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ABSTRACT

A study examined the relationship among gender, moral orientation, and pay. Although the participants were about equal in terms of gender, 48 males and 53 females, males tended to hold higher degrees. The researcher hypothesized that salaries would be differentiated based on gender and moral orientation. Assumptions were that care-oriented males would earn less than justice-oriented males; justice-oriented females would earn less than either justice- or care-oriented males; and care-oriented females would earn the least of the four groups. Findings indicated that males' salaries were undifferentiated by moral orientation. Both justice- and care-oriented males earned nearly the same mean salaries; justice-oriented females' mean salaries were less than males'; and the mean salary of care-oriented females was less than that of justice-oriented females. Females' salaries were influenced by their moral orientation, but males' were not. Although continuing educators said they preferred care-oriented applicants, in practice they favored justice-oriented females or males of either moral orientation. These findings suggested a bias against hiring care-oriented females, those who were traditionally oriented. (Appendixes include 16 references and 6 tables.) (YLB)

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MORAL ORIENTATION, GENDER, AND SALARY

Roger W. Manning

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This presentation is based on my study of college-based continuing educators' salaries and moral orientations (Manning, 1993). It was done to find if there was a relationship between gender, moral orientation, and pay. The research question was: "What is the relationship among gender, Gilligan's (1982) moral orientations, and continuing educators' salary? Several researchers (Davis, 1985; Cooper, 1989; & Manning, 1992), including Gilligan, suggest a relationship between gender, moral orientation, and pay. Although the association has been implied, it was not previously researched.

The justice orientation, typically associated with males, includes these attributes (Muuss, 1988):

- Preserving Rights
- Obeying Rules
- Upholding Principles
- Being Logical and Individualistic
- Advocating Equality
- Supporting Reciprocity, Autonomy, & Individuation

The care orientation, which is considered characteristically female, includes these attributes (Muuss, 1988):

- Being Other Oriented
- Caring
- Being Sensitive
- Being Concerned and Connected with Others
- Upholding Responsibility over Abstract Principles
- Advocating Avoidance of Hurt & Violence

The methodology of the study was a survey, within which there was an experiment. This presentation includes partial results of the study. One finding concerned the distribution of degrees by gender among continuing educators in Texas (Table 1).

- Table 1 about here -

- Gender and Degree -

Typically, one finds an association between degree and pay in colleges (Ries & Stone, 1992). Although the participants were about equal in terms of gender, 48 males and 53 females, males tended to hold higher degrees (ANOVA: $f = 7.308$, $Sig. = .008$). While this is true of the cohort employed as continuing educators now, Ries & Stone report that among recent graduates more females than males received bachelor's and master's degrees. This shift in demographics may portend a shift in gender pay among continuing educators.

Based on current research, females generally receive about .60 cents to the dollar compared to males (Ries & Stone, 1992). Thus, males and females' salaries should look about like the data found in Table 2, when moral orientation is not considered.

- Table 2 about here -

- Predicted Salary -

My hypotheses suggested, however, that salaries will be differentiated based on gender and moral orientation. I assumed that care-oriented males would earn less than justice-oriented males; and I also assumed that justice-oriented females would earn less than either justice- or care-oriented males; and care-oriented females would earn the least of the four groups (Table 3).

- Table 3 about here -

- My Prediction -

What I found, surprisingly, was that males' salaries are undifferentiated by moral orientation. Both justice- and care-oriented males earn nearly the same mean salaries (\$46,458, justice; \$46,428, care; justice-oriented females' mean salaries are less than males (\$39,843); and the mean salary of care-oriented females (\$33,421) is less than justice-oriented females.

Table 4 includes a breakdown by moral orientation, gender, and salary.

- Table 4 -

- Justice/Care -- Gender -

White-male continuing educators in Texas receive significantly higher salaries than females. While justice-oriented females have made significant progress in their salaries, care-oriented females remain disadvantaged in pay. Males' pay is unaffected by moral orientation, suggesting they are evaluated differently in the workplace. And the same behavior among females is rewarded differently. Additionally, there is a gap between word and deed in hiring, based on my experiment, and the survey data. Continuing educators said, in a hiring simulation, they prefer care-oriented applicants of either gender, while they hire males with either orientation and pay them more; and, in practice, place justice-oriented females in higher positions than care-oriented females. What continuing educators say they will do may be influenced by Equal Opportunity efforts that have taken place in colleges. In practice, they follow traditional hiring patterns.

In most studies of females' earnings compared with males', females earn less than males (Table 5). While many studies have reached the same conclusion, the differentiation between justice-oriented and care-oriented females' salaries has not been studied, and those differences are significant in the predicted direction for females. In the group of continuing educators studied, justice oriented females earn about 6 cents more than the mean of female participants. Care-oriented females, on the other hand, earn seven cents less than the mean. The highest salaries reported in belonged to justice-oriented females.

- Table 5 about here -

- Females' Earnings compared with Males' about here -

One explanation for care-oriented males earning higher than expected salaries is that they, and justice-oriented females, have benefited from Equal Opportunity legislation. Traditional, care-oriented females, those who the legislation was designed to help, have not benefited. Another explanation is that males and females are evaluated differently in the work place. Other studies (Cross & Ravekes, 1990; Jago & Varoom, 1982; and Massengil & DiMarco, 1979) have called attention to differential evaluations of managers based on gender.

Finally, Gilligan (1982) suggests that most women are care oriented and most males justice oriented. In my study, 52.8 per cent of the females were care oriented, 47.2 justice oriented; and 58.4 per cent of the males were care oriented, 41.6 justice oriented. Manning (1992), in her study of moral orientation,

also found larger numbers of justice-oriented females than expected. She suggests that economics and class may play a role in deciding moral orientation.

- Table 6 about here -

- Gender by Moral Orientation -

These data suggest that more females are justice oriented and more males care oriented, than Gilligan (1982) found; though Gilligan is careful to point out that moral orientation is gender related and not biologically determined. My findings, however, suggest that neither women nor men have a single 'voice'. Each has two voices; and approaching them as if they have a single voice, either in hiring or elsewhere, may not be a sound practice.

Conclusion

Females' salaries are influence by their moral orientation, but males are not. While continuing educators said they preferred care-oriented applicants, in practice they give favor justice-oriented females or males of either moral orientation. These findings suggest a bias against hiring care-oriented females, those who are traditionally oriented.

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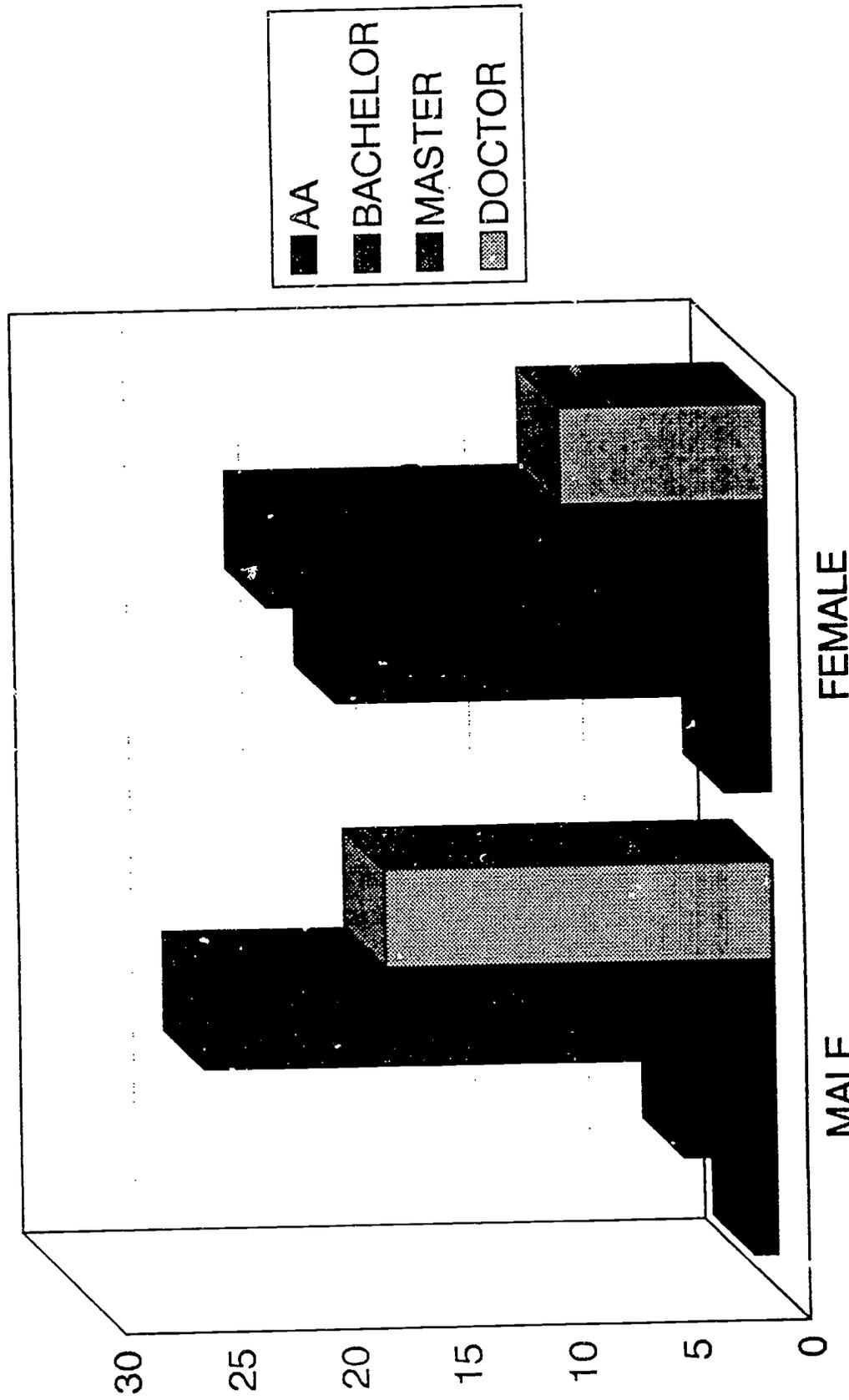
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GENDER & DEGREE

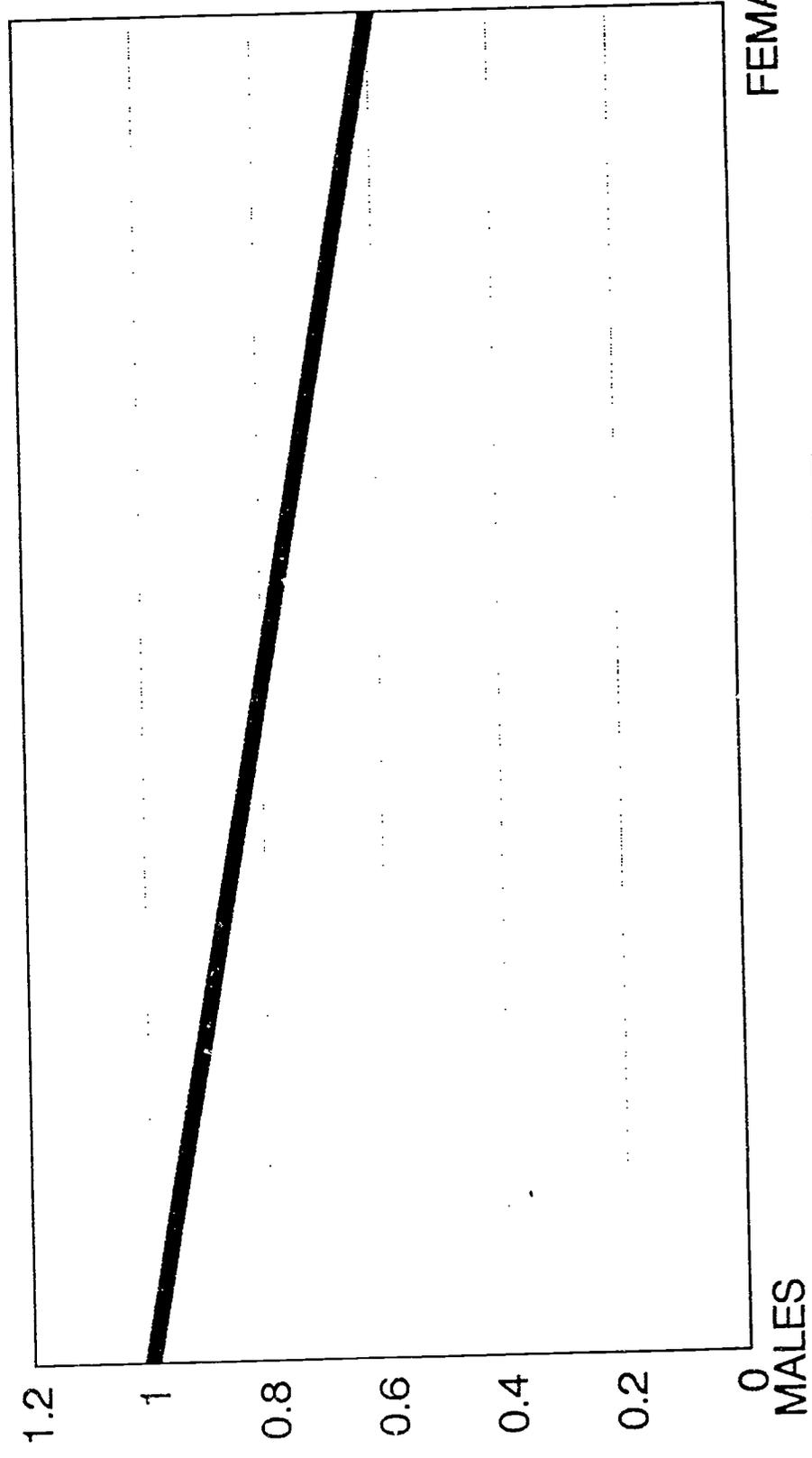
48 MALES, 53 FEMALES



ANOVA: $F = 7.308$, $SIG. = .008$. 3 HAVE MISSING DATA

PREDICTED SALARY

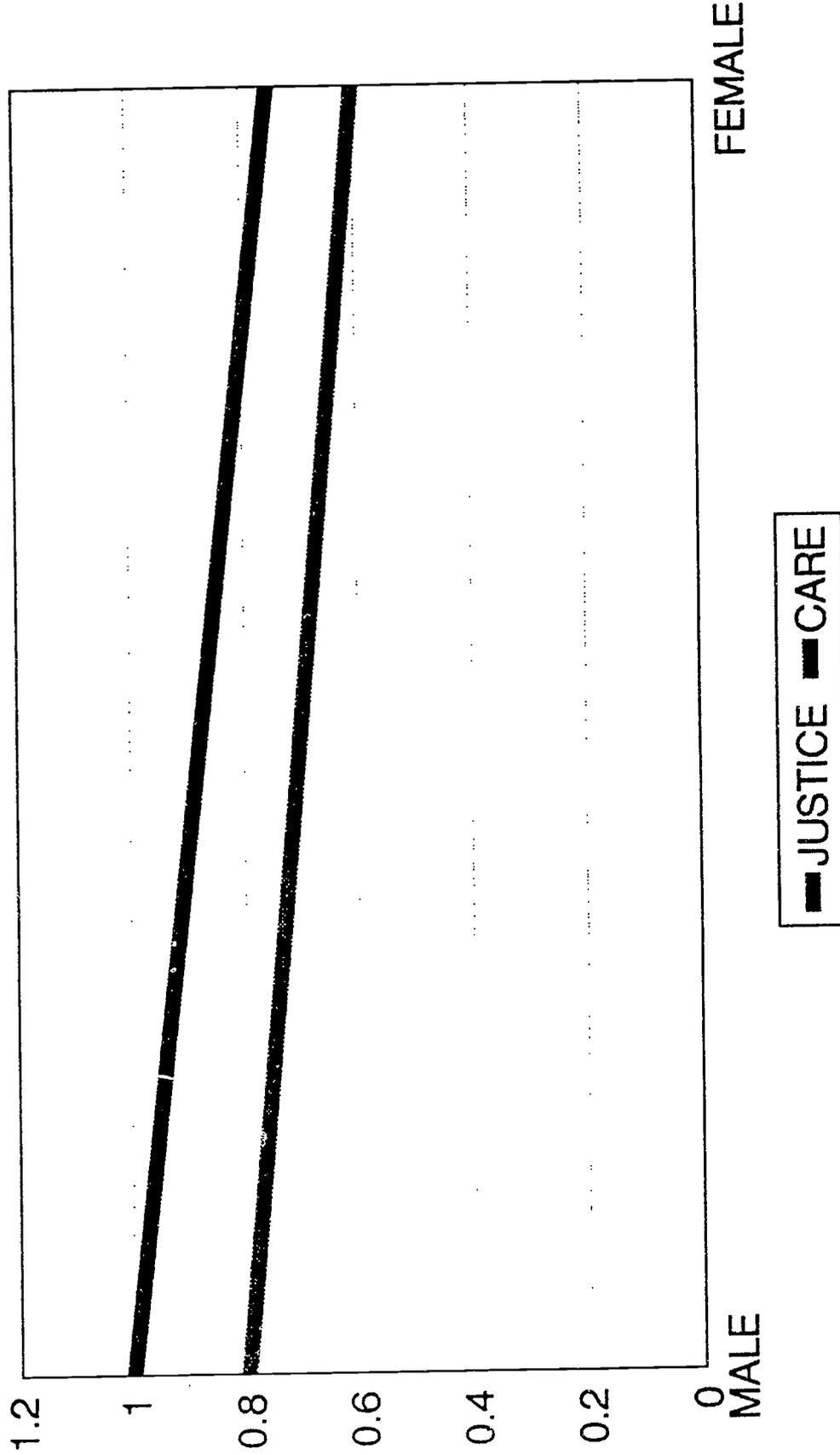
PREVIOUS RESEARCH



HYPOTHETICAL

MY PREDICTION

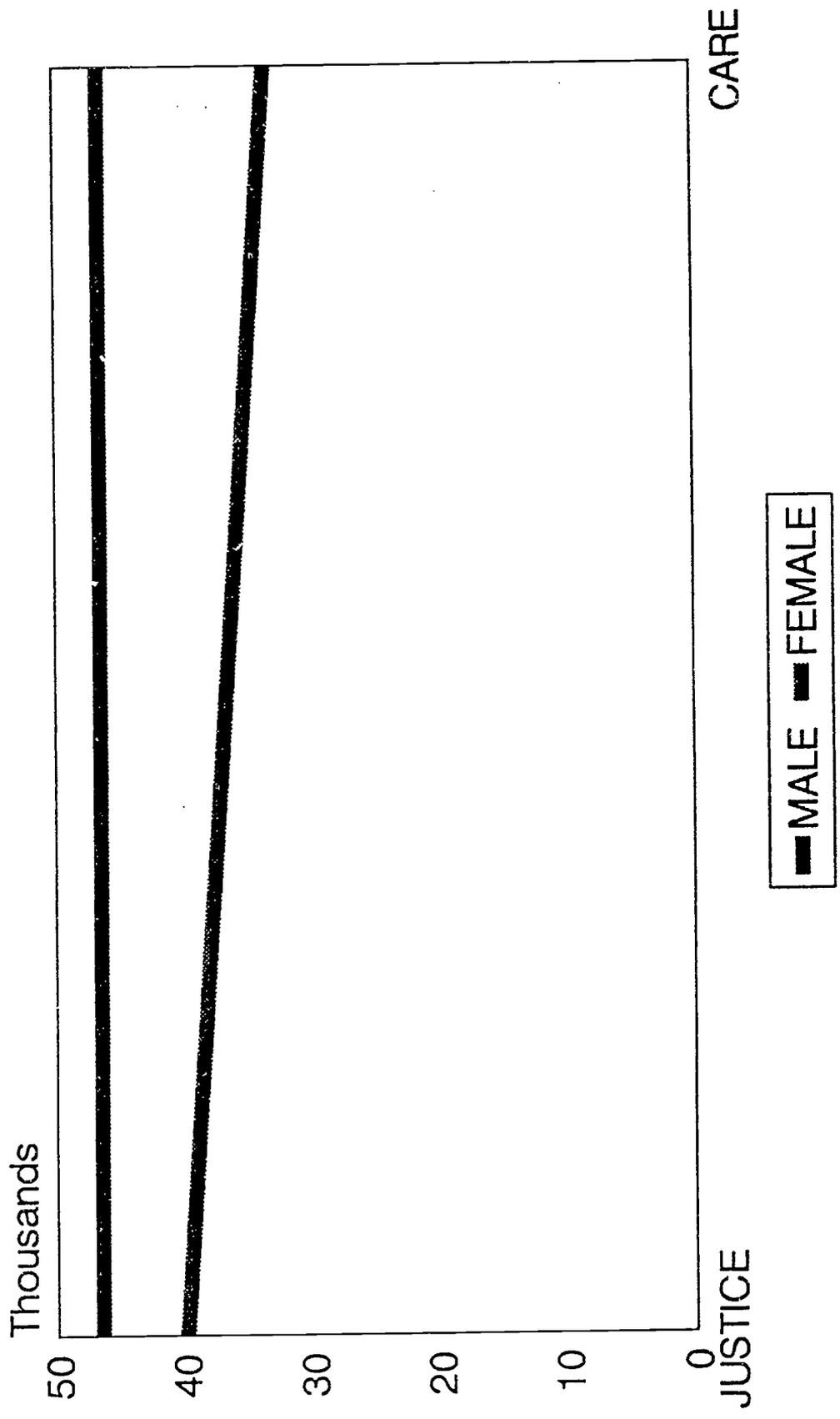
BASED ON READING



HYPOTHETICAL

MEAN SALARY

JUSTICE/CARE -- GENDER



FEMALES' EARNINGS COMPARED WITH MALES'

SOURCE:	DATE:	SUBJECTS:	RATIO:
OKIN	1987	FULL-TIME	71
POUNDER	1988/1989	ADMIN. PROF.	88
SMITH	1990	CONT. ED.	80
O'NEILL	1991	FULL-TIME	68
LEE	1991	HRD'S	70
RIES & STONE	1992	MANAGERS & PROF.	70
MANNING	1993	CONT. ED	79
MANNING	1993	JO FEMALES	85
MANNING	1993	CO FEMALES	72

GENDER BY MORAL ORIENTATION

GENDER	CARE		JUSTICE	
	HIGH	LOW	LOW	HIGH
FEMALE	24.5	28.3	28.3	18.9
MALE	31.3	27.1	18.2	22.9
TOTAL	27.7	27.7	23.8	20.8