Stephanie Ann Nowak



**A Culminating Project Presented to the Faculty of the
School of the Lindenwood Colleges in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Science**

1989

COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF CANDIDACY

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Dean of Graduate Studies

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DEDICATION

I would like to express appreciation to my husband for his love, support, encouragement and understanding throughout the years while I worked to attain my educational goals. This effort is dedicated to him.

I would also like to thank my family and friends who always "understood" when I couldn't be there.

INTRODUCTION
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... American is considered the least
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Every year the number of working women increases

(U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1964, p. 10). It is
conceivable that one day, in the not-too-distant
future

INTRODUCTION

Premise

With regard to wages, women have traditionally taken a backseat to the "breadwinner male." As the twenty-first century dawns just over the horizon, women are still being paid proportionately less than men for comparable positions. Currently women represent 45% of the total work force in the U.S., yet they earn only \$.65 of every dollar earned by male workers (U.S. Dept. of Labor Fact Sheet 88-2). One "excuse" given for this disparity is that the vast majority of working women are in lower paying jobs. However, it is interesting to note that many times the lower paying jobs are comparable to jobs being performed by men at higher rates of pay. In the name of justice alone, why should women be paid less than men? America is considered the land of opportunity and freedom, yet discriminatory practices exist in employment.

The inequality illustrated in the treatment of men and women is a current and crucial problem. Every year the number of working women increases (U.S. Dept. of Labor Fact Sheet 88-1). It is very conceivable that one day in the not-too-distant

future women will represent 50% of the work force. It is imperative that steps be taken to correct the pay inequity that is prevalent in the business world.

Betty Friedan, who inspired the modern women's movement, expounds that the "problems of living equality cannot wait another generation." She feels that this issue is both political and personal in depth of seriousness, and it must be resolved by "men and women--liberals and conservatives" (Second 183).

How many times have these words been spoken, "I don't know what I would do without my secretary. She's my right arm." Nice words, but meaningless in light of the fact that this manager pays his janitor more than his "right arm." This certainly is a dichotomy. It would indicate to the average individual that this company manager does not believe in putting his money where his mouth is. But wait a minute...is it true callousness on the part of the individual or just misguided perceptions that have been perpetuated over the years?

Back in the late 1800's the term "woman" meant many things--"housewife," "mother," "cook," etc. Her chief responsibilities were to raise the children, clean the house, cook the meals, wash the clothes and perform all other motherly and wifely duties.

Society dictated these things. Boys were raised to know that one day they would go out into the world to make a living. Girls were taught how to sew and cook in preparation for married life. Men were the providers; women the nurturers. Many of us can remember the Dick and Jane books showing the father going off to work and the mother staying home with the children. In later years we see this illustrated in a television show called "Leave it to Beaver" depicting the "perfect" family. Ward Cleaver went off to work, and June stayed home to take care of the house and children. She was always in a dress and heels. This embraced society's thinking that woman's proper place was in the home.

As those held by men; therefore, the pay is less. When women began entering the job market, they were confined to certain jobs such as secretary, phone operator, etc. This was established by job, and the female world. This segregation has been allowed to continue and give to the present day. Women are considered less desirable than men. Certain jobs because of pre-conceived ideas of women.

Hypotheses

Society has ingrained in women the duty of home and family, and this image has prevented them from advancing into top career positions. Women have been trained from toddlers to fulfill feminine roles such as taking care of the house and children. Women were never expected to have career aspirations or want to work outside the home. The guilt experienced by women who "had" to enter the job market was only slightly assuaged by the fact that their economic situation left them no other choice. This constant worry over proper child care and welfare has had its negative effects for working women.

Jobs held by women are not considered as valuable as those held by men; therefore, the pay is less. When women began entering the job market, they either confined themselves or were confined to certain jobs--waitress, secretary, phone operator, nurse, etc. Worth was established by job, and female jobs were considered worth less than the "breadwinner" male jobs. This segregation has been allowed to continue and grow to the present time.

Women are considered less desirable than men for certain jobs because of preconceived ideas on travel

and stability. When women are interviewed for positions, there appears to be a bias, especially if the interviewer is male, on awarding a job requiring travel to a woman. While federal legislation prohibits asking "How would your husband feel about your traveling?" (unless the same question is asked of male employees), the interviewer uses his own preconceived ideas and favors male applicants for the positions. This same logic can be applied to upward mobility chances for women. It is believed by the interviewer that women will sooner or later have to take time off from work for maternity leave and even the most aggressive career woman will then succumb to the joys or pressures of motherhood, thus either forsaking her career or pushing it down toward the bottom of her list of priorities.

Women accept less pay for positions and even expect it. They have, with society's help, patterned themselves to believe they are worth less than men. It has now become a vicious circle. How can women who need to work all of sudden decide they will not work for less money than the men in this country? This is precisely why a system of comparable worth must be developed in order to help every working woman.

Society still perceives the man to be the "breadwinner" and women to be working to bring in extra money." Statistics will prove that "60% of women in the work force...work because of economic need" and in 56% of married couples the wives have to work for the same reason.

Upper management officials do not feel that women are emotionally stable enough to make leadership decisions. Because of their upbringing as nurturers, society considers women to be fragile, emotional, creatures who rule with their hearts instead of their heads. Much has been written about this subject. While it may be true that women apply a wider range of emotions when studying a problem, the fact remains that they should be judged, as men are, by the number of good versus bad decisions they make. The process used to reach the decision is immaterial.

Educated women are becoming more and more frustrated as they strive to obtain higher paying and more responsible positions. As women are upgrading their knowledge and skills through education and training, it becomes even harder to understand why men are still receiving the higher pay

and promotion opportunities. Men's pay accelerates faster than women regardless of education.

It is hard for women to obtain and keep jobs traditionally held by men. If women are "fortunate" enough to obtain higher paying jobs traditionally held by men, it is sometimes short lived because of the tremendous resentment shown by male coworkers. On the other hand, giving women jobs usually held by men in an effort to satisfy affirmative action plans is definitely not the answer to achieve equality. This can backfire resulting in deep resentment felt by men because the women cannot do the physical work required (reverse discrimination); or dissatisfied female workers who took the jobs because the pay was greater. Either way the company loses.

There are problems inherent in implementing a job worth system, but this cannot deter us from making the effort. The federal government has already stated in the Equal Pay Act of 1963 that women should be paid equal to men for jobs of equal worth even though the jobs may be dissimilar. What is lacking is enough dedicated employers who want to right this imbalance and enforcement for the remaining uninterested employers. An injustice exists, and we must take corrective action.

Limitations

The proposed investigative study and research on this topic will not be without limitations. It is felt that personnel executives and company managers may be somewhat reluctant to share actual facts, figures and company practices due to possible legal implications. The fact that the actual research questionnaires and interviews will be geographically limited primarily to the St. Louis Metropolitan area illustrates another limitation as the views of individuals in only a few states will be tabulated. In addition, Missouri is a relatively conservative state, therefore, there is some concern that sex bias on the parts of male respondents may be a reality.

In spite of these limitations, it is felt that meaningful data can be produced and presented which will enlighten the reader on the evolution of pay inequity and inspire and motivate the reader to engage in philosophical and theoretical exercises aimed at reducing this pay disparity.

Background

Historical Data

In order to truly understand how the roles of women have evolved, it is necessary to look back into history to see how societal patterns and socializations emerged. This will give the reader an insight into the origin of pay inequity between men and women.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the concept of "virtuous womanhood" was still in effect. This translated into a "code of behavior that demanded women to "embody and propagate an inherently feminine kind of chastity, and sensibility in their families and throughout the society." Temperance societies and Young Women's Christian Associations were formed to "save" all women from deviation from the model of the perfect woman (Rothman 5).

Looking at history one can begin to understand how the label of "weaker sex" got assigned to women, but the term is contradictory in nature. Women were considered to be fragile and sickly specimens of humanity; yet at the same time, in addition to handling the duties required in a household (such as

washing clothes, cleaning house, sewing, etc.), they "possessed extraordinary moral strength, saintly devotion, and exemplary virtue (Rothman 26). This is an early example of stereotyping of women which has had an impact on future generations.

Two major factors contributed toward changing women's role--technology and education. The invention of the typewriter by Remington opened up an avenue in the work force for women. Companies liked the new machines but needed trained operators to use them. Remington capitalized on the idea by opening up typewriting schools and established an employment section to take orders for trained operators. By 1890 the demands for typewriters and operators almost surpassed Remington's ability to supply. The Remington school recruited female high school graduates because less educated men "did not have the literacy skills necessary..." and educated men had better opportunities. Companies wanted typists who could spell and who understood the rules of grammar and punctuation. So many women entered the work force as typists that the term "typewriter" soon became synonymous with typist (Rothman 48).

Even the strongest proponents of women working outside the home made it clear that working was a

"temporary state"--a way to occupy time until the "right man came along." The skills learned through working were to improve a woman's "marital choices... and to demonstrate her moral worth through self support under the most trying circumstances (Rothman 47-48). However, society made it clear to women that they were not working toward having a permanent career. With this type of philosophy, women looked on themselves as "part-time workers," and this thinking was shared by employers. Women gave no thought to promotions or pay equity. Employers were reluctant to give promotions or pay raises to women who they felt were simply temporary. Companies did not mind the "temporary" status of working women because the pay was kept low and when one "typewriter" left to get married, there was always another one to take her place (Rothman 48-50).

It seemed a natural progression for women to then move into stenography. They took over this profession in a large way from the men who had dominated the field. It must be noted, however, that when "stenography" retained its traditional place as a starting point for a career, it was men and not women who filled the post. This is evidenced in a

decision made by the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad in 1878 that it would "no longer hire women stenographers." This decision was based solely on their adherence to company policy on "promotion of employees" (Rothman 50-52). This translated to mean that women were not promotable.

Another contribution to female role change can be seen in the roles played by colleges. Matthew Vassar, the founder of Vassar College, insisted that

woman having received from her Creator the same intellectual constitution as man, has the same right as man to intellectual culture and development (Rothman 26).

Vassar was the first college to admit women into courses exclusively dominated by men. This created a furor with physicians. Doctors felt that the fragility and sickliness of women did not predispose them to rigorous, intellectual learning sessions. It was alright to send girls to two-year teaching schools or to schools devoted to "instilling correct female graces." However, doctors warned against sending girls to college to learn difficult subjects typically reserved for men citing possible mental problems as a result (Rothman 26-27).

It is ironic to note that jobs for women pleased physicians much more than allowing them to go to college. Dr. Edwin Clarke stated that "factory girls were healthier [than female college students] because they 'work their brains' less" (Rothman 46).

Along with the concept of apartment living which became popular in the late 1800's, the department store idea was introduced. Elaborate stores with statues and fountains were built to provide all the necessities and luxuries for urban dwellers. This opened up additional jobs for women and men. Women became sales clerks and cashiers. Store managers considered less educated males not suitable, and since educated males were not interested, this left the field wide open for women. Seventy-five percent of the employees in department stores were women. Owners felt that "women were more honest than men" (Rothman 53). One store manager related

we didn't want men; we wouldn't have them if they came at the same price. No, give me a woman every time. I've been a manager for thirteen years, and we never had but four dishonest girls and we've had to discharge over forty boys in the same time (Rothman 53).

It should also be noted that women were thought to be easier to manage. A certain code of ethics and

rules were to be followed. Male floorwalkers were hired at considerable more pay to walk the floors to make sure their "army of clerks" were up to the standard in "dress, deportment and activities" (Rothman 54). Here again, women were in dead-end jobs. They had no chance for advancement.

Even though the typing, stenographic and sales clerk jobs opened up for women, the primary position for women in the work force was teaching. Right after public schools were founded in the 1820's, the teaching staffs were severely criticized for being unsatisfactory. George Emerson, a distinguished educator, advised the Massachusetts state legislature in 1837 that public school teachers were either

young men in the course of their studies teaching from necessity, and often with a strong dislike for the pursuit [or] they were persons who, having failed in other callings, take to teaching as a last resort with no qualifications for it, and no desire of continuing it longer than they are obliged by absolute necessity (Rothman 56)

Emerson insisted that the state normal school would produce the "ideal teacher" who would know "how to teach." He felt that the graduates would be able to fulfill the "seemingly masculine task of ordering

and disciplining a classroom" (Rothman 56). However, it was women and not men who "flocked to the normal schools." The men found better, higher paid positions. It was felt that men did not enjoy the "confining and toilsome duties of teaching and governing young children." On the other hand, women are "fitted by disposition, and habits, and circumstances for such duties..." (Rothman 57). It was further stressed by Catherine Beecher that "the education necessary to fit a woman to be a teacher is exactly the one that best fits her for that domestic relations she is primarily designed to fill." By 1910 women made up 80% of the teaching positions (Rothman 57). There you have it...women were considered better suited, in society's eyes, for employment in low paying jobs offering no advancement since they would soon abandon it for marriage.

It is believed that women went into teaching for many reasons. It was a "comfortable role for women;" it was "respectable work requiring little physical drudgery, and the salaries were identical to that made by stenographers." Ironically, even though school boards felt that women teachers were superior, they paid male teachers \$35.00 per week while female teachers earned only \$14.00. Advances in men's wages

far surpassed women's. In a ten year period in Massachusetts, male wages increased at the rate of 14.8 percent. Only men held the administrative, well paying positions, and only male teachers were promoted to the position of superintendents. The old "temporary" label could not be used as justifiable reasoning for not promoting female teachers since many women stayed in this profession for many years.

The Settlement House concept opened up the social science field for both men and women. The idea was developed to provide educated people with an opportunity to live among the poor in order to "influence and educate the poor through direct and personal encounters" (Rothman 54). Distinguished guests were invited to give lectures and attend dinners and "intellectual discourse" was ever present. While men residents moved on to better positions after a certain amount of time, females stayed on because no such opportunities were afforded to them. Women were able to move into related fields like hospitals and social agencies, but once again, their positions could be considered less important. "The male was the professional; the female the technician" (Rothman 154). This sentiment was

expressed concisely by one doctor in describing the female nurse..."She is only the handmaiden of that great and beautiful science in whose temple she may only serve minor parts..." (Rothman 155).

The Great Depression hit the economy in the 1930's and "women were driven out of the job market." The theme was to "get the men back to work." A "married person's clause affected all federal civil service workers." This meant that if there was a reduction in the work force, the first ones dismissed "were those who had spouses holding another federal position." While the law did not specify that it had to be the wife, 75% of those dismissed under this act were women (Rothman 222).

Helen Brown Griffin worked for the St. Louis Public Service (bus transportation) during the depression. They had a rule that no married women could work for the company. Griffin was told by her supervisor not to report for work on Monday after her marriage on Friday (Interview 11/21/88).

Then World War II affected the American work scene by throwing women back into the work force. Since the male population was away at war and supplies were low, the country had no choice but to employ women in all types of positions they had never

been considered appropriate for in the past. The government made it clear to these women that this was only an "emergency measure" and as soon as peace returned, the women were to return to their homes (Rothman 222).

While women were "doing their duty for their country, the problems of child care escalated to paramount importance. The government stepped in with some short-term measures, but these day care centers were poorly run and concern for child welfare became a major issue. Society began to berate the mothers who were working calling them "war work deserters" because they neglected their children by not providing "adequate care and supervision" (Rothman 223). This illustrates the true societal feelings toward working mothers. It was just not accepted and the guilt on the part of women working may have had its origins at this point.

During the post WWII period the idea of equal pay or equal rights for women had still not been born. After all, "married women with children should [not] be working." The war served as an interruption in the lives of these women "after which women returned to pursue an inherited role" (Rothman 224). Griffin remembers vividly her husband's words when he

returned home after the war --"No wife of mine is going to work;" therefore she gave up her job to stay at home to raise her children (Interview 11/21/88).

Suburban living became very important to people after 1945. Between 1950 and 1960 two-thirds of the increase in population in the U.S. occurred in the suburbs. The government promoted this by "underwriting the construction of homes in the suburbs" allowing for "low interest mortgages." Veterans were able to get houses "with only \$1.00 down." Highway projects linked cities and suburbs improving transportation for commuters (Rothman 225).

This new style of living inspired sociologists to investigate the reasons for the move to suburban living. Early in the 1960's, sociologist Herbert Gans asked women to "list their principal aspiration for making this move." A very large majority (78%) told him of their desire to "enhance the conveniences and the quality of family life." These women wanted "privacy and freedom of action in an owned home (Rothman 225). There seemed to be an intense concern on the part of women to enrich family life. However, women soon learned there is another side to privacy-- called "loneliness and isolation" (Rothman 226).

The feminist movement in the sixties served as a catalyst to sweep women into the work force. Betty Friedan discovered the "problem that has no name" and pointed out for the world to see that women had a "yearning for more than housework, [and] peanut butter sandwiches with children..." (Friedan Feminine 15). She felt that meaningful careers outside the home would make women more fulfilled from a personal sense and would, in turn, make them better mothers and wives.

The move toward equality for women paralleled the Civil Rights movement for blacks, and they are somewhat related. While there were no civil rights organizations for women, and they received absolutely no support from the NAACP or any other civil rights agencies, the fact that federal law ended up treating both forms of discrimination in a similar fashion was purely due to circumstances. In 1964 congressmen were bitterly fighting to defeat, change or dilute Title VII of the Civil Rights Act which made it illegal to engage in racial discrimination in hiring practices. With that in mind, Senator Howard Smith decided "to demonstrate just how ridiculous legislation governing hiring practices was by adding an amendment to Title VII forbidding sexual as well

as racial discrimination" (Rothman 232). The Johnson administration wanted this act passed so badly that they gave it their support, and the act was passed (Rothman 232). There is something sad in the fact that our legislators, who take an oath to represent their constituents, would think it "ridiculous" to support a law which would help women in employment. Senator Smith obviously thought his amendment would prevent passage of this act. Female equal rights advocates did not expect much to happen because of this act, nor did the "Congress that passed it, the president who signed it, the administrators who were to enforce it or the employers who were to obey it" (Rothman 232-233). While this act did do something in favor of blacks, women made no gains. Even though complaints were filed with the EEOC, they went unanswered. Women then sought help from the Citizens Advisory Council on the status of women. To the surprise of these women, the Council refused, at its Third Annual Conference in 1966, to "allow a public resolution demanding that EEOC treat sexual discrimination like racial discrimination to come to the floor" (Rothman 234).

After this experience, the feminists headed by Betty Friedan, established NOW, National Organization for Women, which pledged to "take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now" (Rothman 235) NOW's Statement of Purpose says it all:

The time has come to confront with concrete action the conditions which now prevent women from enjoying the equality of opportunity and freedom of choice which is their right as individual Americans and as human beings (Rothman 235).

NOW's philosophy is that men and women should be partners in marriage and should equally share the responsibilities of caring for a home and children, and they should both share in the economic support of same (Rothman 236).

NOW was successful in the early 1970's to get Congress to pass an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution. Within two years thirty-three states had ratified the amendment which embodied (according to its proponents)

the liberation issue for in denying that sex is a valid legal classification of persons, it implicitly denies societal value based on biological differences between the sexes and recognizes that social roles are learned and therefore relative (Rothman 259).

An all out battle began to take place. Support against this passage was promoted by the conservatives. They told people that the "family life" they cherished was in danger of extinction should this bill be passed. The idea of unisex rest rooms, women going to war and woman's role at home was under attack. The idea stood out--"Full time mothers should not become obsolete" (Rothman 260).

The Equal Rights Amendment is symbolic in nature. It defines woman as a person and sweeps aside the idea that women need "special protection," and they are to be considered first and foremost "their husband's helpers" (Rothman 260). The ERA has "pitted the professional woman against the volunteer, the working mother against the housewife," but it has also "pitted the present life style of the mother against the future life choices of her daughter" (Rothman 260). The real question here is...do you as a parent think your son should receive higher pay or be given preferential treatment over your daughter?

The Equal Pay Act of 1964 prohibits pay discrimination because of sex. Employers must pay men and women equal pay "if their jobs require equal skill, effort, and responsibility." It should be

pointed out that the Supreme Court has ruled that the jobs held by men and women need be only "substantially equal" and do not have to be "identical" (U.S. Dept. of Labor).

The president signed Executive Order 11246 in 1965 which states that companies with 50 or more employees and holding a government contract of \$50,000 or more must have an Affirmative Action Plan. This means they will take affirmative action by "setting written goals and timetables for recruiting, hiring, training and upgrading minorities and women..." (U.S. Dept. of Labor). Even though the Equal Pay Act and Affirmative Action mandate evolved twenty-four years ago, true pay equity and equality in the work force does not exist.

Review of Literature

Taking a look at the basic differences between men and women will provide knowledge about the problems that exist in today's work life. Helen Fisher, an anthropologist at the American Museum of Natural History, reflects that men and women "have never been and never will be alike." This is because, she stresses, that we "think differently." She points out that for two million years women carried around children and have been nurturers." This is one probable reason that tests show women to be "more verbal and more attuned to nonverbal cues." On the other side, "men tend to have superior mathematical and visual-spatial skills because they roamed long distances from the campsite, had to scheme ways to trap prey and then had to find their way back." She points out that this "specialization is reflected in genuine gender differences in the brain today" (McLoughlin et al 57).

The weaker sex? Until recently this has not been hard to answer. After all, men had the "political power and bodily brawn." At the turn of the century, scientists warned "against an excess of exercise or education for girls" since "too much

activity or thinking would divert needed blood from their reproductive systems." The size of women's brains were considered "wanting." When the

new science of intelligence testing turned up repeated and systematic superiority among girls, researchers kept tinkering with the tests until they produced the 'right' results (McLoughlin et al. 50).

Today science is discovering more and more of how men and women are different and how "society influences both." Scientists say that the differences between men and women go beyond "reproductive functions, pitch of voices, the curves of elbows and knees, etc." These research studies suggest that women may be the "stronger sex" and that they are "at least as well equipped as men for life in the modern world" (McLoughlin et al. 51).

There are also differences in the working philosophies between men and women. When Mary Ann Devanna made a study in 1980 of Columbia Business School graduates, she "heard a recurring theme" that women do not "take their careers seriously." Companies were afraid that females would leave to have children or those with small children would have problems of commitment (Moore 19). In dual career

families it has been found that women are more committed to the man's career. The wife's career does not receive as much support from the husband (Moore 21).

Betty Harrigan, author and job counselor on women's upward mobility, advises women to "consciously decide" on the direction they wish to take in life. She feels that women, by tradition, have placed the "needs, wants, and comforts" of their husbands above their own needs (38). This has followed them into their professional working lives.

Harrigan feels also that women must make a decision on having a "modern equality marriage/career lifestyle or an old male-career/female helper relationship" (39). She recognizes that there are repercussions no matter what decision women make--if they "reject the old, guilt sets in;" if they "reject the new, anger at self-denial takes over" (39).

Marie Bowen, a California psychologist, was quoted in Working Woman magazine:

The concept of serving is a central theme for most women. We are conditioned to put others first. When a woman begins struggling for her own rights and her own needs, conflict and guilt can surface (Easton, Mills and Winokur 21).

An interesting concept developed by psychologist Brenda Major and research associate, Blythe Force, suggests efforts to attain pay equity between men and women could fail unless women themselves begin to believe and accept the fact that they are worth as much as men. Major and Forcey conducted an experiment using

51 undergraduate men and women for brief part-time work, telling them that each would be assigned to one of three equally demanding jobs: one traditionally performed by men, one traditionally dominated by women or one held equally often by both sexes (Bozzi 16).

The participants were advised that their pay depended on the job they were assigned and how well they performed the duties. After doing the work, each student was asked to write down how well they did and how much money they "expected." The women, no matter which job they were assigned, thought they should have earned only \$1.93 for the 15 minutes work compared with an average of \$2.31 expected by men. The women also rated the "female" jobs (prior to completion of the experiment) to be worth \$2.36 versus what they rated for "male" jobs which was \$2.70. The expected pay of those individuals assigned to the "sex neutral jobs fell in between the

\$2.36 and \$2.70 figures" (Bozzi 16). The significance of this study indicated that women have expected less pay for so long that they have not programmed themselves to accurately compare their worth against the worth of men.

It is noted by Susan Easton, Joan Mills and Diane Winokur in their book, Equal to the Task, that women who do not think about money as a measure of their worth are actually reinforcing the stereotyping of them as passive individuals who are once again only temporary workers. It is troubling to note that there is an imbalance between "women's rising level of aspiration, expectation and achievement and their attitudes about money" (179-180).

Further proof of the difference in pay expectations is illustrated by a study conducted in 1975 by Myra Stroeler and Francine Godon at the Stamford Business School. MBA male graduates "expected to earn a high of \$76,000 at their career peak while women's expectations were \$45,000" (Easton, Mills and Winokur 180-181).

Men and women look on failures and mistakes differently. One counselor summed it up this way:

Women suffer more over failures. They let them mean more than they need mean. Rather than realizing that there is life after failure, they let their failures mean that they are inadequate or incompetent. They let their failures become proof to them that they aren't as qualified, rather than seeing a mistake or a failure as a human inevitability (Moore 33).

Criticism of female job performance is often not taken well by women. They cannot separate the criticism as being against something that was done wrong; instead they feel it is against them personally (Moore 33). This sometimes makes it more difficult for male managers to discipline or criticize women employees. They do not have this same problem with men. Women tend to give credit to luck or some other external factor when they succeed. Unlike men, they do not credit themselves as being worthy of the achievement (Moore 34). This is particularly harmful to career women. They "self-sabotage" their own career because the anxiety caused by success "would be too hard to handle." Failures by women are internalized while achievements are externalized." Women do not feel that they have the "right" to either fail or succeed "so they are constantly in limbo." Because they "overidentify with one...and underidentify with the other, "they

feel "entitled to neither" and "fear both," women are "denied an accurate internalized picture of their own abilities" (Moore 36-37).

As reported in U.S. News and World Report, there is one difference between the sexes on which every expert and study agree--"men are more aggressive than women" (McLoughlin et al 56). It is felt by experts that this trait first appears at the age of two and carries through into adulthood. Scientists feel it is "rooted in biology--in the male sex hormone testosterone." The feminine trait is "nurturance" according to scientists. Feminists disagree with this biological concept citing the fact that this nurturing instinct was drummed into women by a society that wanted to keep them home (McLoughlin et al 56).

Easton, Mills and Winokur agree that the two biggest words which have been "locked in this gender battle on the executive front is--assertive and aggressive." While assertiveness is considered appropriate for women, aggressiveness is reserved as appropriate behavior for men only. Kate Rand Lloyd wrote an editorial for Working Woman magazine in June of 1979 in which she discussed the two definitions of assertive and aggressive as defined by Webster. The

word "aggressive implies a bold and energetic pursuit of one's ends" while "assertive emphasizes self-confidence and a persistent determination to express one's self or one's opinions" (Easton, Mills and Winokur 110). Women as well as men want to be "bold and energetically pursue their goals." Being assertive means to "stand your ground" but it says nothing for "forward movement" (Easton, Mills and Winokur 110).

Bonnie Kasten, managing partner of Kasten Cramer, an entrepreneurial productivity consulting firm, has taught negotiation skills to more than 3000 men and women in the last ten years. She has discovered that men and women exhibit different, but equally important types of negotiation behavior. Women "listen attentively and often clarify the other's position. They use logic to support their ideas...comment on areas of agreement...[and] avoid provoking the other person." Men, on the other hand, "make firm proposals and demands. They use time as their ally...[and] bargain to get what they want" (Moore 130-131). Kasten stresses that all eight of these skills are necessary and that men and women

should learn from one another so that they could both possess the "full complement of skills" (Moore 131).

"Words describing women are "warm, sensitive, supportive, subjective," and for men the descriptive words are "aggressive, active, cold, competitive, objective, rational, independent and ambitious" (Easton, Mills and Winokur 109).

Kasten argues that men and women will have to "overcome a lifetime of gender-biased social development in order to develop the negotiation strengths of the other sex" (Moore 131).

In the business world women appear to be less comfortable than males in competitive situations. It is also believed that many women in management who reach leadership positions do so because they "imitate masculine ways" (McLoughlin 56). This was true for Karen Valenstein, V.P. at E. F. Hutton & Company. Valenstein is recognized as "one of the most powerful women in investment banking." She reportedly makes \$250,000 per year and is respected and admired by her peers. Her first boss at E. F. Hutton told her, "I'm not going to pay you like a broad, and I'm not going to treat you like a broad, so don't act like a broad" (Moore 172).

Career women are "assaulted by books and seminars which imply she has a lot to learn...about the predatory ways of the executive male" so that she can be successful (Easton, Mills and Winokur 7).

Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, author of What Keeps Women Out of the Executive Suite, gives women some of the blame for not succeeding because they accept the views of others regarding their own ambitions and goals. She stresses that our society "encourages women to hold back, not to go for broke" (Easton, Mills and Winokur 28).

One stereotypical problem faced by women managers is the way they are perceived. Men use secretaries to gauge women managers because they have been exposed to secretaries as women for many years, and they serve as the role model for all business women (Easton, Mills and Winokur 131). This, of course is not fair or accurate. In the past, a secretary was just an extension of the wife because she performed duties such as serving coffee, running errands, etc. This erroneous thinking on the part of male managers makes them conceptualize that all women are "dependent and genetically programmed to live in someone else's shadow" (Easton, Mills and Winokur 131). This came home in a very subtle fashion to one

female executive when she went in to get her annual physical. The doctor noticed that she had arthritis in three of her fingers and asked her most sympathetically..."Is it difficult to type in your condition?" (Easton, Mills and Winokur 135).

Women have moved from the household to the labor force but for the 25 years since Betty Friedan cleared the way for the "middle class homemakers to go out and get jobs," they have continued to be paid about the same percentage less than men..." (Mann and Hellwig 61). The gap, say Judy Mann and Basia Hellwig, is "different in different fields, for different ages and for different education levels" (61). They feel further that in most companies the majority of women are working at typically "female jobs that pay less "while the men are primarily in the "higher paying managerial jobs."

This occupational segregation represents the "difference between the average paychecks of a man and woman." It is believed by Mann and Hellwig that as women slowly obtain the higher paying jobs traditionally held by men these gaps will disappear (61). In 1981 the National Academy of Sciences declared that "women in the United States are

systematically underpaid, at least in part because the jobs they hold are predominately occupied by women" (Horowitz 42). "Two-thirds of the occupations in this country are segregated by sex." An occupation is considered segregated when "one sex holds at least 70 percent of the jobs" (Gold 15). It is interesting to note that 80% of all working women are segregated into only 20 of the 4000 jobs listed by the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (McEntee 19).

Michael Evan Gold, associate professor in the school of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University, feels that "occupational segregation" is another form of discrimination against women. He points out that "70 percent of men and 54 percent of women work in segregated positions" with the male jobs paying more. Gold further stresses that the earnings curve for men rise steadily throughout their working life while the earnings curve for women is flat. His statistics reveal that the "more women in an occupation, the less it pays" and "all-male occupations pay double what all-female occupations pay" (15).

Gold refutes the argument made by opponents that job segregation is not forced on women and that women

choose jobs that will allow them to handle their "familial responsibilities." He counters by pointing out that the "twin forces of occupational exclusion and socialization" limited women, years ago when they began working, to certain jobs, and they "cannot switch jobs now." Gold believes it is still difficult for women to enter certain professions (15).

One bright woman discovered just how hard it was to break into a predominately male job world when she moved to Washington, D.C., to enter into the political scene. Even though this individual had excellent credentials she could not find a job. After 50 interviews she was quite perplexed until a consultant in a political consulting firm told her, "You're going to have to start screwing around in this town if you want to get anywhere...." Another interviewer told her, "Why bother to move to Washington without a 'godfather'?" (O'Donnell 235). Why is it that in many instances women are faced with this dilemma while men are not?

Jeane Ruth Schroeder has written a book entitled Alone in the Crowd which consists of interviews with women who have "dared to be different" and the

experiences they went through. She spoke with female electricians, sheet metal workers, shipscalers, truck drivers and many more. Some were single; some married; some had children and some did not. Schroeder had first-hand knowledge about job segregation which she experienced when she tried to get a paperboy's job at the age of 11. She was told that the paper had a policy that "only boys could be paperboys" (Preface ix). The women Schroeder interviewed all met with some adversity because men did not like the idea of working with a woman. Some felt they had to change their patterns of behavior such as "swearing." Other men felt that the women could not "pull their own weight." Schroeder pointed out that these men exhibited signs of resentment because they felt threatened and their egos were affected because women were doing their work (33).

Gold argues vigorously in support of the concept that women are paid less due to discrimination. He believes there is a "universal practice of valuing men's work more highly than women's." He cites anthropologist Margaret Mead's observation that "in some societies men fish and women weave; in other societies women fish and men weave;" however, whichever work that the men do, it is valued higher

by society. Gold feels that as "work loses status, women are allowed to perform it" or that "jobs lose status as women are allowed to do them." He points out that lawyers in the Soviet Union are "low status female jobs" (14).

Gold disagrees with the assertion that male jobs require more skills. He points out a study that was conducted which used skill to score the 4000 jobs in the U.S. Department of Labor's Dictionary of Occupational Titles. The study revealed the jobs held by men and women required equal levels of skill but the "skills are different." As an example, both male and female jobs require social skills but "men's jobs like negotiating call for power skills while women's jobs like counseling call for nurturing skills" (Gold 14-15). The study further concluded that "when relating skills to compensation...only about one-third of the pay gap could be explained by the differences in men's and women's skills" (Gold 15).

Gold feels that a classic case of discrimination is borne out by the "case of Thompson v. Boyle in which female bindery workers sued the Government Printing Office" because they felt their work was

equal to male bookbinders. The government had an "expert witness" study both jobs and assign points on the performed tasks. The result was that he gave "men four times as many points as women for lifting identical weights." This witness also awarded men points for handling confidential information and none to women who also did this. The final blow was that he gave "no points at all to women for tasks like sewing because most women know how to do it" (Gold 15).

Lynda Moore, assistant professor of management at Simmons College in Boston, agrees with Gold that the salary gap between men and women is proof that sex discrimination exists. She doesn't, however, believe that it is overt discrimination. Moore relates that women are "not afraid of success, but of exhaustion" because they do not receive support from society or their company. The result is that women become too exhausted and this makes them lower their ambitions and look for other more "supportive working environments" (6).

Mark Lipton, associate professor and chairman of the Management Department at the Graduate School of Management, New School for Social Research in New York, stresses that management is "still masculine in

nature and the cloning effect of managerial selection still leaves women out of the picture" (Moore 8). Lipton further argues that competence is not even an issue; it is the "perceived comfort with the difference between men and women that blocks women career advancement" (Moore 8). When male managers must make promotion decisions and deal with people who are different in gender, they feel they do not have enough "working experience in which to base their trust" (Easton, Mills and Winokur 4). They look instead at the stereotyping characteristics of women such as "their unreliability" referring to the fact that they interrupt their career to take care of families. Therefore, male executives promote and hire men because they can deal and relate to this gender (Easton, Mills and Winokur 4).

One senior V.P. of a large bank was considered by her male peers to be "one of us" and "exceptional." Several of the bank officers at her level and above said, "We never think of her [as] being a woman, only how she does the job." However, this same "exceptional" person was criticized when she cancelled some bank meetings to go home and care for a sick child. She was looked on as having less

of a commitment to the bank (Easton, Mills and Winokur 4).

Author Scott Burns explains the salary gap in a very radical but interesting concept, which is "linked to the profit strategies of American business." Burns explains that "sex inflation is a rise in the price of goods and services that can be attributed to the drive for equal pay among women" (Easton, Mills and Winokur 188). He definitely feels it is a matter of business economics and writes:

It wouldn't be difficult at all to argue that the earnings of corporate America are almost entirely dependent on the inequality of women's wages. Indeed, withholding 40 percent of women's salaries may be the single most contributing factor today in the ability of US industry to engage in capital formation. Behind every dividend is a good, but underpaid woman! (Easton, Mills and Winokur 180).

Differences in pay between men and women do not seem to have been caused by career interruptions such as pregnancy leaves. "Recent Census Bureau findings show that only a small part of the earnings gap can be attributed to work interruption." It should be noted however, that "women who have not interrupted their careers still make less than men" (Stoltenberg 61).

Working Woman conducted a survey of 7000 career women and discovered that "mothers of three or more children were just as likely to do as well regarding pay as were women with fewer or no kids" (Stoltenberg 61). Darlene Hildebrand, stockbroker and chairman of the pay equity committee for the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce, disagrees with this and argues that "Business is being made a scapegoat for a problem that is not of its making." She feels that women who "choose to raise children and look for jobs with fewer hours and less responsibilities" have caused the pay gap (Scott 58).

The question remains...does the gap between men and women's wages exist because of "differences in the productivity of men and women...differences that the marketplace puts a price on? Or is it because of "discrimination?" This is a question that "perplexes and divides economists, politicians and advocates of women's rights" (Stoltenberg 62). Approximately 60% of the gap between men and women's salaries can be explained by the variables listed above, but that means 40 percent are still unexplained. Women are slowly making strides into the "higher-paying, male dominated occupations." It is, however, too soon to tell whether this will

narrow the gap. In order to reduce this gap further, companies will need to "reevaluate upward" the worth of "women's jobs." This would definitely help to "dilute the effect of occupational segregation or the gap between what the nations' men and women earn" (Stoltenberg 62).

As women have entered the business world the term "superwoman" has surfaced. This is a reflection of these women trying to be a successful "wife, mother and career woman." There are differences of opinions on whether this is possible. A Gallup survey sponsored by No Nonsense Fashions, Inc. in December, 1987 sampled 1000 working women from 18 to 54 in age and discovered that family life does not suffer in most cases because of working women. Another outcome was that 81% of the working women surveyed with "full time business or professional careers" compared to 68% of blue collar female workers felt this to be the case (Braiker 65). Two out of three women surveyed also felt that their family life is better today than when they were growing up. The conclusion reached by this survey is that women who have satisfying careers are more

likely to appreciate and enjoy their family life--in spite of the demands of these careers (Braiker 65).

While working women still experience stress associated with trying to be "everything to everybody," it is felt by many women and by Dr. Harriet Braiker that women can handle this stress, especially if they have a happy family life.

However, Lynn Baker, a psychiatrist with a busy practice, a wife and mother, discovered that being a "superwoman" is not always possible. She felt like many women trying to do it all that she would be a disappointing failure if she did not succeed in all her areas of endeavor--albeit motherhood, careerhood, wifeness, and being active in outside social activities. When she became ill with an ovarian tumor requiring surgery, it took her much longer to get well because she tried too hard to live up to her own expectations of being a superwoman. She felt like a failure because she got sick in the first place. After a lengthy denial stage, she was finally able to accept the diagnosis--mainly because she was a physician. The real moral is that women must understand that they are not dismal failures because they occasionally succumb to "human" (non-gender) setbacks (Baker 78-80).

Men and women have different connotations on what success is. Men have no trouble telling you they equate success with money and position. However, women are less clear. They have trouble separating their career life from their personal life so they think about relationships with people and working conditions as measures of success (Moore 15). According to Moore, one logical reason for this is the difficulty women have in being successful in both personal and career life. She collected some comments from career women on this topic:

- Family life is more important than a career. When I have children, I will stop working.
- I delayed having children because of the time and pressure of my career.
- I am postponing getting married. (Moore 15).

While it is felt that men can have a successful family and top level career, women cannot. A 1983 study of couples found that most men were "work-centered" and most women were "relationship-centered." Women do not give up the custodial part of their psyche so they have a burden trying to "do it all" (Moore 19).

Easton, Mills and Winokur feel that women are fighting impossible odds when they try to have successful careers and home lives because male and female roles are not interchangeable according to society. These authors interviewed various career women and asked if they felt they could "have it all." The answers varied from those who think it is possible but haven't tried it yet because of "currently demanding careers" to those who will not have husbands and children because they feel they could not do justice to both. One female executive interviewed feels you can do both but not 100% for either one. She feels you have to compromise in certain areas (Easton, Mills and Winokur 29).

Other obstacles facing career women include indifference on the part of society to provide "adequate day care." Women are not supported in their ambitious striving for achievement because dual standards still exist. Men are praised and rewarded by society for their achievements while women are judged by a different set of measures. However, it is felt that even adequate child care cannot erase the guilt experienced by mothers (Easton, Mills and Winokur 31). Women feel guilty because they don't

have enough time with children, and they are often too tired from a day's work to provide the proper amount of attention. On the positive side, social scientists have actually found that children of working mothers are more "self-reliant, risk-taking, and independent" (Easton, Mills and Winokur 23). This is heartening but will not erase individual guilt over whether the child would be better off with the mother at home.

Gerald W. McEntree, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) which is the largest public sector labor union in the U.S., is a strong advocate of comparable worth. He feels that pay discrimination exists in numerous job classifications and believes that increased education on the part of women has not helped to increase their wages (18).

The Theory of Comparable Worth is a much debated subject. Clarence Pendleton, Jr., who was appointed by President Reagan to head the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, expounds that comparable worth is the "looniest idea since Looney Tunes" (Horowitz 40). However, Joy Picus, pay equity proponent and Los Angeles City Council member, feels it is the only realistic way to "close the wage gap...and to achieve



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wage parity in this century." Picus calls it "a matter of simple justice, the major public policy issue of the 1980's" (Horowitz 40). Picus began her crusade after researching pay equity and discovering that "male dog-pound workers were paid more than female child-care attendants" (Horowitz 42).

The first pay equity settlement was negotiated in Los Angeles between the AFSCME and the City. It involved 3900 employees, most of them women, and resulted in a \$12 million pay adjustment. A 10-15 percent "special increase was given to city employees in the female-dominated jobs of librarians and clerical workers..." which brought them up to a level in pay comparable to male dominated positions such as "garage attendants and gardeners." After this ruling, many major newspapers across the nation rallied to the cause endorsing this agreement and pointed to collective bargaining as the means by which comparable worth should be implemented..." (Horowitz 41-41).

Pay equity adjustments have been settled in many areas covering state employees. They include settlements of \$20 million for 6000 Iowa state employees; \$9.1 million for 10,000 Wisconsin state

employees; \$5.6 million for 9000 Connecticut state workers and \$36 million for New York state workers (Horowitz 42). Even Clarence Pendleton, comparable worth opponent, feels that obtaining comparable worth through collective bargaining would be workable (Horowitz 42).

Phyllis Schlafly, president of a national profamily organization called Eagle Forum, a lawyer, writer and homemaker, made a public outcry concerning the Los Angeles agreement stating that it would result in a "wage freeze for blue-collar jobs" involving predominately male workers. This prediction did not come true. Instead, the result has been to produce a more equitable pay comparison between men and women. Schlafly is against the women's movement and strongly opposes the theory of comparable worth citing as her reasoning that it is unfair to men and women. She feels that this concept in actuality will "freeze the wages of blue collar men while forcing employers to raise the wages of some white and pink-collar women above marketplace rates" (Schlafly 12). Schlafly does not agree with feminists thinking that it is unfair for male high school graduates to earn more more than female college graduates. She feels it is ludicrous to try

and compare "paper credentials" against "apprenticeship and hard work...physical risk and unpleasant working conditions." Schlafly goes one step further and labels comparable worth as a "slogan" aimed at making "blue-collar workers feel guilty for earning more money...and to trick them into accepting a government enforced wage freeze..." (12).

Schlafly stresses that the point system designed to evaluate various jobs is strictly meant to "ignore all marketplace factors and to produce a point scheme to prove discrimination against women" (13). She is convinced that these point systems are pro-women and will totally disregard the "physical and working condition factors" (Schlafly 13). If marketplace factors are not considered, Schlafly argues that the evaluation is "completely subjective" and will reflect the "bias of the evaluator." She calls comparable worth evaluations a "racket" (Schlafly 13).

Schlafly points out that comparable worth is also unfair to some women because in order to be eligible for comparable worth raises a woman must be employed in a position where "70 percent of the

employees are female" (12). She denotes further that if we continue to raise the pay of "traditional women's jobs," then women will abandon the idea of going into nontraditional jobs. In other words, job segregation will widen. If businesses have to pay more money for some jobs they will be forced to eliminate jobs so expenses can be reduced. Schlafly contends that lower skilled women will be the ones laid off (12). She goes one step further when she warns companies against undertaking studies to assign job worth because of the burden it will create trying to determine "value" and "difficulty of positions" (Schlafly 30).

Jerry Boggs, Michigan representative for the Coalition of Free Men, feels that the comparable worth theory is "illogically conceived and totally intractable" (16). He feels that wage discrimination against women does not warrant a radical comparable worth plan of appraisal. Boggs stresses that the majority of women are in lower paying female dominated jobs out of choice, and this is not due to discrimination by employers. He argues that few women really "want" to leave home to go to work and that "many career women soon find their ambition

collapsing under the weight of their desire to be taken care of" (17).

Boggs cites the seniority factor as a reason for job discrimination. Women tend to "accumulate less time" in the position because of leaving the work force to have and take care of children, says Boggs. He points out that women are also less able to "hard-sell their achievements for pay raises" which are techniques men use. Boggs agrees with comparable worth advocates that "female work is just as valuable to businesses and society as male [work]." However, he does not believe that the pay should be determined by the "value" of the job. Instead it should be decided by "supply and demand" (Boggs 36). Boggs argues that even though the women's movement has been going on for 20 plus years, "most women are in two categories: supported by men fully or almost fully, or anticipating to be." Therefore, he feels that women are more able to accept lower pay than men who are still the "primary providers." He argues that women will continue to accept lower paying jobs and the wage gap will continue "as long as men and women continue coupling and agreeing, for whatever personal reasons, that the man will be the primary

breadwinner and the woman the supported childraiser" (Boggs 36).

Boggs warns against the enforcement of comparable worth stating that it would "result in a cost of billions to the economy." He feels it could close small business and cause larger companies to move out of the country. He thinks it could backfire resulting in making men who are now employed in dirty or dangerous or outside jobs to apply for more comfortable "female" positions (Boggs 36).

The National Academy of Sciences conducted its "study of the comparable worth theory of wage discrimination." This committee considered three definitions of discrimination...when "one class of people is denied access to higher paying jobs"...on the basis of social characteristics; paying women less for doing the same job; paying women less for doing work that is comparable. The last one posed a real problem for the committee because it is "difficult to detect and its legal status is unclear." They concluded in their study that no "accepted definition of comparable worth exists and therefore it is not possible to determine the comparable worth of jobs" (Livernash 273). Gold disagrees and argues that comparable worth is the

"precise remedy for discrimination that results in underevaluation of women's work" (15).

Some individuals argue that stronger enforcement of equal opportunity laws could provide women with better opportunity to men's jobs. Gold disagrees stating that it may help women attain better jobs but it would not address the issue of "underevaluation of women's work" since wages of particular occupations decline as women enter into them. He points out that "enforcing equal opportunity without guaranteeing comparable worth would turn women's career's into a sisyphian game of hopskotch" (Gold 15). Women would be able to get into a higher paying man's job and as more women entered the job, the pay would go down and women would be forced to change jobs again to get the higher pay. In addition, many women are already locked into jobs that are undervalued. These women need comparable worth as they should not be expected to give up their "job security, learn new skills and start all over again at entry level wages (Gold 15).

Comparable worth is not meant to "compensate women for past discrimination," says Gold. It is intended to prevent future injustice. Gold concedes that establishing and implementing comparable worth

will be difficult, but he maintains emphatically that we must find a way to make it work.

While some critics argue that comparable worth conflicts with the "free market's system of supply and demand," Picus, on the other hand, insists that the "marketplace is a repository of past wage discrimination and to follow it only perpetuates inequities" (Horowitz 40). Regardless of whether the wage disparity is or is not a result of discrimination, Picus stresses that it must be corrected. Livernash concurs when he writes:

Women have historically been crowded into certain occupations through discriminating practices in society; the labor market reflects this crowding and thus the employment discrimination that caused the crowding; and if the labor market is discriminatory, so too are pay systems based on it (36).

The AFSCME stresses that the "free market has historically discriminated against women." McEntee cites the validity in this by looking at the nursing profession. Nurses have been in short supply over the years, however, this short supply has not reflected in their pay. In 1981 nurses made \$331.00 per week--less than the salary paid to ticket agents (19).

It should be noted that proponents of comparable worth do not want the government to set wages. It requires employers instead to remove "sex bias" from the wage scale. Opponents argue that "dissimilar jobs--like apples and oranges cannot be compared." McEntee answers that "apples and oranges can be compared on the basis of weight, color and percentages of vitamins and fluid" (19). Jobs also have some common characteristics such as "training, experience, responsibility, working conditions", etc. (McEntee 19).

McEntee feels that jobs can be compared by employers especially since two-thirds of all employees are covered by some system of job evaluation already. He points out further that the "federal government has had a system to evaluate "dissimilar jobs for one hundred years" (McEntee 19).

"Comparable worth costs too much" point out opponents. It has been discovered by "AFSCME's on-the-job experience that comparable worth has never cost more than four percent of a jurisdiction's payroll" (McEntee 19). According to McEntee, these are the same arguments supported by opponents of the Civil Rights Act in the 1960's. Employers felt if they had to pay blacks more, it would "reduce the

salaries of white workers" (19). McEntee calls this type of argument against equal pay as "inflammatory rhetoric designed to alienate women from men (19).

The issue is not whether pay discrimination should be allowed to exist, says Livernash. He feels that the main arguments arise over methods to be used to implement a pay equity program. One problem being expressed is whether comparable worth is the proper tool to use to "enforce the laws against discrimination" (Livernash vi-vii).

Another major question is...who will determine job worth since there is no scientific means available to handle this problem? If the employer makes the determination, who will make sure the company's judgments are within the law? Other questions and problems plague planners and legislators. Should discrimination in employment be eliminated through voluntary action on the part of companies or through government supported programs like affirmative action where companies set quotas to hire and promote minorities? (Livernash vi-vii).

George H. Hildebrand, professor of economics at Cornell University, states that the underlying premise of comparable worth implies that a "bias free

job evaluation system can be developed." This system will signal employers when they need to pay employees equally because they are doing comparable work. This premise also suggests that if there is a difference in external market rates for these jobs, this difference should not be allowed to upset the internal parity." The third premise is that present job evaluations must be changed because they contain a "bias against women" (Livernash 82). Simply put, says Livernash, the labor market is a "market for labor services. These services are provided by free human beings. A price is offered by the seller (employer) and accepted by the buyer (employee). One of the major sources for wage rates is derived from the labor supply; the other source...is demand" (Livernash 86). How much the company is willing to pay is a direct reflection of the number of individuals looking for that type of work. Of course, he will be compelled to pay more if the supply is low and to pay less if the supply is great.

Hildebrand argues that increasing female wages as a means of implementing comparable worth would definitely hurt the economy. He points out that "80 percent of gross national product originates with private firms operating under the profit and loss

system, and labor costs are 75 percent of total costs." If we inject pay raises, Hildebrand insists that it will force companies to lay off people which will increase unemployment (Livernash 105).

George T. Milkovich is a professor of Human Resources at the Center for Human Resources Research in the School of Management at the State University of New York. He contends that the first step in determining job worth is for companies to set up evaluation systems. These systems should provide "internal equity, external equity and employee equity." Internal equity concerns the relationship of the various jobs within a company. This is achieved through job analysis and job descriptions. With these two completed, a company can then properly evaluate jobs based upon the importance of the jobs to the goals of the company. External equity "refers to the relationships among jobs among employers in the external labor market" (Livernash 31). What employers do here is compare their rates to other companies' rates for the same jobs. Employee equity looks at the relationships among employees doing the same job for an organization. Seniority and performance are side issues to this (Livernash 34).

It was pointed out by Milkovich that there are four exceptions that allow for pay differences--"a seniority system; a merit system; a system which increases earnings by quality or quantity of production or some factor other than sex." While Milkovich supports the idea of comparable worth, he foresees a great deal of problems in setting up a system of measurement (Livernash 5).

How can the average individual discover if he/she is being paid fairly or just how much the job is worth? According to John Stoltenberg, the company that pays the salary has already determined what the job is worth, and it has nothing to do with how well you do it, how hard you work, or how dedicated you are (55). The employer decides the salary range based on the "structure, rank and function" of the job. The factors involved with calculating this worth are "impersonal," says Margaret Bertson, a manager of compensation consulting for Hewitt Associates.

In setting salaries individual companies decide what functions are important for them. Some companies make a list of each job they have and then rank them from top to bottom in importance to the company (Stoltenberg 55). Salaries for like

positions can be different in different industries and geographic locations. If the cost of living is high, positions will pay more than in cities where the cost of living is lower. Also, there is the old supply and demand factor which is considered the "single most significant variable affecting a job's salary level," says Claudia Wyatt, a compensation consultant (Stoltenberg 56).

The compensable factors involved in setting up job evaluation systems are:

- The degree of knowledge needed for the job. Companies will consider the amount of "training, technical knowledge or professional acumen required..." (Stoltenberg 56).

- The amount of risk to the company as a result of mistakes made by individual doing the job. Decisions made by various job holders would have varying effects. This factor measures the employee's management expertise and degree of responsibility. This includes the type of "supervisory responsibility...budget responsibility in management of resources or cost control, and responsibility for the work and safety of others" (Stoltenberg 56). Firms will therefore pay individuals based on the

risk factors involved in decision making--the higher the risk, the more they pay job holder. Wyatt points out that since women have generally been in positions of low risk association, their pay has been less (Stoltenberg 56).

- The level and degree of communication in a company is a factor to be considered when evaluating pay. Does the individual have responsibility for communicating with a lot of employees? Does he or she deal mostly with "hourly employees or with senior VPs? How much outside-the-company communication does the job holder have? In other words, if an individual must communicate with all levels of people--upward, downward, lateral and externally, the job is considered worth more because of the people skills needed. External contact is believed to be more important than internal contact because "most companies are selling a product or service..." (Stoltenberg 56).

- How does the job affect the bottom line? A company will consider the impact of this position on the incoming revenues and "overall profitability of the firm". It is the "financial accountability" that companies are interested in determining (Stoltenberg 56).

- The difficulties involved in performing the job is a factor. How much experience and creativity is needed to solve the types of problems inherent in the job (Stoltenberg 56)?"

- How big is the job as it relates to department budget dollars or revenues? Companies might use the size and number of employees supervised as a qualifier in determining the value of this factor. (Stoltenberg 56).

- The amount of responsibility and independent authority is a factor. If the job holder has the authority to take independent action, the position is worth more money. (Stoltenberg 56).

- Working conditions are considered an important factor. For example, if the job involves dealing with "hazardous material, unpleasant environments or unpleasant customers," there is additional pay.

In recent years many of the major U.S. companies such as "AT&T, BankAmerica, Chase Manhattan, IBM", etc. have been trying various forms of comparable worth (Berstein 54). For several years big companies have performed job comparisons. The factors they use include: "responsibility, skill, and physical labor." Points are assigned to the factors and "jobs

are ranked by total points." At Tektronix, Inc. and Motorola, corporate officials have not allowed "market forces" to affect their paying history while other companies do include this factor in their decisions (Berstein 54).

Companies are trying to give their evaluation systems an overhaul to make sure the factors used to evaluate the jobs are not "biased against work usually done by women" (Berstein 54).

Another approach by companies has been to find an "average pay level" for a group of jobs. Then, each employee's pay is measured against the average. A "mathematical analysis is done to see if [certain] factors such as sex are significant predictors of pay levels." If women are found to be paid less than the average, the company may take action to raise their pay (Berstein 54).

One method of dealing with comparable worth decided on by the Los Angeles City Council was to take a good look at all entry level jobs that required "no previous work experience" and then chart the comparisons of "female-dominated jobs to male-dominated ones" (Horowitz 98). By doing this they discovered a 15% salary discrepancy between male and female jobs (Horowitz 98).

The National Academy of Sciences concluded that there are "no definite tests of the fairness of the choice of compensable factors and the relative weight given to them." It is hard to come up with all the appropriate comparable worth system factors and then assign points to these factors. It is also true that this is a "subjective" and "arbitrary" process (Schlafly 30). Proponents and opponents of comparable worth all agree that setting up a comparable worth system will be difficult; however, it would seem in our age of computer specialization, we should be able to come up with an unbiased set of rules. It is important that we do since thirteen states have already established "laws that require public and private employers to pay equally for comparable worth [and] thirty states have comparable worth bills pending" (Berstein 54).

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

At this stage the author must determine how to prove or disprove her hypotheses. After a great deal of thought on this subject, the decision was made to use a survey questionnaire as the research instrument. Surveys are designed to obtain statistical information by asking pertinent questions of people. Since my thesis concerns working men and women which is the largest sector of society, the author feels that a carefully worded survey questionnaire can provide quantitative data which may serve to substantiate various conclusions being suggested by the author.

Gathering information in this form from only a fraction of the population, constituting a sample, is an accepted form of research. According to Floyd Fowler in Survey Research Methods, "special purpose surveys" have become very popular and useful in American life since the 1930's (10). These types of surveys are aimed at securing the "subjective feelings of the public by asking people to express their own feelings about topics such as this one-- equal pay for comparable work. From the data collected, it is felt that these answers can be used

to determine the societal thinking about working women.

It is my intention to direct this survey questionnaire to one major sector of the population--working adults. However, it is hoped that some surveys will reach women who have decided not to work outside the home preferring instead to raise their family.

My survey can be considered exploratory rather than random sampling as I will be sending out 200 surveys in a controlled fashion. First of all, survey questionnaires will be given to all employees within my company organization. These employees are located in six states: Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Indiana, Iowa and Illinois. It is a proven fact that when workers at a job site are asked to complete questionnaires, the rate of response is nearly 100 percent (Fowler 66).

There are occasions when researchers simply want to get the opinions and feelings of others concerning a specific issue. For this purpose, people who are readily available to answer these survey questions can be used. Fowler stresses that "every effort to gather information does not require a strict probability sample survey" (19).

Both blue and white collar workers will be targeted in an effort to get a cross section of views from all levels of workers. I specifically want to target one group--personnel executives. My reason for this is to get their opinion on wage disparity from the people who set and coordinate wage and hiring policies. It is felt that information on these questions coming from 25 different companies will prove extremely helpful to the author and readers in determining the philosophy on the parts of companies in this area. The opinions of workers are important, but we need to know the thoughts of the policy makers.

The author intends to contact the American Association of Industrial Management and request that they pass out the surveys at their Personnel Roundtable meeting which is held monthly in St. Louis. Twenty-five questionnaires will be sent to this group.

Surveys will also be passed out to friends and family members, and they will be asked to share them with their coworkers.

Using this strategy will not only guarantee a high rate of return, it will also afford the writer

the ability to get a cross reference of occupations, ages, and educational backgrounds.

My thoughts are to split the respondents as close to a 50/50 male/female ratio as possible. This will rule out a preponderance of "typical gender answers."

The questionnaire will include a personal message from the author explaining the reason for conducting the survey. This usually helps to make respondents more willing to complete it.

Respondents will be asked to complete the following personal information:

Male/Female: This is extremely important in determining the views of both genders on the matter of equal pay.

1. Does the majority of females feel frustration in the workplace due to:
 - (a) lack of upward mobility
 - (b) inequities in pay as compared to men
 - (c) prejudice against them for various reasons
2. How will male answers compare to female answers.

Education: It is believed that education might make a difference in the answers given. For

instance, an educated woman might feel extreme frustration because she is stymied in a position that offers no upward advancement while a lesser educated person might feel wage inequities represent the major prejudicial issue.

Age: This is important because the age of respondents will reveal a lot about societal thinking over the years. Is there a difference in the thinking?

The author notes that the subjects will have a direct relationship to the subject matter contained in the survey. "Good examples of such findings," he states, "are the relationship between the answers recorded and what the researcher is trying to compare" (14). For instance, the author feels that society, people like you and me, have set the stage over the years and determined the "acceptance" level of discrimination as set by both men and women. In that regard, the author suggests that

the author has suggested that the survey will be a valuable addition to the existing literature on the subject. The author's research will be a valuable addition to the existing literature on the subject.

The author reports in the survey whether the majority of people in the survey agree or disagree with the

Position and Years in Position: This is relevant because it will point out the number of different occupational categories and years of experience of respondents. The author is wondering if certain occupational categories experience more, or less, or no frustration concerning working opportunities.

Developing the actual questionnaire is the next step. This requires some thought as it is necessary to make sure that the questions will have a direct bearing on the subject matter contained in the thesis. "Good questions," says Fowler, "maximize the relationship between the answers recorded and what the researcher is trying to measure" (74). For instance, the author feels that society, people like you and me, have set the stage over the years and determined the "acceptance" level and expectations to be met by both men and women. With that in mind, the first question asked is:

"Do you believe that society has established assigned roles for men and women--e.g. men are the providers; women the nurturers?"

It is important to know whether the majority of people in this survey agree or disagree with this.

The rest of my questions will be designed to embody thoughts that will encourage expressions of thought aimed at answering or furnishing data to prove or disprove my hypotheses.

There are two classifications of survey questions:

1. Closed questions where the researcher provides the acceptable responses; and
2. Open questions where acceptable responses are not provided for the respondent.

Open questions may enlighten the researcher with answers that may not have been anticipated by describing the real views of the respondent. Also, it is true that yes/no type questions can be very frustrating to the person who wants to give additional thoughts on the subject question. However, closed questions often provide a more satisfactory method of compiling data because of the limited amount of available responses. Also, respondents often give lengthy and rare answers that are hard to analyze and quantify (Fowler 86).

With the above in mind, this author has decided to ask both closed and open questions. It is true

that closed questions are easier to answer for respondents, however, with the subject matter being covered, it is believed it will be important to give respondents the opportunity to express their thoughts on some of the questions.

In the question design, the author will try to improve on the validity of subjective questioning by:

1. Eliminating ambiguity in wording
2. Asking several questions using a different question form in order to "measure the same subjective state"
3. Ask all respondents the same set of questions (Fowler 86).

The above rules will be followed with only one exception. Personnel executives will be asked three questions on hiring and employment practices.

It is very important to note that the development and use of survey instruments are not error free. There are restrictions and limitations on the author's research method being used. In an effort to cut down on survey error, my objective is to design questions so that respondents clearly understand and can answer because of their personal knowledge about working and family life. It should be noted, however, that it is extremely difficult to

write a completely bias-free set of questions.

Perhaps the major limitation, however, is that there is no statistical basis for determining how well or how poorly the population sample that has been chosen for this survey represents the population as a whole. Some rules the author will follow in tabulating the results are:

1. If percentage points between yes/no answers are ten points or less, the answer will be designated a draw.
2. If the answers are 66.7% yes or no, they will be considered as a definite support or denial of the author's hypothesis.
3. The 175 regular surveys and 25 personnel executive surveys will be treated as separate research surveys even though most of the questions will be the same. Since this is the largest single body of professions, it is felt that these answers should be reported separately.
4. Throughout the tabulation process, the author will refer to the regular respondents as Group A and the personnel executives as Group B.

5. When respondents' comments are given, the author will identify the source as male/female in an effort to enlighten the reader concerning the thoughts entertained by both genders.

Descriptive statistics will be used in my analysis of answers because the survey is exploratory. In order to give the reader a definitive idea of the numbers involved, both percentages and absolute numbers will be included in the tabulation of answers.

CONCLUSION

Of the 200 research surveys sent out, 156 were returned to be tabulated. Of the 156 surveys, 131 were completed by white and blue collar workers--supervisors, hourly and professional employees. Sixty-nine were men and sixty-two were women--a very good proportion of the sexes. The remaining twenty-five surveys were sent to personnel executives and people in charge of hiring employees. Of this twenty-five, twenty-one were females and four were males. It is disappointing that the ratio was not more even, but the replies proved interested.

Occupations included secretaries, teachers, lab technicians, mill workers, nurses, truckdrivers, electricians, sales representatives, school principals, government workers, physicians, real estate agents, homemakers, receptionists, clerical workers, lawyers, etc. The writer felt that it was important to try and touch on as many occupations as possible since this paper does involve job segregation for men and women.

Other pertinent information regarding the respondents include education and ages. Four did not graduate from high school, fifty-two were high school

graduates, sixteen had two years of college, twenty-three had four year degrees, twenty-five had graduate degrees and nine had attended technical schools. The following ages were reported:

<u>Ages</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
18-20	1
21-29	25
30-39	49
50-59	15
60-Up	4
No Answer	4

As you can note, the majority of the respondents were between 30-39 and had some college backgrounds.

The personnel executives represented mixed ages and educational backgrounds. Four had high school diplomas, four had two years of college, nine had four year degrees, five had graduate degrees and three did not answer the question. Ages were as follows:

<u>Ages</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
18-20	0
21-29	6
30-39	1
40-49	11

50-59	6
60-Up	1

The total accumulative years of personnel experience equaled 212 years which meant on the average each respondent had 8.5 years experience. Combined years of experience for the larger group totaled 965 years and resulted in a 7.4 year average per person. This is only significant in the fact that it tends to lend credibility to the answers given.

Seventy-nine percent (103) of Group A feel that society has established assigned roles for men and women, i.e. men are the providers, and women are the nurturers. Out of Group B, 96 (24) percent agree with this concept. This illustrates that most of us have been exposed to the role socializations that have been passed down through the ages.

Hand in hand with the hypothesis concerning women as nurturers is the question on whether the major responsibility for child care belongs to the woman. The answers on this were very close. In Group A, 56 percent (73) said yes. Even though there was no huge majority, more people felt that the woman should be the primary caretaker. This points out that societal thinking on family responsibilities

has not drastically changed. (This question was left off the Group B survey.) Respondents' comments on this subject include:

Child care should be the woman's responsibility. In Soviet Russia the state rears the children and indoctrinates their secular humanist values in the unsuspecting innocent minds of the children. (Female)

Society has established roles for men, and women and nurturing is best for women. (Male)

Women seem to be more attuned to their children's needs. (Female)

I believe that children need their mothers at home. I think this makes for a happier family life. (Female)

I believe the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world, but there is no more hand to rock the cradle. (Female)

These comments point out the role of woman is still synonymous with nurturer.

Breadwinner status in families was reported on by all respondents. In Group A, 75 percent (98) felt that the breadwinner in most families is still the male. In contrast, Group B was a little closer in their thinking, but the majority, 56 percent (14) answered that they did not think the male was the breadwinner in most families. It is not surprising that personnel executives, who are privy to

government facts and figures on household earnings in addition to information on their own employees, would answer this no. These figures do reflect the societal impact that still exists concerning male and female life roles.

If society feels that the man is still the breadwinner in most cases, does this mean that breadwinner status should be the qualifier in determining wage rates? Eighty-three percent (109) of Group A said no, and 100 percent (25) of Group B said no. This translates into meaning that employees should be paid for their ability and position they hold regardless of sex.

Moving into the heart of this paper takes the reader to the possible inequities faced by women in the work force. First of all, it is a fact that women are segregated into certain jobs. Therefore, does this mean that it is hard for them to break out of the traditional jobs into non-traditional male jobs? Seventy-nine percent (103) of Group A said yes. This supports the author's hypothesis. This hypothesis is supported even more vigorously by Group B with 88 percent (22) answering yes. The workers and the hiring executives agree that women are not accepted

into male dominated positions.

Comments from Group A respondents are:

The inequality comes from the fact that most women are in secretarial jobs which pay less. (Male).

I feel that equal jobs deserve equal pay, but ...women generally hold more service oriented jobs than men which would lower their pay on a national average. (Male)

I believe there is a definite physical difference in men and women, and therefore feel there are certain jobs that most women are not suitable for. (Male)

Women on the average are not willing to do such dirty work. (Female)

I believe it is difficult for women to obtain and keep jobs traditionally held by men because of what they have to deal with from male coworkers and jealous spouses. (Female)

The author feels that women over the years have come to accept lower pay and lesser jobs due to years of "conditioning." This was confirmed by 69 percent (90) of Group A respondents and 70% (18) of Group B.

Are traditional female jobs worth less than male jobs? Even though this writer does not believe it should be, she feels that a majority of society must believe it is so because female dominated jobs are paid less. There was no clearcut winner on this question; however, 47 percent (62) of Group A said yes and 53 percent (69) said no. Group B also said

no with 52 percent (13) of its answers. These close answers indicate that it would still be an uphill battle to persuade society that things must change.

Because of the many responsibilities faced by women on the home and office front, the author asked Groups A and B if they felt it was possible for women to have a successful career and family life. Eighty-six percent (113) of Group A said yes and 92 percent (23) of Group B said yes. However, the following comments made by some respondents explain how strongly some feel on this subject:

There is no way to have a successful work life because the children usually suffer.
(Female)

This seems to be the reason for most divorces. It seldom works when both husband and wife have successful careers. (Male divorce lawyer)

My daughter, a college graduate and art director, who is married, told me she has experienced a problem adjusting to the real world of job, marriage and home because she was raised the same as her brother. We treated them the same way--her expectations were the same as his--that both of them were valuable, talented and could make their own way in the world--be their own selves. She did not plan on having two jobs where her husband has one! Big adjustment! (Female)

I think that women put a higher priority on their children than on a nothing career.
(Female)

I feel if a woman wants a career she should not have children or postpone her career until the children are in college. (Male)

Women cannot have a successful career and home life. I stayed home with my children while they were young. I feel it is very important. (Female)

Yes, it is possible to have both but too often it doesn't work. Children are neglected more emotionally than physically. (Male)

These comments illustrate that a part of society still worries a great deal about the children in two-income families.

When asked about the guilt problem women, as mothers, experience and the effect this guilt has on a woman's career, 61 percent (80) of Group A and 57 percent (14) of Group B says that it does impact negatively on the working careers of women. While there is no two-thirds majority, there is a preponderance of evidence to show that women are not elevated to higher positions at times because they feel their family responsibilities must take priority.

Do women experience obstacles in their upward career paths? If so, why? Sixty-six percent (86) of Group A said yes, but only 42 percent (11) of Group B agreed. The conclusion to be drawn here is that the

majority of workers in the survey feel this is a problem while the majority of the individuals hiring employees do not feel that companies have problems in promoting women. There was no confirmation of hypothesis, however, the comments made by many of the respondents indicate that people are experiencing or seeing this happen in everyday life. Respondents from Group A feel that promotional opportunities for women are limited because:

...some women do not put in extra time. They do not take part in social amenities outside of work. (Male)

...of interruptions in their career due to pregnancy and child care after birth. (Male)

Many women will not sacrifice their home for a promotion (time, effort, attention, focus). (Male)

...of what society has dictated over the last 2000 years. (Male)

They are less apt to make long-term commitment. (Male)

...for hundreds of years man was the provider. Unfortunately this idea still exists. There are many more qualified degreed men. (Male)

Most businesses are headed by males and they have the attitude that women belong in the home. (Female)

Women are often not put into entry level positions that will lead to promotions. (Male)

I feel most companies would promote a man over an equally qualified woman. (Male)
Some women are passed over for promotions because they openly display the feminine trait of crying. This is due to their upbringing. (Male)

...of sex discrimination. (Male)

I believe when a woman is hired or promoted to do the same job as a man, she should be equally qualified. Today's society, however, requires a woman to be overqualified and be at the top of her class in education. Men only have to be men. (Female)

Seems to me that society still has a long way to go to establish a particular job for a person and not a sex. (Male)

Men are normally in the higher jobs that do the promoting. Naturally they see the man as the better candidate. (Female).

I have seen a history of men being promoted over women. (Female)

...of lack of confidence in their ability. (Male)

Primary management is still a generation older than the enlightened majority. (Male)

It is thought that they cannot travel when required, and they have the responsibility of children. (Female)

It is still a man's world. (Female)

They are different than men. (Male)

Better jobs are given to men because of tradition. (Female)

...of social values and beliefs.

Women are not able to join in the old boy's circle. (Male)

Almost all of the decisions to promote are made by men who hold executive positions. (Female)

Men don't want to take orders from women, and they simply feel that they are superior. (Female)

Corporate America does not recognize a female employee as being equal to a man. (Female)

Society has already set the norm. A lot of men, whether they admit it or not, have a macho ego to deal with. (Female)

Men would rather keep the 'Old Boy' system. No women allowed. Men feel threatened by women in authority. (Female)

I believe that women are limited in promotional opportunities especially in professional fields perhaps due to lingering misconceptions that society retains "established assigned roles for men and women and women are not beneficiaries of the old boys' network that has launched the careers of many young men. (Female)

Men are still considered the breadwinner with the woman more likely to leave the work force for childbearing. (Female)

I do not believe they are limited in promotional opportunities because they are holding positions that only men used to hold. (Male)

The reason women face promotional problems in addition to guilt feelings is due in part to the emotional/aggressive issue. Are women too emotional to make good and rational decisions? Are men more aggressive? A mere 31 percent (41) of Group A feel that men are more emotionally stable; however, 84 percent

(110) feel that women lose promotions because of this perceived typical feminine trait. Only 8 percent (2) of Group B felt that men had more emotional control than women but 83 percent (21) acknowledged that this perceived trait held women back when promotions were being considered.

This does support the author's hypothesis.

Respondent comments on this subject are as follows:

I feel I am more emotionally stable than some of the men I work with. (Female)

Women are more emotional than men. This is not a perceived trait. (Two males)

I believe that men are more stable than women because of a woman's chemical make up, but I feel that women are more aggressive than men. (Male)

Men have just as many emotions as women; they just do a better job at hiding them. (Female)

Aggressivitiy is a trait which is condoned and encouraged in men but, it is held up as undesirable in women. (Female)

I do believe that men are able to control or hide their emotions better than women. But given time to adjust to any business situation, men are no better than women in making rational decisions. (Male)

On the aggressiveness issue, the answers were pretty even. Fifty-four percent (71) of Group A stated that men were not more aggressive than women, and 63

percent (16) of Group B agreed. These figures surprised the author in the fact that many management books will support the theory that men, on the average, are definitely more aggressive than women. One can only hope that change is in the wind, and this is a good sign.

Government statistics show that females make only \$.65 of every dollar made by males. Is this fair? An overwhelming 78 percent (102) of Group A said no and 89 percent of Group B said no. This must mean that a change is needed. Comments from respondents are:

I believe that women are unwilling to surrender their present status for more pay. (Male)

I believe we should all be paid by how well we do the job. (Male)

I believe the man is more responsible on the job and therefore be entitled to a higher salary. (Male)

Any person capable of doing the job should be paid the same money. (Female)

I believe if a woman has a higher education it doesn't give her the right to bump a male worker who has been doing this type of work for 5-10 years, just to meet federal requirements. If the woman is qualified and capable of doing just as good as her fellow workers, she should be paid the same as the other workers. (Male)

I believe it works best if the woman takes care of the home and family while the man works to support them. However, due to the increase in divorce and separated families, more women are having to raise and support their children and because of this I believe there should be wage equity. (Female)

Pay should be based on experience and skill and not sexual preference. (Female)

Gender in a job that could be performed by a man or woman is no more important in determining pay base or scale than religion or political views. (Male)

I strongly feel that equal pay and equal jobs is a right. My opinion, however, is tainted due to the fact that my wife works full time, and this concept would increase our household income. Perhaps that would be a motivator for men to support such a concept. (Male)

More surveys like this should be done. Unless women are nationally shown more often that we are discriminated against, the situation won't change. (Female)

It is okay to pay women less because women cannot and should not be more than 65 percent dedicated on the average. (Female)

When the effort, energy, mental ability and experience is the equal, then there should be equal pay. (Male)

It is fair for the national average to be less for women because many of the jobs are not management jobs. Many clerical, secretarial, waitresses, etc. are not conducive to higher pay. (Male)

Wages should be determined by the availability of workers willing to perform these low paying jobs and also what the market will bear. (Male)

Wages should be determined by the free market system, i.e. capitalism and not socialism. (Female)

I believe women are considered lower class citizens, and their worth in any given situation is grossly underestimated. (Female)

Comments from Group B respondents:

Until women are in a position to make and change laws (senate, house and courts) and until enough women are top executives, things will change only slowly. (Male)

I believe that the lower dollar rate that women earn is based on cultural standards which are in a state of transition, but the changes lag far behind the needs. (Female)

Results oriented compensation should be the goal. Let's not say pay me 'x' because I am a woman any more than because I am a man. I doubt that male/female differences can ever subside totally, but if managers concentrate on 'results oriented' rewards, the male/female disparities will diminish. (Male)

These comments make the future look bleak for wage equity.

One thing women have done is to try and combat some of these problems by becoming more educated. Will this increase their promotional opportunities? Group B concludes yes with 86 percent (113) and 92 percent (23) of Group B agrees with this. However, it is important for companies to recognize this accomplishment and to place these educated females into contention when considering promotions. Ninety-

four percent (123) of Group A feel that these educated women will become more and more frustrated if promotions are not possible even after degrees are obtained and 96 percent (24) of Group B agree.

The author feels that comparable worth is the only thing on the horizon that might work to rectify this inequity. Eighty-four percent (110) of Group A and 77 percent (19) of Group B feels it can be the solution. It is especially good to see that personnel executives who are in charge of a company's wage and compensation package feel positive about comparable worth. When both groups were asked if they believed the concept of comparable worth was important, 92 percent (121) of Group A and 96 percent (24) of Group B said yes. However, when asked if they thought most companies would be interested in implementing a comparable worth program, 68 percent (89) of Group A answered no, and 60 percent (15) of Group B said no. The message here is we need change, but help is not available. A possible reason for this is the complexity involved in implementing this program. Sixty-nine percent (90) of Group A, and 75 percent (19) of Group B agree that it will be

difficult to implement. Comments from Group A respondents on comparable worth are:

Comparable worth is a necessity in the work force and with the 'you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours' mentality as well as the good ole boy attitude, not even taking into consideration the inherent problem of possible wage cuts, I don't believe this will be a reality in the near future. (Female)

Comparable worth is needed, but with male dominance, this will not increase wages for most women. They also, with or without realizing it, show favoritism to male workers both in wages and promotions. Companies will never reduce wages for male dominated jobs and raise wages for women dominated jobs. The only other way to correct disparities would be to raise women's salaries to the level of men. This would cost companies a great deal of money and has very little chance of happening. (Female)

Today the women in America have more chances for good jobs than ever before. But they must be willing to 'play the game' and learn the rules including those aimed at women. Everyone including men must learn the rules. Each minority face rules unique to them. Those who wish to succeed must know and practice the rules. Comparable worth is a great concept but a hard tool to implement. Who determines which jobs are worth the same and why? I can see large areas of disagreements caused by ratings of comparable worth. (Male).

The reason I feel most companies would not be interested in correcting the pay inequities is that most companies are interested only in profit and holding cost down regardless of who on the bottom is being paid an unjust amount. (Male)

Companies would only be interested in correcting pay inequities if a lawsuit was initiated. (Male)

I don't think women will ever be treated equally in the job force because society has already been conditioned and this conditioning will carry on in future generations. Where I work, just in the past six months I have seen two women passed up in a decent raise because two men were given a raise plus a \$1200/year bonus because they had families to support (even though their wives both work). These two women were given standard raises but no bonus. They were not classified as 'breadwinners' even though one makes more than her spouse. (Female)

I believe the system of comparable worth can provide a solution to wage disparity if the system is built on the worth of job to the business and not just an attempt to standardize wages. (Male)

This is exactly the key, equal pay for comparable worth. (Male)

I believe comparable worth is important, but it would be complex and difficult to implement if not impossible. (Male)

Three separate questions were asked of Group B concerning hiring employees. One question was asked to determine possible biases on the part of individuals making decisions regarding hiring women for jobs requiring travel. It is the author's hypothesis that a bias exists because it is felt that women will have problems traveling if they have a husband and children. However, of the twenty-four

responses, 75 percent (18) said they did not have misgivings about hiring a female for a position requiring travel. On the other hand, 54 percent (14) of this group did acknowledge that it was easier for men to travel. While particular reasons were not cited, one can speculate on whether family responsibilities would have been on the list.

Ninety-one percent of this group also stated that they do not have concerns about providing promotional opportunities to women because of possible interruptions in their careers to have children. While the author feels differently on this matter, she accepts the results as a denial of her hypothesis.

It should be noted, however, that operations managers and upper management are the ones who generally make promotional recommendations. Personnel executives generally hold staff instead of line responsibilities. Therefore, this is another question that could be explored with a larger populace of people who have authority to promote.

What does the future hold for working women and the equal pay picture? Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does offer women the chance for equality

in the work place, but it has not been put into practice on any large scale. Legislated laws cannot change the way people think and feel in their hearts.

It is the feeling of experts that "women throughout the 1990's" will remain underrepresented in upper echelons of the professions and overrepresented in the lower ranks in spite of the progressive steps taken by management and by additional education" (Bailey 77).

As already reported, the survey respondents felt differently on this matter. While the author agrees that education is a positive step in the right direction, she concurs with the experts that the 1990's will not bring about major changes.

It has been predicted that the U.S. will become more a service economy, and as such women and other minorities will be slotted to fill these lower income jobs. Unions have a hard time organizing service workers because work places are so small and dispersed, and the organizational costs are too high. This also keeps the pay low (Bailey 79).

By the year 2000 it is expected that two income families will be needed in order to live as well as our parents did. More education will be needed just to obtain the jobs offering a "livable wage." The

increasing gap between bottom and top level jobs is what we should worry about as we approach the year 2000" (Bailey 79).

Research indicates that between 1988 and 2000 the economy will produce "21 million new jobs" and "two out of every three new workers will be women" (Bailey 74). Bailey points out that with 45% of the labor force already being women, pressures will continue to increase for employers, labor unions and legislators "to improve women's access to jobs..." (74). This means that additional attention will be given "to affordable child care, flexible working schedules and upward mobility problems" faced by women (Bailey 74).

Management experts cast another light on the female-male dilemma. The family unit is no longer the "center for production." Instead women have left the homes and challenged males for peer roles. Changing the family unit and "demanding that male and female roles be instantly recreated in their mirror image, is perhaps the most radical quantum leap fostered by the rise of the working woman society" (Easton et al 227).

Dr. Suzanne Keller, professor at Princeton University, says "As long as women strive to hold on

to the traditional feminine virtues," they will remain bound to all the other traditions that they are trying to leave behind. Stereotypical thinking about gender has hardly changed. Research has shown that the majority of men and women admire not the competence, independence or leadership in women," but the traditional qualities of "gentleness, self-effacement, and dependence." Such stereotypes not only keep the old patterns in place, but "act as a deterrent to women's ambitions in a subtle way" (Easton et al 13).

The research conducted by the author has confirmed that societal values passed down from generation to generation have had an effect on the role of women and men. As one survey respondent put it "...the only way to bring about a successful change is to go back to where this type of thinking begins and change the way we teach out children" (Group A Survey male respondent).

The time for change is now. Both male and female workers feel that a company established system of comparable worth could be the solution to wage disparity. It is true that companies will not look forward to implementing this system due to the costs

and problems associated with same. The fact remains, however, that it is the only thing on the horizon that seems workable.

We must, as a nation, take steps to open up jobs for women in male dominated areas if ability is present. The author does not believe in giving women men's higher paying jobs as an answer to wage inequality. If women are given jobs they cannot handle, then coworkers will resent this preferential treatment and reverse discrimination is the result. You cannot right a wrong with another wrong. The opportunity to be considered for any job is the true focus. The job should be awarded to the best qualified person. A spirit of open mindedness is necessary so that fair decisions can be made.

The author feels that married women with families or single parent women will never be able to totally free themselves from guilt associated with wanting and working toward a career. How much this guilt holds them back is debatable. If it is manifested in an inability to work past 5:00 p.m., work when a child is sick or travel, then these represent limitations for upward mobility. One can briefly wonder why the female role and not the male role must suffer, but the answer is not obscure--the

female has always been the nurturer.

The author stresses that until working women change their thinking by improving their self worth, self-image, confidence and "stand up to be counted," they will continue to be considered inferior to male workers as it relates to pay and position.

A biblical passage does a lot to sum up the issue on equal pay:

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying Speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them. When a man make a singular vow, the persons shall be for the Lord by thy estimation. And thy estimation shall be of the male from twenty years old even unto sixty years old, even thy estimation shall be fifty shekels of silver, after the shekel of the sanctuary. And if it be a female, then thy estimation shall be thirty shekels (Leviticus 27:1-4).

This could have been the beginning for determining the worth of women. Things have not changed substantially even in modern times. The questions is...will it be true in the future?

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