# Contents

Acknowledgements	ix
------------------	----

1 INTRODUCTION 1

Purpose 1
Caveats 4
Feminist-Labour Coalition Politics 8
Two theoretical questions 12
The gendered wage gap 13
1. Size 13
2. Trends 15
From identical work to comparable work 17
1. Three stages of legislation 17
2. Class and gender struggles over the three stages 18
3. Explanations 19
– Reserve army of labour 19
– War 20
– Electoral competition 20
– Feminist agitation 21
2 THE CAPITALIST WORKPLACE 27
Models: complaint, pro-active, integrated 28
Coverage 29
1. Gender predominance 29
(a) The business position 30
(b) The labour-feminist position 31
- No cut-off 31
– Lower cut-off 31
– Flexibility 32
– Collective bargaining 32
<ul><li>Size of business 32</li></ul>

No male cut-off 33Pay equity for men 33

(a) The business position 35
(b) The labour-feminist position 36
Geographic definition 36
Functional definition 36

2. Establishment 33

– Related establishments 36
– Child-care centres 37
3. Sector 39
(a) Legislation 39
(b) Class and gender struggles 40
– The business position 40
– The feminist-labour position 41
Exemptions: allowable gender discrimination? 43
Collective bargaining 45
1. The union push for pay equity 46
2. Separate negotiations 50
3. Separate bargaining units 51
4. Relative bargaining power 53
5. Unions' role in reducing the wage gap 54
6. Control over the labour process 55
Reorganization of work: a capital strike? 55
1. Investments 56
2. Plant shutdowns 57
3. Technology 57
4. Unemployment 57
5. Part-time work 59
6. Subcontracting 60
7. Productivity and intensification of work 61
8. The wage gap and 'red-circling' 63
(a) The business and neo-conservative arguments 63
(b) The feminist-labour response 65
(c) Legislation 66
(d) Studies 66
(e) Male unionist fear of cheap female labour 67
Conclusions 68
THE MARKETPLACE 84
Human capital vs. discrimination 84

## 3 THE

- 1. Social scientific studies 84
- 2. Class and gender struggles over explained and unexplained variances 85
  - (a) Feminist-labour positions 85
  - (b) The business and anti-feminist response 86
    - Absence of discrimination 86
    - Unexplained variance does not equal discrimination 87
    - Explained variance does not equal discrimination 87

– State burden on small business 93
– State 'pay police' 94
– Parasitic new middle class 95
(b) The feminist-labour response 95
Job-evaluation methodology 96
1. Types of job evaluations 97
– Job ranking 97
<ul> <li>Job classification or grade description 97</li> </ul>
– Point rating 98
– Factor comparison 98
– Comments <sup>*</sup> 98
2. 'Value' or 'worth' of a job 99
3. Subjectivity vs. objectivity 100
(a) Business, neo-conservative and anti-feminist positions 100
(b) The labour-feminist response 102
– Equalization of base or starting rates 103
<ul> <li>Across-the-board dollar increases 104</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>Reducing increment steps 104</li> </ul>
– Integration of pay lines 105
<ul> <li>Negotiation of pay-equity adjustments 105</li> </ul>
-Increasing minimum-wage rates 105
– Policy-capturing methodology 105
4. Hidden gender biases 108
(a) Inconsistency between pay rates and job evaluations 108
(b) Non-recognition of women's job skills 108
(c) Devaluation of women's job skills 109
(d) Anti-feminist concern with biases against men 110
Occupational mobility 110
1. Does declining occupational segregation make pay-equity

Pay equity equals pay discrimination 88The education solution to unequal wages 89

Freedom of marketplace vs. state intervention 89

(a) The patriarchal capitalist objections 92

- Interference in private decisions of capital 92

- Interference in the right of working women to compete 92

1. Freedom of the marketplace 90

- Overextended state 93

legislation unnecessary? 111
(a) The business answer 111
– Education 111

2. State intervention 92

– Decrease in occupational segregation 111
- Narrowing of the wage gap 112
- Young women 113
(b) The feminist-labour answer 113
- Persistence of gendered occupational segregation 113
- Racial occupational segregation 114
- Why should women have to switch jobs? 114
- Time required to close the wage gap 114
2. Does pay-equity legislation increase occupational
segregation? 115
(a) The business and anti-feminist answer 115
(b) The labour-feminist answer 115
Economic consequences 116
1. Costs of implementing pay equity 116
(a) The business position 116
- Size of costs 116
– Costs to small business 117
– Payroll costs 118
(b) The labour-feminist position 119
– Large, profitable corporations can pay 119
- Women subsidize the super-profits of business 119
– Human rights have no price tag 120
<ul> <li>Size of pay-equity funds in payrolls 120</li> </ul>

2. State deficit and taxes 122

3. Inflation and consumer purchasing power 123

4. Economic disruption and competitiveness of capital 124 Conclusions 126

### 4 THE HOUSEHOLD WORKPLACE 137

Marital status: the cause of unequal pay? 137 Double day of labour and unequal pay 139

1. Obligation 139

2. Solution 140

Paid labour-force interruptions 140

Freedom of choice and individual responsibility: blame the victim 141

- 1. The neo-conservative anti-feminist position 141
- 2. A feminist response 142

Family wage vs. women's economic survival 143

- 1. The neo-conservative anti-feminist position 143
- 2. The labour-feminist position 144

- Women's contribution to family subsistence 144
- Subsistence needs of single women 144
- The feminization of poverty 145
- Elderly women 145
- Women of colour 146
- 3. The state position 146

Value of the homemaker role 146

Privatization: back-to-the-home 147

Natural sex differences 148

Family and school socialization 148

Conclusions 149

#### 5 PASSIVE REVOLUTION? 153

Attacking the labour-feminist alliance: racism, sexism, classism 156

Manipulating the loopholes, exemptions, and weaknesses 161

- Gender predominance 161
- Labour-market shortage 163
- Casual part-time work 163
- Temporary training positions 165
- Technology 165
- Contracting out 165
- Red-circling 166
- Job-evaluation methodology 168
- Collective bargaining 168
- Burden of lodging complaints 169
- Private sector 169
- Size of establishment 171
- Equal or comparable vs. proportional value 172
- Correcting the smallest wage gap 174
- Monocasual explanation of wage discrimination 175
- Seniority 176
- Merit and productivity 177
- Limits to pay-equity settlements 178
- Groups of jobs: internal equity or inequity 179
- Relative bargaining strength 181
- Comparisons within bargaining units 181
- Masking discrimination 182
- The double day of labour 182
- Private property rights 183
- -Free trade 183

### Conclusions 184

APPENDIX A: THEORETICAL DEFINITIONS 196
Patriarchy 196

Class 204 State 206

APPENDIX B: JOB-EVALUATION FACTORS 221

INDEX 224