

Comparable Worth Comes to the Private Sector: The Case of Ontario ¹

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Abstract

We investigate the effect of pro-active comparable worth legislation—covering both the public and private sectors—on wages, the gender wage gap and the gender composition of employment. Our focus is the pay equity initiative of the Canadian province of Ontario in the early 1990s. We find that the legislation fell well short of its ultimate goal of reducing gender wage differentials. The primary reason is lapses in compliance and problems with the implementation of the law, especially among small firms. This evidence provides important lessons about the obstacles to extending pay equity to the private sector of a decentralized labor market. When we focus on those sectors of the labor market where compliance was most complete, our results suggest that any positive effects on the wages of women in female jobs were very modest. Our most consistently estimated effects of the law on wages are negative: slower wage growth for women in male jobs and for men in female jobs.

1. INTRODUCTION

In developed economies, pay equity/comparable worth programs are a common public policy response to gender wage differentials. Equal pay for work of equal value is a “basic right” in the European Union and is enshrined in Community law. The wage tribunals in Australia have long paid heed to the principle of comparable worth in wage determination. Pay equity is synonymous with the public sector in Canada and is now being extended to the private sectors of her two largest provinces. Finally, comparable worth has made many inroads in state and local governments in the United States. All but five states have initiated some level of pay equity activity, and eight states have actually implemented pay equity programs for their employees (Gardner and Daniel (1998)). Also, after more than a decade of neglect, comparable worth is re-emerging as a policy option at the federal level. For example, the *Paycheck Fairness Act* was endorsed in the State of the Union Address of January 2000.²

Proponents have long viewed comparable worth legislation as an essential remedy to historical labor market discrimination against women and minorities. The U.S. National Committee on Pay Equity (NCPE) argues that the “wage gap exists because most women and people of color are still segregated into a few low-paying occupations”.³ Furthermore, these “jobs have historically been undervalued and continue to be underpaid because of the gender and race of the people who hold them”.

Despite such endorsement and the widespread adoption of comparable worth policies, there is little direct evidence of whether pay equity programs reduce the gender wage gap. Many of the arguments against the policy are theoretical (e.g., Killingsworth (1987)) or based in simulations (e.g., Beider, Bernheim, Fuchs and Shoven (1988), Ehrenberg and Smith (1987); Hundley (1992)). Many of the arguments for the policy are extrapolations

²The *Paycheck Fairness Act* would amend the *Equal Pay Act*, enhancing remedies for discrimination under the Act, providing more resources to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and allowing employees to freely discuss their salaries with their co-workers. The last decade has also seen the *Fair Pay Act* repeatedly submitted to Congress. This legislation would enable a more liberal interpretation of “equal value” (in the *Equal Pay Act* sense) than the courts have permitted.

³www.feminist.com/fairpay.htm.

from isolated applications of comparable worth in the local public sector to the entire labor market.

Some key questions are *i)* does a significant part of the gender wage differential result from the occupational segregation of males and females?, and if so *ii)* is comparable worth the appropriate policy response?, and if so *iii)* is comparable worth legislation a viable labor market regulation? There are a number of studies addressed to the first question, offering both larger (e.g., Johnson and Solon (1986)) and smaller (e.g., Macpherson and Hirsch (1995), Baker and Fortin (forthcoming)) estimates of the relationship between wages and the gender composition of employment. The answer to the second question is not clear, as some studies argue that an important component of the gender wage gap is due to wage differences across firms and industries, and thus outside the purview of comparable worth policies as traditionally conceived. Evidence to the third question is at best indirect. Comparable worth appears to “work” in the public sector, or centralized labor markets such as Australia’s. This is not to say the way is straight and clear: a recent \$3+ billion pay equity settlement awarded to federal public sector workers in Canada was 16 years of negotiation and litigation in the making.

In this paper we offer new evidence which should put predictions of the potential effects of comparable worth policy on firmer ground. Our focus is a recent extension of pay equity to the private sector in the Canadian province of Ontario. Through the *Pay Equity Act*, Ontario legislated a pro-active application of comparable worth to public sector employers and all private sector employers of 10 or more employees. Ontario is a large province (11 million people) with a diversified economy. This episode, therefore, provides a unique opportunity to obtain direct evidence of the effect of comparable worth on a decentralized labor market.

The first part of the paper focuses on the much neglected issue of how employers comply with comparable worth policies. Whether viewed positively or negatively, to be effective pay equity must be practical. This issue is less important for other labor market regulations such as minimum wages or overtime rates. In each of these cases the regulation is conceptually simple and external to the firm. Therefore, lapses in compliance are primarily the result of employer malfeasance. The difference here is that comparable worth involves

the conceptually difficult step of making male and female jobs commensurate. The legislation can prescribe the principles by which these jobs should be compared, but not the specifics of the mechanism or the awards. Many previous applications of this policy have been to single employers or to labor markets with centralized wage determination or strong centralized unions. We know very little of how this policy functions in a decentralized labor market.

Our findings here are striking: comparable worth appears to be a complicated and unwieldy labor market regulation. We document the resulting lapses in compliance with the Act that were substantial, especially among small firms. Not coincidentally, it is these firms that lack the clearly delineated job classifications and personnel systems needed to perform pay equity comparisons. Commentary on the Ontario legislation reveals that the effective bite of the legislation was blunted by the lack of male comparators for female jobs and the heterogeneity of comparable worth evaluation plans used by employers. These problems are far less likely to arise when pay equity is implemented in the public sector or in centralized labor markets, and a uniform pay equity plan can be applied to a large group of employees.

The second part of the paper is an empirical investigation of the effect of the Ontario law on wages, the gender wage gap, and the gender composition of employment. This is, to our knowledge, the first direct evaluation of the impact of comparable worth legislation on a decentralized labor market. Given the lapses in compliance, it is not surprising that we find the law had virtually no effect on the aggregate wages in female jobs or the gender wage gap. Focusing on those sectors of the labor market where the legislation appeared to have the greatest bite, however, we find that any effects of the law tended to be negative rather than positive: it suppressed wage growth for women working in blue-collar male jobs.

In our evaluation we take advantage of the fact that other Canadian provinces can serve as a natural control group for evaluating the effect of the Ontario legislation. We also exploit systematic lapses in compliance with firm size to control for province specific trends. These are important considerations, as the lack of a suitable control group has hindered evaluation of past economy-wide implementations of pay equity (e.g., Killingsworth (1990)).

2. HOW DOES COMPARABLE WORTH WORK IN A DECENTRALIZED LABOR MARKET?

2.1. *The Ontario Legislation*

Comparable worth was extended to the private sector of the Canadian province of Ontario through *Pay Equity Act* of 1987.⁴ The legislation covers both the public sector and firms in the private sector with 10 or more employees. It is pro-active, and provides a detailed timetable for employers to both post pay equity plans and to provide the initial payments of any necessary wage adjustments. It also guides implementation of comparable worth defining male and female job classes, acceptable methods of wage comparison and establishes the Pay Equity Commission as a overseer and arbiter of the legislation.

The details of this pay equity law are fairly standard. Female job classes are those with 60% or more female workers while male jobs are at most 30% female. The remaining jobs are integrated. For the purposes of comparison the “value” of a job is determined on a gender neutral basis, using an index of skill, effort and responsibility requirements, as well as working conditions. Initially, male/female job comparisons were to be made within establishments on a job-to-job basis, between work of equal or comparable value. By 1993, the more common “wage-line” method (called “proportionate value”) was allowed to accommodate situations where direct job-to-job comparisons were not possible.⁵ In addition, a proxy comparator method, restricted to the broader public sector, was implemented allowing male comparators to be found outside the establishment in cases that job-to-job or proportionate value comparisons failed.⁶ Differences in pay between jobs are tolerated on the following bases: seniority, temporary training assignments, merit pay, red-circling and

⁴The Act received Royal Assent in June 1987 and was proclaimed on January 1, 1988.

⁵In 1993 the Act was amended to permit both proportional value comparisons and the proxy method of locating comparators outside an organization. These amendments were announced by the Ontario Minister of Labor in December 1990. Employers were directed to use these new methods for all female job classes that were without a male comparator under the job-to-job method.

⁶A 1996 provincial act—The *Saving and Restructuring Act*—legislated a phase out of the proxy method starting in January 1997. In September 1997, however, the Ontario Court of Justice ruled that repealing the proxy method violated the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and thus the repeal was “of no force or effect”.

skill shortages. Employers must be ready to justify any pay differences for these reasons. Finally, compensation cannot be reduced to attain pay equity.

The implementation of the Act was staggered across sectors and across private firms of different sizes. It consisted of 1) the posting of a pay equity plan,⁷ and 2) the initiation of any wage adjustments. Pay equity plans were to be negotiated in establishments with bargaining units. In other establishments, the employer prepared and posted the plan which was then subject to review and possible appeal by employees. In either case, if the process ended in stalemate the Pay Equity Commission decided all outstanding issues.⁸

The deadlines for different sectors and firms of different sizes are reported in Table 1. The tightest deadlines were for the public sector. In the private sector smaller firms received longer periods to comply with the law. The one twist was for firms of less than 100 employees. They had a choice of posting a pay equity plan and making the initial pay equity awards one year later, or not posting a plan but paying the total award to achieve equity by this later deadline. For example, firms with 50-99 employees could post by January 1, 1993, and then make an initial award by January 1, 1994, or not post but make the total award by January 1, 1994. Finally, establishments with less than 10 employees were exempt from the Act.⁹

The initial pro-active stage has been followed by a complaints stage in which firms are directed to maintain pay equity in the workplace. Changes in compensation that widen any differences in compensation between male and female jobs are prohibited. Finally, firms are directed to continue paying any outstanding awards until pay equity is achieved.¹⁰

⁷A pay equity plan sets out the comparison system used, the job classes used, the results of the comparison, how compensation will be adjusted to compensate underpaid classes and the date of the first adjustment.

⁸Awards in a given year were limited to a maximum of one percent of the previous year's payroll. The method of adjustment is to be "bottom up" in the sense that the most severely underpaid female jobs are to receive larger increases. Payment of awards was to continue, however, until equity was achieved.

⁹The subsequent introduction of proportionate value and proxy comparators was also according to a deadline. Firms were required to both post a plan for implementation and make any initial awards by January 1, 1994. Firms with 50 or more employees were required to make awards retroactive to January 1, 1993.

¹⁰There are special rules governing the continuation of a pay equity plan on the sale of a business.

2.2. *Enforcement and Compliance*

There is a sense in which the entire structure of the Ontario legislation is motivated by the failure of previous complaint-based pay equity laws to have any bite.¹¹ In these programs, employees must register a complaint to trigger a comparison of male and female jobs and any consequent award. Fears that most employees would be too intimidated to register a complaint led to criticism that these sorts of policies were impotent. The Ontario law is instead pro-active. Employers must draw up a pay equity plan and make comparisons of male and female jobs whether or not any complaint has been made. Therefore, in principle, any inequities should be uncovered since the onus is on employers.

The responsibility for enforcement of the Act is given to the Pay Equity Commission which has two constituent parts: 1) the Pay Equity Office (PEO) charged with educating employers and employees about pay equity, monitoring compliance, providing dispute resolution services and issuing orders to resolve disputes, and 2) the Pay Equity Hearings Tribunal, which rules on disputes that arise under the Act, typically on reference from the PEO. The legislation specifies fines for both individuals and firms that ignore the Pay Equity Tribunal orders, impede a review officer, or coerce or penalize anyone acting under the legislation. To the dismay of some, there is no requirement that employers file their pay equity plans with the Commission. Firms are required, however, to inform the PEO of any female job classes that are ineligible for pay equity evaluation due to the lack of a male comparator, either on a job-to-job or proportional value basis.¹² The system is intended to be “self-monitoring”, much like other labor market regulations.

Direct documentation on early compliance with the Act is provided by surveys commissioned by the PEO (SPR 1991, Canadian Facts 1992 and 1993, ISR 1994).¹³ Each

¹¹Important here are the early experiences of the complaint based programs in Quebec and the federal sector. See, for example, Symes (1990) on the disappointment with this legislation.

¹²The cases are then referred to a Review Officer. The dispute resolution services of the PEO appear to be widely used, with between 1400 and 1700 open cases in a given month between January 1990 and December 1995 (Read 1996). Monthly inflows and outflows averaged 50-100 cases during this period.

¹³Overviews of some or all of these surveys are provided in Gunderson (1995), Read (1996) and MacDonald and Thornton (1998). MacDonald and Thornton conducted their own survey of 27 firms in the Toronto area in 1994. They document instances on non-compliance and manipulation

survey focuses on establishments of a specific size, and was conducted roughly 6-12 months after the relevant deadline for posting a pay equity plan.¹⁴ Unfortunately, it is difficult to compare the results across surveys due to differences in sample design and interviewing methods. The information collected on compliance with the posting deadline, however, appears to have a common basis.¹⁵

In table 1 we report measures of compliance with the posting deadline by establishment size. The story here is that public sector employers and large private sector employers were much more likely to comply with the Law. Under 10 percent of these employers, compared to 20 percent of 50-99 employee firms and 80 percent of 10-49 employee firms, reported doing “no work” on pay equity. In fact, these statistics likely overstate the compliance of the smallest firms. Roughly 37 percent of interviews of the smallest employers were abandoned because there was “little or no awareness about the legislation” (p. 30, ISR 1994). As a consequence the proportion of these employers who had done no work on pay equity is probably closer to 90 percent.

Similar inference is obtained from the numbers for full compliance: roughly one-half of public and large private establishments complied fully versus only 12-30 percent of smaller firms. The higher compliance of the largest private firms is even more impressive when weighted by female employment. For example, 91 percent of women working in establishments with 500 or more employees were employed in establishments that had posted some or all of their plans. Recall that smaller employers had to decide by the posting deadline whether to post a plan. At the time of the survey, 45 percent of 50-99 employee firms and 83 percent of 10-49 employee firms had not yet made this decision. The strong message here is a lack of enthusiasm for, or perhaps defiance of, the law in smaller firms.¹⁶

of the rules, as well as some positive influences of the process.

¹⁴The survey of firms with 10-49 employees (ISR 1994) was conducted 15-18 months after the posting deadline.

¹⁵The survey of public sector employers and private sector employers with 500+ employees was primarily completed by mail, although certain “key facts” on compliance were retrieved from non-respondents by telephone, courier and fax. In the surveys of smaller firms initial telephone surveys canvassed information on compliance, while further detail was collected by mail surveys which had a lower response rate.

¹⁶Within the public sector almost all firms who had done no work on pay equity had 99 or

Compliance is also correlated with union status. Some illustrative numbers for public and large private establishments are also reported in table 1. In both the private and public sectors non-union firms were more likely to have all their plans posted. One reason for this discrepancy is that pay equity plans were negotiated in union shops.¹⁷

What were the reasons for these lapses in compliance? The surveys suggest that confusion about the law and the resource costs of pay equity plans played a role. First, there were problems conducting the surveys because interviewees lacked understanding of the key requirements of the law and key dimensions of comparable worth such as “gender neutrality”. These problems were particularly severe in small firms (Institute for Social Research (1994)). Second, the surveys also include information on factors impeding progress on pay equity for firms with 50-499 employees. Twenty-five (22) percent of firms with 100-499 (50-99) employees report resource costs as a factor. Seven (10) percent report confusion about the law as a problem. Finally, 17 (15) percent report the fact that no pay equity awards are needed as a reason, a proportion that is particularly high among firms that had done no work on pay equity!

Further inference from these surveys is limited. Additional information from firms with 50-499 employees (Canadian Facts (1992) and Canadian Facts (1993)) was collected by a subsequent mail survey, and the response rate appears to be correlated with compliance.¹⁸ That said, there are a few points worth noting. First, external consultants were an important input to compliance. In samples of firms that had done work on pay equity, roughly two-thirds of public and large private employers, 54 percent of firms with 100-499 employees and 37 percent of firms with 50-99 employees reported hiring external consultants. In contrast less than one-quarter of the very small number of 10-49 employee firms that had completed some pay equity plans reported similar reliance on external help. Other criteria (e.g., purchase of new job comparison system) also indicate that smaller firms relied more on in-house expertise.¹⁹ Second, within the sample of firms with plans, clerical workers fewer employees.

¹⁷In firms of 100-499 employees 73 percent of non-union firms compared to 50 percent of union firms had posted all their plans. These results are from a mail survey (see below).

¹⁸For example, by the telephone survey 51 percent of 100-499 employee firms had posted all their plans (table 2) compared to 64 percent according to the mail survey.

¹⁹For example, 37 percent of 100-499 employee firms who had done some work on pay equity

were the job group most often cited as eligible or having received an award. The percentage of firms (or plans) reporting this ranges from 44 percent to 75 percent.

The surveys also document problems finding male comparators in samples of firms with completed plans. For example, in private firms of 500+ employees 27 percent of female job classes (FJC) representing 30 percent of employees in these classes lacked a comparator. In public firms, 41 percent of FJC's corresponding to also 41 percent of FJC employees had no comparator.²⁰ In firms with 50-99 employees the relevant proportions are 32 percent and 36 percent. Finally, in the small sample of 10-49 employee firms with plans, 21 percent of FJC's representing 52 percent of employees in these classes had no comparator. It is also interesting to note that these problems led to amendment of the legislation to allow proportional value comparisons and proxy comparators.²¹

The review of the legislation commissioned by the PEO in 1996 (Read 1996) provides interesting anecdotal evidence about compliance. Through consultation Read reports learning of "extensive non-compliance among small to medium size employers" (p. 4). A survey of 4800 members of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business (an organization of small to medium size businesses) submitted to the review, reveals that just 20 percent of employers covered by the Act had completed any of the required steps (Read 1996, p.38).²² The reasons for non-compliance included "lack of time and money" and the "requirements are too complicated/difficult". This level of compliance is consistent with the results from the survey of 10-49 employee firms.

A final source of information is the commentary of pay equity advocates and critics over the period. A review of pay equity practitioners in trade unions laments that the report purchasing a new job comparison system compared to just 2 percent of 10-49 employee firms who had posted some plans.

²⁰These results are almost exclusively driven by the lack of male comparators in small public firms. For example, just 15 percent of employees in FJC's at public firms of 1000+ employees were without a comparator versus 54 percent of employees in FJC's at public firms of < 100 employees.

²¹The surveys also report estimates of administrative costs per employee, the percentage of female job classes receiving adjustments, and the total costs of the adjustment as a percentage of total payroll. These numbers are difficult to interpret, however, due to non-response and differences in the way the questions were asked across surveys.

²²Consistent with the evidence reviewed above, however, the survey also reveals that compliance was positively correlated with firm size.

Ontario legislation restricts comparisons and negotiations over pay equity plans within establishments (Genge 1994). It favorably cites public sector applications of comparable worth in other provinces where central bargaining is the norm. In an attempt to reduce the number of female jobs with no male comparator, the PEO proposed “external average adjustment”: female job classes in the private sector lacking male comparators would receive the average pay equity adjustment within their industry. Finally, free collective bargaining could also lead to complications: once pay equity is achieved the legislation permits gender wage differentials to re-emerge if they result from differences in power across bargaining units. Robb (1990) argues that this provision in tandem with gender differences in union membership could serve to widen the male-female wage gap.

A common thread here is that the Act’s accommodation of a decentralized labor market was an obstacle to compliance. First, gender segregation by establishment limited the comparison of male and female jobs. The suggested solution was to widen the definition of an establishment and allow local or province wide bargaining in union environments. Second, free bargaining between unions and employers was viewed as potentially undermining pay equity. Third, the exceptions for compensation differences based on productivity related attributes were viewed as an escape hatch for employers. Robb (1990, p.18) identified the tension here: “Clearly, allowing such exceptions is a double-edged sword. While many of these provisions are essential if the labor market is to be allowed to operate efficiently, it is also recognized that they can be used by employers to circumvent the legislation”. Finally, pay equity was enacted as a mostly self-managed program, consistent with the operation of many other labor market regulations in North America. More stringent reporting obligations and monitoring may have led to higher rates of compliance but would also entail higher administrative costs.

The evidence, therefore, is that compliance was a substantial problem, especially in small firms. Although seldom acknowledged in discussions of pay equity, or in simulations of its effects, this, perhaps, is not surprising. The reasons are likely the same as those that exempted firms with less than 10 employees from the legislation in the first place. Pay equity comparisons work best in large samples. Small firms are more likely to have trouble finding male comparators, and wage line methods would seem to pre-suppose some

minimum number of observations. The job evaluation systems necessary to carry out comparable worth evaluations can be expensive, and therefore are less burdensome when they can be amortized over a large number of employees. Finally, the underlying principle of comparable worth, of making disparate jobs commensurate, is perhaps better suited to debate, or the administrative compensation systems of large firms, than to the daily life of the small employer. These issues may become even more important in the future as firms adopt non-traditional job design, such as self-directed work teams and non-standard employment, in the context of labor market restructuring (see Betchermand, McMullen, Leckie and Caron (1994), Piore (1986)).

3. WHAT ARE THE EFFECTS OF COMPARABLE WORTH POLICIES ON A DECENTRALIZED LABOR MARKET?

3.1. The Potential Impacts of Comparable Worth

Proponents of comparable worth argue that the impact of the law should be a straightforward increase in wages in female jobs, and therefore a reduction in the gender wage gap. Economic models of the labor market yield quite different predictions. Killingsworth (1987) explores the effects of a pay equity policy in a two sector model of low wage female jobs and high wage male jobs. Comparable worth prescribes wages in female jobs above the equilibrium level. Moving up along the demand curve in the low wage sector entails a decrease in employment. The direct effect, therefore, is similar to the predicted impact of minimum wages or unionization, or more generally any intervention that raises the wage above the level indicated by the intersection of supply and demand in the relevant market.

The increase in the wages of female jobs leads to substitution and scale effects. Since female and male jobs are typically defined along occupational lines the elasticity of substitution between the two job classes is arguably small. This increases the likelihood that the the negative scale effect for male jobs outweighs any positive substitution effect, leading to a decline in demand in the high wage sector.

The initial distribution of the sexes across the two job types in this model is due to a taste for discrimination among employers of high wage jobs. Their psychic income

from employing males is an increasing, concave function of the male wage bill. A decline in demand for these jobs reduces the wage bill, and thus increases the amount they “discount” male wages. Therefore, the negative scale effect increases the male/female wage differential within this sector; at least in the short run in which the supply of males and females to the two sectors are fixed.

In the longer run, the destination of individuals released from the female jobs can be important. Their subsequent movement into jobs that are not covered by the legislation will be attenuated by the re-training and qualification requirements of cross-occupational migration. In the present context an obvious destination is smaller firms where the law was largely ignored. There will be fewer impediments to this within-occupation movement, and it will allow individuals to preserve any occupational specific capital. The analogy is to a two-sector model of minimum wages or unions with covered and uncovered sectors. The migration of workers results in an outward shift in the supply of labor to this sector, that will depress the wages of female jobs in smaller firms.

The net effect of the law on female wages at the aggregate level is therefore ambiguous, reflecting the countervailing impacts on wages in firms that do and do not comply. The release of workers into the “uncovered” sector will be attenuated if some individuals decide to queue for the now higher paying female jobs in complying firms. In the much longer run, the supply of workers to these jobs may be further augmented by individuals in other occupations attracted to these female jobs by the higher wages.

In Killingsworth’s model the initial increase in wages in female jobs, following the implementation of comparable worth, is given exogenously. In application, comparable worth policies tie the wages in female jobs to those in male jobs. This additional constraint on the firm’s hiring decision would lead to a trade off between the cost and quality of individuals filling male jobs. Empirically, this would turn up as a decline in the wages in male jobs as lower “quality” candidates were hired.

Another issue not captured in this model is that male/female job comparisons may affect employee morale and productivity. Akerlof and Kranton (forthcoming) provide a framework to consider these effects in their analysis of “economics and identity”. They cite examples of men in male jobs, such as coal handling, finding their masculinity treated

by the presence of female co-workers and relieving “their anxiety by taking action against women co-workers” (p. 21).²³ Similar resentment could be generated by comparable worth comparisons that argue that these jobs are equal to traditionally female jobs. The result is increased taste discrimination against women in male jobs by co-workers and, in turn, by employers. Less dramatically, male resentment may manifest itself as a lack of cooperation and less informal training of female co-workers. This would reduce the productivity and hence the wages of women in these male job classes. Empirically, we search for these sorts of “backlash” effects by focusing on “blue collar” work as a proxy for traditional male jobs.

3.2. Data and Empirical Strategy

The data for our study are drawn from the Canadian Labor Force Survey (LFS), which is a monthly study of individuals’ labor force status. At the end of the 1980’s supplements, called the Labor Market Activity Survey (LMAS), were conducted collecting information on wages, union status, number of employees in the workplace (among other variables) for a subset of individuals in the LFS. In January 1997, these questions were made part of the monthly LFS. We combine data from two different waves of the LMAS, the years 1987 and 1988, and from the 1997 and 1998 LFS. The two-year periods 1987/88 and 1997/98 nicely bracket the introduction of the comparable worth legislation in Ontario.

The LMAS is a retrospective survey covering year-round labor market activity. To mimic a point-in-time survey, we select job information as of the third week of November in each year. Similarly, we use the November rotation of the 1997 and 1998 LFS. We sample all individuals who are 16-69 years of age. Wages are obtained from the main job at this time; they are the actual hourly wage for workers paid by the hour and the usual hourly earnings for other workers.²⁴

These data do not include information on the femaleness of a particular individual’s job. We therefore identify individuals “at risk” of receiving a pay equity award by merging

²³Akerlof and Kranton (forthcoming) also cite the work of Padavic (1991) for more detail.

²⁴Hourly wages are in 1997 dollars. In our analysis of wage data, we include all wage and salary workers who are not full-time students and are earning more than \$1.00 an hour. We exclude full-time students because they are excluded from the legislation, when they work in connection to their studies.

information on the percentage of 4-digit occupational (1980 SOC²⁵) employment that is female (PFEM) obtained from the 1991 Canadian Census using the occupation codes available in both data sets.²⁶ We therefore attribute to individuals, both in 1987/88 and in 1997/98, the proportion of employment in their occupation that is female computed at the provincial level from the 1991 Census (these percentages are reported in Table A-1). We then use this variable to determine whether a sample member works in a female, integrated or male job according to the definitions in the Ontario legislation.²⁷

Our empirical strategy is to compare changes in different measures of wages and employment in Ontario before and after the law was implemented to changes in these variables in a control jurisdiction. To effectively difference out other changes in the economic environment that affect the labor market and were co-incident with the implementation of the law, the control jurisdiction must be a good match for Ontario in all dimensions except the evolution of pay equity legislation. Our initial choice is workers in the province of Quebec. This adjacent province is most comparable to Ontario in both population and economic activity.

Some average characteristics of individuals in the two provinces are provided in Tables 2a (females) and 2b (males). The statistics reveal many similarities. That said, an important difference is the higher unionization rate (of approximately 10 points) in the province of Quebec. Another interesting Ontario/Quebec difference is the greater growth of educational attainment in Quebec. The percentage of workers with a university degree

²⁵The occupation codes comprise approximately 500 categories. In the 1996 Census, occupational coding followed a totally different classification system, the 1990 NOC, which is not compatible with the previous system.

²⁶The number of observations in our provincial sub-samples of the 1987/88 LMAS and 1997/98 LFS are too limited to provide reliable estimates of the percentage female by occupation at the 4-digit level. Even in the 20 percent extract of the Census we use, there are some occupations that are not represented in each province.

²⁷Our analysis abstracts from any changes in percentage female, and therefore job type, endogenous to the law. We have examined changes in the percent female by major (2-digit) occupational groups using our LMAS87/88 and LFS97/98 data. While some occupations become more female (e.g., managerial, administrative and related occupations) and others less (e.g., clerical occupations) over the period, there were no changes in the job type—female, integrated or male—among the major occupational groups, with the exception of artistic, literary occupations that, in Ontario, changed from female in 1987/88 to integrated in 1997/98.

rises from 14 to 21 percent among women and from 15 to 19 percent for men; in Ontario the corresponding changes are 17 to 21 percent for women and 18 to 20 percent for men.²⁸

During the period we examine, 1987-1998, Quebec's pay equity provisions were contained in its human rights code.²⁹ The resulting system was complaint based and in principle covered all workers outside the federal jurisdiction. Enforcement was the responsibility of the Quebec Human Rights Commission. Despite the seemingly wide-ranging jurisdiction of these provisions, Weiner and Gunderson (1990) report that the legislation was rarely used. Likewise, Cihon (1988) reports that in the period preceding 1984 there were 77 complaints, 28 of which were either dismissed or ultimately withdrawn.³⁰ Complaints in the period 1982-1986 were even less frequent. Cihon argues that the provisions were not well publicized by the Human Rights Commission in this period, due to the limited resources available for their enforcement.³¹ Quebec has recently (1996) enacted pay equity legislation with many similarities to the Ontario Act, but the first awards are not due until 2001, which falls outside our period of analysis. Therefore, in the period of interest the existing comparable worth provisions in Quebec were little used, and there were no significant, new initiatives in the period.

Our empirical investigation begins with the base specification, for individual i ,

$$(1) \quad y_{it} = \alpha_T T_{it} + \alpha_O ON_{it} + \alpha_{TO} T_i \cdot ON_{it} + X_{it}\beta + \varepsilon_{it},$$

where $T_{it} = 1$ for observations from 1997 or 1998 and 0 otherwise, $ON_{it} = 1$ if the individual i lives in Ontario and 0 otherwise, the X_{it} are controls for demographic and job/firm characteristics, and y_{it} is the logarithm of the wage or a measure of employment in a partic-

²⁸While the education classes between the two periods considered are not fully comparable, 'university degree' is an exception. Starting in 1989, the LFS classified individuals with a trade degree in a separate category regardless of their level of formal education. In the education recode, these are counted in the post-secondary or trade certificate category.

²⁹The concept of pay equity was introduced to the code in 1977.

³⁰Successful claims resulted in settlements, which affected approximately 3500 workers.

³¹Symes (1990) argues that the disappointing results of enshrining pay equity provisions in the human rights codes of Quebec and the federal government (in 1978), were a prime motivation for lobby groups to seek pro-active legislation.

ular class of jobs.³² The primary coefficient of interest is α_{TO} on the first order interaction $T_i \cdot ON_i$. This provides an estimate of the difference in the change in y_{it} in Ontario and Quebec between 1987/88 and 1997/98, conditioning on the control variables: a quartic in age, six education classes, dummies for metropolitan area, industry(10), employment in the federal, provincial, and local public service, part time work, married, visible minority, tenure, union status, and firm size (4), where appropriate.

We start by estimating (1) (by weighted least-squares using survey weights) separately, by sex, for individuals in female jobs, male jobs and integrated jobs, respectively. The preceding discussion, however, revealed important lapses in compliance in some firms. Therefore, one way of more carefully isolating the impact of the legislation is to focus on workers in those firms where compliance was most complete. For example, we can focus on non-unionized workers in large firms. Because public sector workers are largely unionized in Canada, this also focuses on private sector applications.³³

Incomplete compliance can also be used to address a potential flaw in our identification strategy: the presence of province specific labor market trends and/or shocks. If these are important, workers in Quebec will not provide the appropriate counterfactual. If we assume that the legislation was of no effect in small firms, we can use the experience of their workers to control for these shocks. As noted above, firms with less than 10 employees were exempt from the legislation. Any direct effect of the law on firms with 10-49 or 50-99 employees was clearly compromised by lapses in compliance.

A further consideration, however, is that any disemployment effects of the law in larger firms, could cause spillovers of workers into smaller firms thereby depressing wages there. These would be most severe if the disemployment effects were large and the resulting mobility was primarily within occupation. In this case, our estimate of the direct effect of the legislation on the wages in female jobs will be biased upwards as it will also include

³²See Meyer (1995) for good summaries of our empirical strategy.

³³While U.S. datasets typically include a variable called “class of worker” that identifies public and private sector workers, a similar variable is not available in our Canadian datasets. Our analysis of private vs. public sector is thus limited to proxy analysis. For example, we performed some analysis excluding public administration workers and found that it did not change our results.

the indirect negative effect on wages in female jobs in firms that did not comply with the legislation. Attenuating this bias will be any (greater) ability of large firms to absorb the increased wage costs mandated by the legislation due to, for example, more dominant market positions and the associated rents.

To implement this strategy we estimate the equation

$$(2) \quad y_{it} = \alpha_T T_{it} + \alpha_O ON_{it} + \alpha_L L_{it} + \alpha_{TO} \cdot T_{it} \cdot ON_{it} + \alpha_{TL} \cdot T_{it} \cdot L_{it} + \\ + \alpha_{OL} \cdot ON_{it} \cdot L_{it} + \alpha_{TOL} \cdot T_{it} \cdot ON_{it} \cdot L_{it} + X_{it}\beta + \epsilon_{it},$$

where T_{it} and ON_{it} are defined above, and, where $L_{it} = 1$ for workers employed in a sector assumed to be affected by the law and 0 otherwise. The coefficient of interest, α_{TOL} , indicates the relative change in the Ontario/Quebec difference in the y_{it} differential between workers for which the legislation is assumed to have had some effect and those for which it did not.

A remaining issue is whether, conditional on compliance, there was anything for the comparable worth law to remedy. Some previous studies report that at the aggregate level Canadian females do not face much of a penalty to work in female jobs, although there is a substantial penalty for males (Baker and Fortin (1999), Baker and Fortin (forthcoming)). We provide an initial description of this relationship for Ontario and Quebec in figure 1 where we plot kernel regressions of average occupational log wages on the femaleness of the occupations, weighting by occupation size.³⁴ The vertical line denotes the level of $PFEM$, 0.6, at which the job classification switches from integrated to female. For all levels of femaleness rates, there are large gender gaps evidenced by the distance between the men's and the women's regression lines for the corresponding years.³⁵ Any difference in the reduction in this gap over the period gives a visual impression of the potentially different impacts of the law at the various femaleness rates. For example, for any impacts on clerical workers, the focus should be on very high ($PFEM > 0.95$) femaleness rates.

We refine this inference in table 3 reporting the estimated (linear) effect of occupational

³⁴We use a Gaussian weighing function and a bandwidth of 0.075 for both provinces.

³⁵This result is consistent with new evidence by (Bayard, Hellerstein, Neumark and Troske 1999) that there is a sizeable within-occupation/establishment gender gap.

gender composition on women's and men's log hourly wages in both provinces. These estimates are from a two-step procedure in which we first regress log hourly wages on the indicated socio-demographic controls and occupation fixed effects. The estimated fixed effects are then regressed on PFEM, weighting by the sum of the individual level LMAS or LFS supplied weights by occupation.³⁶ At the aggregate level the estimates for both males and females are sometimes insignificant, and many are smaller than the estimates that are typically retrieved from US data. There is a fair amount of heterogeneity by sector, however. For example, in both provinces the estimated penalty is larger in the non-union sector than the union sector. The effect on female wages in Ontario's union sector is actually **positive** and statistically significant. This may indicate that unions had already been promoting the use of gender neutral pay systems in their negotiations, and may account for the slower compliance in this sector.

The point estimates by establishment size indicate that the penalty is generally greater in small firms than in larger establishments, at least for females. This suggests that the target for the law was largest in establishments where the law was largely ignored. The results for large establishments, however, reflect the counterbalancing influences of the penalties in the union and non-union sectors. Focusing on non-unionized workers in large establishments reveals a more substantial penalty to female jobs. For females in Ontario, the penalties were -0.202 (0.066) in 1987/88 and -0.197 (0.060) in 1997/98. Therefore, there was quite a substantial target in the firms where compliance was the highest. It is also interesting to note that these estimates are very similar to estimates of the penalty to female jobs in the United States over this period (Macpherson and Hirsch 1995).

Further information is provided by examining the distribution of wages across gender within a given job type. In figure 2, we plot the kernel density estimate of female and male wages in Ontario by job type in 1987/88 and in 1997/98 superimposing the female and male densities. Note that the distribution of female wages in each case lies to the left of the distribution of males wages. While we do not condition on any observables, it is clear by this metric that females hold the lower paid jobs of each type.

³⁶See Baker and Fortin (2000) for a complete description of the procedure.

The comparison of the wage densities across years provides a simple view of the aggregate changes in wages for these groups. Both in Ontario and in Quebec, the women's wage distribution shifts rightward while the men's distribution is mostly unchanged. To the eye, the rightward shift of the women's distribution in female jobs in Ontario is not much greater than in Quebec. Following increases in minimum wages in 1997/98, there is a fattening of all wage distributions in Quebec around the level of the minimum wage. Interestingly, this does not happen in Ontario with the exception of the male wage distribution in female jobs. Are men being substituted for women in lower paying female jobs? They are some telling examples, which may or may not be related to the law. In Ontario, cashiers and tellers (occupation 4133) went from being 94 percent female in 1987/88 to 88 percent in 1997/98, and housekeepers and servants (occupation 6142) went from 80 percent female in 1987/88 to 72 percent in 1997/98, while the femaleness of these occupations did not change in Quebec.

3.3. *Results*

An overview of the period in which the Ontario law came into effect is provided in figures 3 and 4. In figure 3 we plot the average real log hourly wages of women and men in Ontario and Quebec between 1985 to 1996 using data from the Survey of Consumer Finances.³⁷ We also plot the implied linear trends before and after 1990, the first year in which the law might be expected to have some impact. Despite the severe 1990 recession, the wages of women continue to grow in the 1990s. In contrast, the wages of men start on a downward trend in this period. In either period men and women in Ontario earn more on average than their counterparts in Quebec.

In figure 4, we plot the employment rates of women and men in the two provinces (the solid lines for Ontario and the dashed lines for Quebec).³⁸ Consistent with the stylized

³⁷The Survey of Consumer Finances is comparable to the CPS March supplements. The reported statistics are the logarithm of the ratio of annual earnings in reference year to annual hours defined by the product of weeks worked in the reference year and hours worked in the reference week. Therefore, only individuals who worked both in the reference year and reference week are included in the samples for the calculations. Nominal wages were converted to 1997 dollars using the Consumer Price Index.

³⁸Again we use data from the Survey of Consumer Finances. The reported statistics are

facts, in the earlier period women's employment rates, fueled by the higher labor market participation of young women, show a positive trend.³⁹ Following the severe recession of 1990/92, many groups exhibit negative employment growth rates in the 1990s. The trend in women's employment rates in Ontario after the law is however, the only one which is statistically significantly negative.⁴⁰ This is in contrast to Quebec where women's employment rates stabilize in the 1990s. For men, employment rates after the law display similar trends in both provinces.

In table 4 we report mean wages for women and men, as well as the female/male wage ratio for all jobs and by job types, for Ontario and Quebec in 1987/88 and in 1997/98. The time difference for location represents the relative wage or gap growth in Ontario versus Quebec. The numbers show that the increase in mean wages for all jobs was slightly higher in Ontario than in Quebec for both women and men. For Ontario women, changes in mean wages in integrated jobs were slightly higher, while changes in male jobs lagged. For Ontario men, the growth of wages in integrated jobs were again slightly higher, while growth in female jobs trailed. A difference-in-difference calculation reveals that the decrease in the overall gender wage ratio was not greater in Ontario than in Quebec over the period.

Differences begin to emerge, however, when we consider the gender gap change by job type. In Ontario greater progress was made in female jobs, while in Quebec greater progress was made in male jobs. The mechanics of pay equity link the wages in female jobs to the wages in male jobs. Therefore, another gender gap addressed by the policy is the ratio of average wages in female jobs to average wages in males jobs. In the last line of table 4 we report the ratio of average female wages in female jobs to average male wages in male jobs. By this measure, Ontario's performance was marginally worse than Quebec's.

The more formal analysis begins in table 5, where we report estimates of (1) using hourly wages as the dependent variable. In the first row we report estimates of α_{TO} , by employment rates in the reference week for individuals 16-69.

³⁹As female labor market participation reaches an "upper bound", the upward trend may begin to abate as it did in the 1990s in the United States.

⁴⁰Regressing the employment rates on a constant plus a time trend gives a coefficient of -0.0048 (0.0020) for Ontario women and of -0.0020 (0.0035) for Ontario men. Admittedly, these coefficients are not statistically different.

sex, for all workers and by job type. The results for all jobs indicate that between 1987/88 and 1997/98 the wage growth of both men and women in Ontario was about a 5 percent higher than their counterparts in Quebec. The results by job type in the next columns indicate this advantage was widespread. This common advantage suggests the presence of a province specific trend.

In the next four rows we break down this inference by firm size and union status. Distinguishing the workers by firm size is motivated by the evidence on compliance. Distinguishing the workers by union membership is motivated both by the information on compliance and the evidence that female jobs in Ontario's union sector were already relatively well paid. These estimates do reveal relatively higher wage growth among non-unionized women in female jobs at large firms, although not for their male counterparts. Note, however, that if we were to attribute this effect to the legislation, we would also conclude that the pay equity law benefited workers in integrated jobs at large non-union firms. This is not impossible: some integrated jobs at the 4-digit occupational level may be female jobs at the firm level, and therefore our integrated category contains some female jobs.⁴¹ However, given that the estimated effect for integrated jobs is larger than the estimated effect for female jobs, we would need to assume that our integrated category is dominated by female jobs at the firm level, or perhaps the very lowest paid female jobs that received very large pay equity awards.

More generally, these disaggregate results provide further confirmation of the common advantage of Ontario's workers. One exception, however, is non-unionized women in male jobs at large firms. They experienced a roughly 17 percent relative decrease in wages over the ten year period, while their female counterparts in male jobs at the other firms experienced a roughly 9 percent relative increase. Finally, there is some evidence of a different result for non-unionized men in female jobs at large firms and in male jobs at small firms, but here the difference across firm type is not as large.

To address the evidence of a Ontario specific effect, in table 6 we present estimates of (2). Drawing on the evidence from section 1, we assume that small firms in Ontario

⁴¹Another possibility emerging from the firms' experience is that pay equity plans promoted the use of administrative pay system for all types of jobs.

were untreated by the pay equity law due to their lack of compliance, and the greater difficulties finding male comparators. We assume workers in establishments with up to 99 workers to be “untreated” by the law, while those at establishments of 100+ employees to be “treated”. The pattern of the results is not greatly affected if we define untreated firms as those with less than 20 employees, deleting those with 20 to 99 employees from the analysis.⁴² Recall that firms with less than 10 employees were exempt from the legislation.

The results are reported in the first panel of table 6. For all female workers, this differencing strategy eliminates any Ontario specific advantage across all jobs. Breaking the result down by job type, we see that workers in larger establishments in female and integrated jobs did no better than their counterparts in Quebec. Therefore, once we account for province specific trends there is little evidence that the pay equity law increased the wages in female jobs in Ontario. Formalizing the inference from table 5, however, we obtain further confirmation that the relative wages of women in male jobs in Ontario fell. Over the 10 year period, the decline in female wages in males jobs at large firms in Ontario is 15 percent. For men there is still evidence of an Ontario specific advantage that is driven by workers in male jobs. These workers gained just over 5 percent relative to their Quebec counterparts over the period.

In the next two rows these results are broken down by union status. For women of either status there is no evidence of an advantage to workers in female jobs from the legislation. The new result here is that the negative effect on wages in male jobs is primarily among non-union workers. Here the estimated relative 10-year deficit in wages is sizable at just over 30 percent, although the standard error is also larger. The new inference in the results for men is that non-union workers in female jobs also appear to have suffered a relative wage loss, although the estimate is much smaller than the result for non-unionized women in male jobs and the standard error is large. Also, this inference must be viewed through the lens of the relatively higher wage growth we observe for men in integrated and male jobs in Ontario which, given our identification strategy, we attribute to a province specific effect.

⁴²The standard errors, however, are correspondingly larger. See the estimates in appendix table A-2.

In the next two rows (rows 4 and 5), we provide evidence of further heterogeneity in the results among non-union workers in larger establishments. Searching for the backlash effects of Akerlof and Kranton (forthcoming), we break down the results by white/blue collar jobs.⁴³ For women, the estimates indicate that the negative effect on wages in male jobs is primarily a blue collar phenomenon. The point estimate also suggests some advantage to blue collar workers in female jobs, although this is also observed in integrated jobs. For men, the negative wage effect in female jobs also appears to be a blue collar effect, but the standard error is very large and there are still signs of province specific effects in the estimates for the other job types.

Given the information on compliance and the implementation of the Act, we have access to another identification strategy. We can simply use larger/smaller establishment differences in Ontario, dropping the Quebec data. A justification for this approach would be that province specific effects are more important than firm size or sector specific effects that the cross province strategy addresses. A corresponding set of results using only the Ontario data is provided in rows 6 through 10. The pattern of the results is generally similar, although the magnitude of the estimates differ in some cases. For women there is little evidence of a relative increase in the wages in female jobs. Where we do obtain a positive estimate for these jobs it is accompanied by a positive estimate for integrated jobs. We also obtain a negative estimate for women in male (primarily blue collar) jobs. One difference here is the effect also turns up in the union sector. For men the negative estimate in female jobs shows up more consistently, although it is still primarily a blue collar effect. There is also more consistent evidence that we are differencing out any effect in integrated jobs, with the exception of the estimates for blue collar workers.

We have tried other splits of the data to explore the sensitivity of this inference. Commentators on the Ontario legislation such as Read (1996) provide specific examples of pay equity awards to female jobs. Why, then, is there no evidence of relative growth in the wages of female jobs in Ontario? Of course any increases in wages resulting from specific

⁴³White collar jobs are those whose 4-digit code is below 5000 (see table A-1); they include managerial, professional, technical and clerical jobs. Blue collar jobs are those with a 4-digit code of 5000 and higher; they include sales, service, farming, fishing, forestry, mining, processing, machining, product fabricating, construction, transportation and craft jobs.

awards could have come at the cost of lower wage growth from other sources, or have been counterbalanced by lower wage growth in subsequent years. The law prescribes no reductions in wages to achieve pay equity, but (of course) can say little about wage growth over a period of the length we examine. We have re-estimated equations (1) and (2) adding a dummy variable for a) clerical workers or b) very female jobs ($PFEM \geq 0.9$) along with a full set of interactions. The first specification is motivated by the evidence from the firm surveys that clerical workers were most likely to receive awards, while the second is an attempt to focus on workers most likely to be in female jobs at the firm level. In either case (estimates not reported and available on request) we find little consistent evidence of relative growth in female jobs of these types in Ontario.⁴⁴ The estimates switch signs across specifications and are largely insignificant.

How do these changes in wages map into changes in the male/female wage gap? In table 7 we report estimates of equation (1) pooling men and women, and adding a dummy variable for gender, along with a full set of interactions with ON_{it} and T_{it} . The overall effect on the law on the aggregate gender wage gap is given by the gender, Ontario, year interaction in the second column of the first row. There is no statistically significant relative change in the wage differential in Ontario. Reference to table 5 reveals that the almost equal relative advantage of both men and women in Ontario over the period lies behind this result. A similar conclusion, with a similar rationale, is found in the estimates by job type in the succeeding entries of the row.

In rows 2 through 4 we focus on workers at establishments that complied with the law. Consistent with the inference from table 5, among non-unionized workers at larger establishments we find relative decreases in the gender wage gap in female jobs and relative increases in the gender wage gap in male jobs. The former is a result of the relative decrease in the wages of Ontario men working in female jobs while the latter is due to the relative decrease in the wages of Ontario women working in male jobs. The results in rows 5 and 6 provide further confirmation of this inference, adding in the additional control of

⁴⁴Note also that over the period considered, clerical work declined from 32 percent of the Ontario female workforce in 1987/88 to 24 percent in 1997/98, which would reduce any aggregate effect of increases in the wages of clerical workers. A similar decline has been observed in the United States, and may be related to technological change.

smaller establishments in Ontario. Therefore, in the complying firms any relative gain in the stature of women—in female jobs—came through the negative effect on the wages of men, while there was a relative deterioration in the status of women in male jobs. More generally there is no evidence here that Ontario’s extension of pay equity to the private sector had an aggregate effect on the relative compensation of women.

One way to determine the employment effects of the legislation is to examine the flows of workers out of female jobs over the period the law came into effect, using the experiences of other provinces or other types of jobs as a control. This sort of analysis is not possible with the cross-section data we use here, and panel data spanning the period is not available. Examining the overall employment rates of men and women is not necessarily appropriate, as individuals released from now higher paying female jobs may find employment in other types of jobs where markets clear.

What we examine here is the share of employment represented by female jobs. One reason this might decline in response to comparable worth legislation for a given gender is purely administrative. Firms may alter their hiring practices to integrate jobs and thus remove them from the purview of the law. Any more general reductions in the share of employment for both men and women would result from the disemployment effects of pay equity awards to female jobs dominating the net substitution and scale effects on other types of jobs.

In the first panel of table 8 we report estimates of equations (1) using a dummy variable for working in female jobs as the dependent variable, for workers in large and small establishments respectively. For women, the estimate for all workers in large establishments is negative but not significant. Breaking this down by union status shows that the effect among union workers drives the aggregate result. In smaller establishments the share of female jobs increases uniformly in the two sectors. For males, there is little to distinguish the estimates for the large and small establishments. The share of female jobs in either case displays no substantive change.

In the second panel are the estimates using the identification strategy of equation (2). Both estimates using small firms as an additional control group indicate small reductions in the share of employment in female jobs for women. For men, the estimates are consistently

small and statistically insignificant, again indicating no strong relative changes in the share in female jobs.

Put together, the results of both panels indicate that there might have been a shift in women's employment in female jobs from larger establishments, the covered establishment to the smaller ones, the uncovered ones. More generally though, the inference is that the impact of pay equity awards on employment in female jobs were very small from the perspective of a 10 year period.

3.4. Interpretation

The preceding analysis indicates that Ontario's comparable worth act had little positive effect on the overall stature of women in the province. There is no economically or statistically significant difference between the trends in the gender wage gap in Ontario and Quebec over the period. We are also unable to uncover any robust evidence of a positive effect of the law on the wages in female jobs. In those cases where we do find relatively higher wage growth in female jobs in Ontario, we also find relatively higher wage growth in integrated jobs which were not directly affected by the legislation. We attribute this coincidence to an Ontario specific trend. In specifications that attempt to accommodate Ontario specific effects, the wage growth for women in female jobs in Ontario and Quebec is very similar.

The primary factors contributing to the aggregate impotence of the law were the lapses in compliance and the problems with implementation in small firms. The Ontario experience provides important new evidence that the design and implementation of comparable worth law for the private sector of a decentralized economy is not a straightforward extension of what may work in applications to the public sector. The practice of comparing male and female jobs would appear to demand resources and pools of employees that exceed those of most small employers. This proved to be a severe limitation. Only 33 percent of working women and 5 percent of working men are employed in female jobs at large firms where compliance was relatively complete.

Commentators also allude to possible manipulation of the design of pay equity programs by employers. While we have no direct evidence of this, it is important to note that

the latitude granted to employers under the Act is consistent with maintaining a well functioning decentralized labor market. Simply put, many critics pointed out that the law would work better and could be more easily monitored if the labor market were more centralized.⁴⁵

Other factors that may contribute to our failure to find an aggregate impact of the law include the small, negative effect of gender composition on female wages in some sectors of the labor market, possible spillover effects on untreated sectors and backlash effects on females in male jobs. When we focus on large firms, however, to try to more effectively isolate the impact of the legislation, we remain hard pressed to find a lasting advantage to women in female jobs. Our most consistently estimated effect is that women in male jobs would appear to have been hurt by the legislation, by some estimates quite substantially. Men in female jobs would also appear to have lost some of the advantage they previously enjoyed. As a consequence we observe a relative decrease in the gender wage differential in female jobs and a relative increase in the differential in male jobs. This inference is certainly not that expected by proponents of pay equity, although the latter is a prediction of Killingsworth (1987). It is also at odds with previous studies of pay equity in state and local governments or in Australia (but see Killingsworth 1990).

One account of these results is composition effects. As noted above, comparable worth policies tie the wages of male and female jobs. Once equity is achieved, the legislation explicitly forbids any actions that raise the wage differential between these jobs. This puts an extra constraint on firms' hiring decisions, and could lead to a trade off between the cost and quality of individuals filling male jobs. Why then would this affect women in male jobs but not men in male jobs (as our results suggest)? Here again the provisions of the legislation can be instructive. It directs employers to compare female jobs to the lowest paid comparable male job and/or class. That is, the wages in female jobs are tied to the wages in the lowest paid comparable male job. Who holds these lower paid male jobs? The information in figure 1 and table 4 reveals that females are more likely to hold

⁴⁵Coincidentally, if this advice were followed then it would also address the problem of addressing wage differences between male and female jobs across firms, as emphasized by Johnson and Solon (1986).

the lower paying jobs.

These changes in composition can be in observable or unobservable dimensions. To address the former, in table 9 we present estimates of some specifications of equation (2), re-weighting the 1997/98 data to match the distribution of the various economic and demographic characteristics in the 1987/88 sample. To re-weight we use the procedure of DiNardo, Fortin and Lemieux (1996).⁴⁶ The results in row 1 should be compared to row 1 of table 6. Focusing on firms where there was higher levels of compliance, the estimates in rows 2, 3 and 4 of table 9 should be compared to rows 3, 5 and 8 of table 6. For women, reweighting modestly reduces the (absolute) magnitude of most of the point estimates. This suggests that some small part of the relative gain or decline in wages in these different jobs is due to a improvement or deterioration in the characteristics of the females who hold them. Of particular interest here is the small reduction in the estimates for male jobs. For men, there are similar modest reductions in the estimates for female jobs. In integrated and male jobs, the reweighting leads to increases in the estimated effects. Given the small size of these changes and the sizeable standard errors, however, there is no robust evidence that changes in the composition of observable individual level characteristics account for our results.

Another possibility is changes in the composition of occupations within the different job types, as employers attempt to “integrate” jobs. In the second panel of table 9 we present estimates of equation (2) reweighting the 1997/98 data to match the distribution of occupations in 1987/88.⁴⁷ Here the comparison of rows 6 through 10 should be to rows 1, 3, 5, 8 and 10 of table 6. For women, the re-weighting has almost no effect on the estimates. For men we do observe a reduction in the (absolute value of the) estimates for female jobs (rows 6, 7 and 9 of table 9) that is consistent with the integration story. The estimated relative wage growth in female (in fact all) jobs is now greater, although the

⁴⁶More precisely, data from the before and after periods are pooled and individual probabilities of belonging to the after period are estimated from a probit model of individual characteristics. The later period data is then reweighted using the ratio of the predicted before and after probabilities for each observation in the after sample.

⁴⁷Here predicted probabilities belonging to either time period are obtained from a linear probability model where the only explanatory variables are the occupation dummies, which is equivalent to reweighting with the ratio of the proportions of the workforce in occupation in each time period.

standard errors are large. The results for blue collar workers, however, change very little or are larger after re-weighting.

Alternative accounts of the results are not directly testable in our data. The legislation tied the wages in female and low wage male jobs perhaps leading to a decline in the unobservable “quality” of individuals who filled them. Even in the absence of these sorting effects, females are more likely to hold the lower wage male jobs that would be used in pay equity comparisons. The fact that the negative effect for females in male jobs is concentrated in blue collar work may indicate the sort of backlash effects suggested by Akerlof and Kranton (forthcoming). The negative effects for males in female jobs may be due to the fact that comparable worth evaluations led to greater uniformity in wages by job class.

4. CONCLUSIONS

We empirically investigate the introduction of comparable worth to the Ontario labor market in the early 1990s. This was a comprehensive, pro-active, initiative that applied to public sector employers and private sector employers of 10 or more employees.

Our first finding is of substantial lapses in compliance with and implementation of the law in small firms. These employers appear to have lacked the resources to construct the necessary job evaluation programs, well-delineated job classification systems, and sufficient samples of male and female jobs to make meaningful comparisons. As a consequence, the policy had little effect in a sector of the labor market that employs roughly 65 percent of working females and nearly 60 percent of working males. While some of these problems may be peculiar to Ontario, there are more general lessons for applications of comparable worth to the private sector. This is certainly the reading of critics of the Ontario experience. Their prescriptions, however, are largely for the labor market rather than for the legislation. The decentralized nature of the Ontario labor market, the proliferation of small firms, the prevalence of free collective bargaining, all appear to have worked against the policy. The suggested antidote was inter-firm job comparisons and pay equity awards, centralized collective bargaining, and centralized enforcement and monitoring of the pay equity plans

used by firms.

Our second finding follows almost trivially from the first. Because much of the Ontario labor force was untreated by the law, we find no robust evidence that the pay equity legislation transferred a general benefit to women in Ontario over a six to eight year period. Any relative increases in wages in Ontario over the period were enjoyed in all types of jobs: female, integrated and male. Furthermore, at the aggregate level the gender wage gap closed at a similar rate in Ontario and Quebec. Likewise, the penalty to female jobs in both provinces grew by comparable amounts since the law was introduced.

Our third finding flows from an analysis of those sectors where compliance with the law was relatively complete. Any direct, positive effects on the wages of females working in female jobs are modest and typically statistically insignificant. The pay equity awards documented in reports from the Pay Equity Office do not appear to have had a lasting effect. Our most consistently estimated effect of the law is that it instead suppressed wage growth: for women working in male jobs, especially in blue collar jobs, and to a lesser extent males working in female jobs.

The lessons from this investigation are at least two-fold. First, comparable worth would appear to be a unwieldy and complicated regulation for a decentralized labor market. The logistics of implementing comparable worth in the private sector has not been closely examined in previous studies. There would appear to be substantial obstacles to the effectiveness of this policy in this sector. Furthermore, suggested improvements to the Ontario law to increase compliance inevitably involve centralization of wage determination or externally (to the firm) imposed evaluation/award programs. This is an important message, for pay equity is not costless to firms that do comply. If pay equity is adopted as a goal, any deviation from full “treatment” implies that the costs and any benefits of the program are being unfairly distributed.⁴⁸

Second, the evidence here is that the law was more likely to have unintended, rather than intended, consequences. Any advantage to women in female jobs might have been at the expense of women in male jobs, who appear to have lost by the law. While inferences

⁴⁸Similar, “unfairness” of treatments have been reported in Iowa (Gardner and Daniel (1998)), where pay adjustments raised individual employees’s salaries above those of their supervisors.

from a public policy intervention are in some sense specific to the jurisdiction where it occurred, the law in Ontario likely had its greatest effect among non-unionized workers in large establishments, a sector of the labor market where there is a substantial penalty to work in female jobs (comparable to estimates for the United States) and that is relatively flexible.

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TABLE 1
IMPLEMENTATION DEADLINES AND COMPLIANCE WITH THE ONTARIO *Pay Equity Act*

Type of Employer	Deadline for Posting Plans	Deadline for Initial Awards	Proportion of Firms with ^a						
			All Plans Posted		Some Plans Posted	Plans in Development	No Work Done	Not Stated	
			All	Union					Non-Union
PUBLIC SECTOR:									
All Establishments (>1000 Employees) (500-999 Employees)	1990	1990	46	12.5	– ^b	24	12	10	8
			20		–				
PRIVATE SECTOR:									
Larger Establishments									
>499 Employees (>1000 Employees) (500-999 Employees)	1990	1991	50	38	77	26	20	4	
				51	77				
100-499 Employees	1991	1992	51	50	73	15	22	6	6
Smaller Establishments “Opt In”/“Opt Out”									
50-99 Employees	1992/NA	1993/1993 ^c	30			16	28	20	
10-49 Employees	1993/NA	1994/1994 ^c	12			3	5	80	

Notes: Source for deadlines: CCH Canadian Limited (1997). All deadlines were to be posted on the January 1st of the indicated year. NA is not applicable. Source for proportions: SPR (1991), Canadian Facts (1992, 1993) and ISR (1994). The information was collected by telephone survey 6-12 months after the relevant posting deadline (15-18 months for private firms with 10-49 employees) with the exception of the proportion by union status for private firms with 100-499 employees. These were collected through a subsequent mail survey, the response to which was correlated with compliance.

^a The reported statistics are the proportion of the firms of the relevant type and/or size who reported the indicated level of compliance with the posting deadlines for their pay equity plans.

^b Too few firms in the population to calculate a relevant proportion.

^c Smaller firms that “opted out” of posting a plan had to make **all** pay equity awards by this date.

TABLE 2A
MEANS OF SELECTED VARIABLES – WOMEN

Variable	Ontario		Québec	
	1987/88	1997/98	1987/88	1997/98
Log Wage (1997 CAN\$)	2.51	2.62	2.49	2.57
Age	36.9	38.6	36.3	38.7
Education: ^a				
Primary	.063	.028	.103	.052
Some High School	.098	.051	.119	.072
High School Grad	.365	.274	.349	.208
Some Post-Secondary	.108	.093	.083	.072
Post-Secondary or Trade (in 1997) Certificate	.197	.343	.204	.385
University Degree	.168	.211	.140	.211
Part-time	.206	.215	.214	.225
Married	.668	.687	.674	.703
Metropolitan Area	.760	.808	.703	.727
Industrial Sector:				
Agriculture, Forestry Fisheries and Mining	.012	.009	.007	.007
Construction	.017	.009	.013	.011
Manufacturing				
Nondurable	.082	.067	.109	.103
Durable	.082	.070	.037	.042
Transportation and public utilities	.047	.048	.045	.050
Trade	.152	.154	.158	.143
FIRE	.097	.089	.081	.084
Business and professional services	.073	.085	.046	.067
Consumer services	.101	.119	.123	.118
Medical, welfare, and educational services	.269	.292	.310	.300
Public administration	.066	.057	.069	.070
Federal	.019	.039	.021	.034
Provincial (State)	.019	.015	.028	.032
Local	.016	.019	.014	.018
Union coverage	.322	.283	.431	.402
Tenure	5.61	7.52	6.72	8.43
Establishment Size:				
$s < 20$	.338	.330	.364	.339
$20 \leq s < 100$	.310	.311	.307	.300
$100 \leq s < 500$	.228	.225	.208	.219
$s \geq 500$	.123	.134	.121	.141
No. of observations	7059	13807	4750	7792

Notes: ^a The classification of education changed between 1987/88 and 1997/98. Starting in 1989, individuals with a trade degree were classified in a separate category regardless of their level of formal education. In the education recode, these are counted in the post-secondary or trade certificate category.

TABLE 2B
MEANS OF SELECTED VARIABLES – MEN

Variable	Ontario		Québec	
	1987/88	1997/98	1987/88	1997/98
Log Wage (1997 CAN\$)	2.80	2.82	2.73	2.74
Age	37.0	38.6	37.1	39.1
Education: ^a				
Primary	.096	.042	.149	.080
Some High School	.125	.069	.153	.100
High School Grad	.348	.287	.325	.194
Some Post-Secondary	.102	.083	.076	.064
Post-Secondary or Trade (in 1997) Certificate	.147	.317	.149	.374
University Degree	.183	.202	.147	.187
Part-time	.032	.049	.045	.056
Married	.695	.676	.713	.687
Metropolitan Area	.746	.797	.622	.701
Industrial Sector:				
Agriculture, Forestry Fisheries and Mining	.027	.023	.035	.031
Construction	.083	.075	.083	.060
Manufacturing				
Nondurable	.109	.099	.128	.124
Durable	.213	.208	.165	.172
Transportation and public utilities	.107	.105	.104	.107
Trade	.144	.158	.152	.155
FIRE	.047	.051	.041	.037
Business and professional services	.050	.067	.035	.055
Consumer services	.050	.067	.063	.078
Medical, welfare, and educational services	.084	.079	.104	.107
Public administration	.083	.065	.088	.075
Federal	.039	.059	.042	.053
Provincial (State)	.017	.013	.030	.026
Local	.034	.030	.036	.030
Union coverage	.420	.341	.531	.449
Tenure	8.21	8.71	8.33	9.32
Establishment Size:				
$s < 20$	.263	.273	.280	.284
$20 \leq s < 100$	.321	.310	.330	.320
$100 \leq s < 500$	.256	.240	.258	.240
$s \geq 500$	.159	.178	.132	.156
No. of observations	8318	15048	6216	9104

Notes: ^a The classification of education changed between 1987/88 and 1997/98. Starting in 1989, individuals with a trade degree were classified in a separate category regardless of their level of formal education. In the education recode, these are counted in the post-secondary or trade certificate category.

TABLE 3
CHANGES IN THE EFFECT OF GENDER COMPOSITION ON LOG WAGES

Specification	Ontario			Quebec			
	Before law	After law	Time Diff.	Before law	After law	Time Diff.	Time Diff. for Location
1. All Workers							
<i>Women:</i>	-.080** (.037) [7059]	-.108** (.043) [13805]	-.028 (.057)	-.082* (.045) [4750]	-.115** (.047) [7796]	-.033 (.065)	.005 (.086)
<i>Men:</i>	-.099** (.036) [8318]	-.052 (.045) [15045]	.047 (.058)	-.026 (.039) [6216]	-.037 (.045) [9071]	-.011 (.058)	.060 (.083)
2. Union Workers							
<i>Women:</i>	.100** (.049) [2369]	.106** (.044) [4248]	.006 (.066)	-.014 (.058) [2122]	-.001 (.055) [3307]	.013 (.080)	-.007 (.104)
<i>Men:</i>	-.058* (.034) [3708]	-.034 (.036) [5682]	.024 (.050)	.036 (.036) [3457]	.012 (.041) [4335]	-.024 (.055)	.048 (.074)
3. Non-Union Workers							
<i>Women:</i>	-.168** (.042) 4690	-.208** (.049) 9557	-.040 (.065)	-.126** (.054) 2628	-.209** (.050) 4489	-.054 (.079)	.036 (.105)
<i>Men:</i>	-.134* (.047) 4610	-.058 (.054) [9365]	.076 (.072)	-.078 (.057) [2759]	-.079 (.057) [4736]	-.001 (.081)	.077 (.108)
4. Workers in Larger Establishments ($s \geq 100$)							
<i>Women:</i>	-.039 (.048) [2339]	-.056 (.048) [4892]	-.017 (.068)	-.037 (.061) [1470]	-.105* (.058) [2612]	-.068 (.084)	.051 (.118)
<i>Men:</i>	-.083* (.043) [3477]	-.020 (.052) [6402]	.063 (.067)	-.058 (.045) [2383]	-.053 (.050) [3497]	.005 (.067)	.058 (.095)
5. Workers in Smaller Establishments ($s < 100$)							
<i>Women:</i>	-.096** (.042) [4720]	-.133** (.049) [8913]	-.037 (.065)	-.114** (.051) [3280]	-.122** (.050) [5184]	-.008 (.071)	-.029 (.096)
<i>Men:</i>	-.094** (.042) [4841]	-.084* (.046) [8643]	.010 (.062)	.001 (.045) [3833]	-.050 (.048) [5574]	-.051 (.066)	.061 (.091)

Notes: Before the law corresponds to 1987/88, after the law to 1997/98. Other controls include a quartic in age, six education classes, dummies metropolitan area, industry(10), employment in the federal, provincial and local public service, part time work, married, tenure, union coverage and firm size (4) where appropriate. The estimates presented are from a feasible GLS strategy where the sum of the individual level (i.e., LMAS or LFS) weights (by occupation) are used as weights in the second stage). Estimated standard errors are in parentheses. Number of observations are in brackets. Double asterik (**) indicates significance at the 5% level. Single asterik (*) indicates significance at the 10% level.

TABLE 4
MEAN HOURLY WAGES AND FEMALE/MALE WAGE RATIO
BY JOB TYPES

	Ontario			Quebec			% Time Diff. for Location
	Before law	After law	% Time Diff.	Before law	After law	% Time Diff.	
WOMEN'S WAGES:							
All jobs	13.87	15.34	.106	13.39	14.66	.095	.011
Female jobs	13.64	15.03	.102	13.12	14.37	.095	.007
Integrated jobs	14.05	15.62	.112	13.95	15.17	.087	.024
Male jobs	14.74	15.93	.081	13.18	14.39	.092	-.011
MEN'S WAGES:							
All jobs	18.42	18.77	.019	17.14	17.32	.011	.008
Female jobs	16.42	16.66	.015	16.81	17.21	.024	-.009
Integrated jobs	18.79	19.54	.040	17.68	18.36	.038	.001
Male jobs	18.51	18.66	.008	16.91	16.72	-.011	.019
FEMALE/MALE WAGE RATIO:							
All jobs	.753	.817	.085	.781	.846	.083	.002
Female jobs	.831	.902	.086	.780	.835	.070	.016
Integrated jobs	.748	.799	.069	.789	.826	.047	.022
Male jobs	.796	.854	.072	.779	.861	.104	-.032
Women in female jobs/ men in male jobs	.737	.805	.093	.776	.859	.108	-.015

Note: In 1997 Canadian dollars. Before the law corresponds to 1987/88, after the law to 1997/98. Women make up approximately 45% of the workforce. Integrated jobs comprise from (45%-15%=30% to 45%+15%=60%) of women in the occupations. Female job classes are 60% or more female and male job classes are at most 30% female.

TABLE 5
ESTIMATED EFFECT ON LOG HOURLY WAGES OF WORKING IN ONTARIO VS. QUÉBEC IN 1997/98 VS. 1987/88

Sample	Women				Men			
	All Jobs	Female Jobs	Inter-grated Jobs	Male Jobs	All Jobs	Female Jobs	Inter-grated Jobs	Male Jobs
1. All Workers	.045** (.008) [32412]	.043** (.010) [19004]	.064** (.014) [11450]	.023 (.029) [2958]	.045** (.008) [38686]	.057** (.026) [3120]	.053** (.015) [11947]	.040** (.009) [23619]
2. Workers in Larger Establishments	.041** (.013) [11313]	.047** (.016) [6343]	.071** (.026) [3365]	-.044 (.044) [1410]	.073** (.011) [15779]	.060* (.036) [1315]	.071** (.022) [4472]	.072** (.013) [9992]
3. Union Workers in Larger Establishments	.027* (.015) [6524]	.029* (.018) [4294]	.032 (.035) [1516]	.095** (.048) [714]	.077** (.012) [9904]	.072* (.022) [933]	.058** (.026) [2295]	.077** (.013) [6676]
4. Non-Union Workers in Larger Establishments	.045* (.024) [4789]	.083** (.034) [2046]	.109** (.038) [2047]	-.172** (.078) [696]	.051** (.022) [5875]	-.000 (.081) [382]	.080** (.037) [2177]	.062** (.030) [3316]
5. Union Workers in Smaller Establishments	.044** (.016) [5522]	.038* (.020) [3732]	.050 (.033) [1473]	.096 (.067) [317]	.038** (.014) [7299]	.054 (.054) [761]	.016 (.029) [1853]	.041** (.017) [4685]
6. Non-Union Workers in Smaller Establishments	.048** (.012) [16577]	.043** (.015) [8932]	.058** (.020) [6414]	.092* (.049) [1231]	.010 (.013) [15608]	.030 (.053) [1044]	.041* (.024) [5622]	-.006 (.017) [8942]

Notes: Calculations are from the LMAS for 1987 and 1988 and from the Ingoing Rotation Group of the LFS for 1997 and 1998. Larger establishments employ at least 100 employees. Other explanatory variables include dummies for Ontario and for 1997/98, a quartic in age, six education classes, dummies for metropolitan area, industry(10), employment in the federal, provincial, and local public service, union status, part time work, married, visible minority, tenure, and firm size (4), where appropriate. Standard error are in parentheses. Sample size are in brackets.

TABLE 6

ESTIMATED EFFECT ON LOG HOURLY WAGES OF WORKING IN TREATED SECTOR IN 1997/98 vs. 1987/88

Sample	Women				Men			
	All Jobs	Female Jobs	Inter-grated Jobs	Male Jobs	All Jobs	Female Jobs	Inter-grated Jobs	Male Jobs
<i>A. Treated Sector: Larger Establishments in Ontario vs. Québec</i>								
1. All Workers	-.011 (.017) [32412]	.005 (.021) [19004]	.002 (.031) [11450]	-.150** (.059) [2958]	.046** (.016) [38686]	-.015 (.053) [3120]	.044 (.030) [11947]	.055** (.019) [23619]
2. Union Workers	-.022 (.022) [12046]	-.014 (.027) [8026]	.029 (.042) [8461]	-.023 (.082) [1031]	.036* (.018) [17203]	.005 (.064) [1694]	.046 (.039) [4148]	.034 (.021) [11361]
3. Non-Union Workers	-.016 (.026) [21366]	.037 (.037) [10978]	.029 (.042) [8461]	-.316** (.088) [1927]	.036 (.026) [21483]	-.080 (.099) [1426]	.041 (.044) [7799]	.054 (.033) [12258]
4. White Collar Non-Union Workers	-.017 (.033) [13168]	.020 (.040) [8246]	-.000 (.059) [4208]	-.104 (.146) [714]	.066 (.041) [8185]	-.033 (.108) [921]	.079 (.055) [4393]	.113 (.071) [2871]
5. Blue Collar Non-Union Workers	.031 (.043) [8198]	.133 (.091) [2732]	.113 (.054) [4253]	-.339** (.113) [1213]	-.005 (.034) [13298]	-.138 (.264) [505]	-.065 (.077) [3406]	.030 (.037) [9387]
<i>B. Treated Sector: Larger Establishments within Ontario</i>								
6. All Workers	.008 (.010) [20866]	.010 (.013) [11603]	.027 (.019) [7526]	-.076** (.034) [2007]	.016 (.010) [23366]	-.060* (.034) [1880]	.007 (.019) [7244]	.030** (.012) [14242]
7. Union Workers	-.008 (.011) [6617]	.001 (.018) [4385]	.003 (.033) [1571]	-.105* (.052) [661]	.016 (.012) [9391]	-.066 (.045) [873]	.046** (.026) [2222]	.016 (.014) [6296]
8. Non-Union Workers	.028** (.014) [14249]	.033* (.019) [7218]	.039* (.023) [5685]	-.077* (.047) [1346]	.016 (.015) [13975]	-.054 (.052) [1007]	-.003 (.026) [5022]	.030 (.019) [7946]

TABLE 6 (CONTINUED)

Sample	Women				Men			
	All Jobs	Female Jobs	Inter- grated Jobs	Male Jobs	All Jobs	Female Jobs	Inter- grated Jobs	Male Jobs
<i>B. Treated Sector: Larger Establishments within Ontario</i>								
9. White Collar Non-Union Workers	.058** (.017) [8918]	.047** (.021) [5551]	.057* (.030) [2871]	-.011 (.081) [496]	.022 (.023) [5509]	-.023 (.056) [644]	.030 (.033) [2856]	.027 (.039) [2009]
10. Blue Collar Non-Union Workers	-.026 (.024) [5331]	.005 (.048) [1667]	.009 (.031) [2814]	-.121** (.055) [850]	-.045** (.019) [8466]	-.294** (.133) [363]	-.187** (.044) [2166]	.010 (.021) [5937]

Notes: Calculations are from the LMAS for 1987 and 1988 and from the Ingoing Rotation Group of the LFS for 1997 and 1998. Larger establishments employ at least 100 employees. Other explanatory variables include dummies for Ontario and for 1997/98, a quartic in age, six education classes, dummies for metropolitan area, industry(10), employment in the federal, provincial, and local public service, union status, part time work, married, visible minority, tenure, and firm size (4), where appropriate. Standard error are in parentheses. Sample size are in brackets.

TABLE 7
ESTIMATED EFFECT ON THE GENDER WAGE GAP OF WORKING
IN ONTARIO VS. QUÉBEC IN 1997/98 VS. 1987/88

Sample	All Jobs		Female Jobs		Integrated Jobs		Male Jobs	
	Gender * 1997/98	Gender * Ontario * 1997/98	Gender * 1997/98	Gender * Ontario * 1997/98	Gender * 1997/98	Gender * Ontario * 1997/98	Gender * 1997/98	Gender * Ontario * 1997/98
1. All Workers	.059** (.009) [72098]	.003 (.011)	.049** (.010) [22124]	-.011 (.026)	.026 (.017) [23397]	.015 (.021)	.058** (.023) [26577]	-.005 (.029)
2. Workers in Larger Establishments	.089** (.014) [27092]	-.032* (.017)	.079** (.028) [7655]	.016 (.037)	.057** (.028) [8035]	-.013 (.034)	.097** (.034) [11402]	-.095** (.040)
3. Union Workers in Larger Establishments	.100** (.014) [16428]	-.054** (.019)	.108** (.029) [5227]	-.034 (.042)	.068** (.032) [3811]	-.033 (.043)	.013 (.018) [7390]	.018 (.045)
4. Non-Union Workers in Larger Establishments	.068* (.029) [10664]	-.002 (.026)	-.036 (.071) [2428]	.131 (.082)	.043 (.045) [2428]	.010 (.054)	.193** (.066) [4012]	-.207** (.077)
Estimates for	Gender * 1997/98 * Treated Sector	Gender * Ontario * 1997/98 * Treated Sector	Gender * 1997/98 * Treated Sector	Gender * Ontario * 1997/98 * Treated Sector	Gender * 1997/98 * Treated Sector	Gender * Ontario * 1997/98 * Treated Sector	Gender * 1997/98 * Treated Sector	Gender * Ontario * 1997/98 * Treated Sector
<i>A. Treated Sector: Larger Establishments</i>								
5. All Workers	.046** (.018) [72098]	-.060** (.023)	.058 (.041) [22124]	.034 (.052)	.048 (.035) [23397]	-.050 (.044)	.067 (.048) [26577]	-.169** (.058)
6. Non-Union Workers	.063* (.032) [42849]	-.060 (.038)	-.051 (.039) [12404]	.167 (.096)	.039 (.051) [16260]	-.021 (.062)	.223** (.076) [14185]	-.331** (.090)

Notes: Calculations are from the LMAS for 1987 and 1988 and from the Ingoing Rotation Group of the LFS for 1997 and 1998. Larger establishments employ at least 100 employees. Other explanatory variables include dummies for Ontario and for 1997/98, a quartic in age, six education classes, dummies for metropolitan area, industry(10), employment in the federal, provincial, and local public service, union status, part time work, married, visible minority, tenure, and firm size (4), where appropriate. Standard error are in parentheses. Sample size are in brackets.

TABLE 8
ESTIMATED EFFECT ON SHARE OF EMPLOYMENT IN FEMALE JOBS
IN ONTARIO VS. QUEBEC IN 1997-98 VS. 1987-88

Establishment Sample	Women		Men	
	Large	Small	Large	Small
1. All Workers	-.030 (.017)	.028** (.013)	-.004 (.009)	.009 (.013)
2. Union Workers	-.032 (.021)	.030 (.024)	-.009 (.011)	.021 (.013)
3. Non-Union Workers	.003 (.032)	.034** (.015)	.007 (.015)	.003 (.008)
<i>A. Treated Sector: Larger Establishments</i>				
4. All Workers	-.052** (.022)		-.009 (.011)	
5. Non-Union Workers	-.027 (.034)		.008 (.017)	

Notes: Calculations are from the LMAS for 1987 and 1988 and from the Ingoing Rotation Group of the LFS for 1997 and 1998. Larger establishments employ at least 100 employees. Other explanatory variables include dummies for Ontario and for 1997/98, a quartic in age, six education classes, dummies for metropolitan area, industry(10), employment in the federal, provincial, and local public service, union status, part time work, married, visible minority, tenure, and firm size (4), where appropriate. Standard error are in parentheses.

TABLE 9

ESTIMATED EFFECT ON LOG HOURLY WAGES OF WORKING IN TREATED SECTOR IN 1997/98 vs. 1987/88
UNDER ALTERNATIVE COUNTERFACTUALS

Sample	Women				Men			
	All Jobs	Female Jobs	Inter- grated Jobs	Male Jobs	All Jobs	Female Jobs	Inter- grated Jobs	Male Jobs
I. Holding Individual Characteristics at 1987/88 levels								
<i>A. Treated Sector: Larger Establishments in Ontario vs. Québec</i>								
1. All Workers	-.003 (.017) [33412]	.008 (.021) [19004]	.001 (.030) [11450]	-.096* (.058) [2958]	.061 (.015) [38686]	-.010 (.015) [3120]	.055 (.030) [11947]	.070** (.018) [23619]
2. Non-Union Workers	-.007 (.027) [21366]	.027 (.039) [10978]	.025 (.041) [8461]	-.286** (.088) [1927]	.076** (.026) [21483]	-.003 (.096) [1426]	.076 (.045) [7799]	.087** (.034) [12258]
3. Blue Collar Non-Union Workers	.022 (.043) [8198]	.096 (.089) [2732]	.080 (.053) [4253]	-.289** (.114) [1213]	.019 (.034) [13298]	-.082 (.263) [505]	-.112 (.076) [3406]	.064 (.037) [9387]
<i>B. Treated Sector: Larger Establishments within Ontario</i>								
4. Non-Union Workers	.005 (.014) [14249]	.009 (.019) [7218]	.018 (.022) [5685]	-.075* (.045) [1346]	.000 (.015) [13975]	-.072 (.051) [1007]	-.027 (.026) [5022]	.016 (.019) [7946]
5. Blue Collar Non-Union Workers	-.031 (.024) [5331]	-.002 (.031) [1667]	.009 (.031) [2814]	-.090* (.054) [850]	-.062 (.020) [8466]	-.324** (.140) [363]	-.222** (.045) [2166]	-.002 (.021) [5937]
II. Holding the Distribution of Occupations at 1987/88 level								
<i>A. Treated Sector: Larger Establishments in Ontario vs. Québec</i>								
6. All Workers	-.010 (.017) [33412]	.005 (.021) [19004]	.001 (.031) [11450]	-.146** (.061) [2958]	.050 (.015) [38686]	.027 (.053) [3120]	.045 (.031) [11947]	.056** (.019) [23619]
7. Non-Union Workers	-.005 (.027) [21366]	.013 (.038) [10978]	.048 (.042) [8461]	-.319** (.093) [1927]	.081** (.026) [21483]	.085 (.099) [1426]	.093 (.045) [7799]	.080 (.034) [12258]
8. Blue Collar Non-Union Workers	.032 (.044) [8198]	.117 (.090) [2732]	.117** (.055) [4253]	-.362** (.122) [1213]	-.045** (.016) [13298]	-.248** (.106) [505]	-.149** (.036) [3406]	-.003 (.017) [9387]

TABLE 9 (CONTINUED)

Sample	Women				Men			
	All Jobs	Female Jobs	Inter- grated Jobs	Male Jobs	All Jobs	Female Jobs	Inter- grated Jobs	Male Jobs
<i>B. Treated Sector: Larger Establishments within Ontario</i>								
9. Non-Union Workers	.017 (.014) [14249]	.024 (.019) [7218]	.051** (.023) [5685]	-.102** (.047) [1346]	.020 (.015) [13975]	-.016 (.051) [1007]	.008 (.026) [5022]	.030 (.019) [7946]
10. Blue Collar Non-Union Workers	-.023 (.024) [5331]	.017 (.050) [1667]	.017 (.032) [2814]	-.107* (.057) [850]	-.045 (.019) [8466]	-.261* (.133) [363]	-.180** (.045) [2166]	.009 (.021) [5937]

Notes: Calculations are from the LMAS for 1987 and 1988 and from the Ingoing Rotation Group of the LFS for 1997 and 1998. Larger establishments employ at least 100 employees. Other explanatory variables include dummies for Ontario and for 1997/98, a quartic in age, six education classes, dummies for metropolitan area, industry(10), employment in the federal, provincial, and local public service, union status, part time work, married, visible minority, tenure, and firm size (4), where appropriate. Standard error are in parentheses. Sample size are in brackets.

TABLE A-1

LIST OF OCCUPATIONS (1980 SOC) AND PERCENT FEMALE (CENSUS 1990)

SOC Number	Occupation Title	Percent Female	
		Ontario	Québec
	<i>Managerial, Administrative and Related Occupations</i>		
1111	Members of legislative bodies	.4116	.3528
1113	Government administrators	.4053	.3245
1115	Post office management occupations	.5128	.606
1116	Inspectors and regulatory officers, government	.3099	.2767
1119	Officials and administrators, government	.4813	.4531
1130	General managers and other senior officials	.2413	.184
1131	Management occs, natural sciences and engineering	.1741	.1415
1132	Management occs, social sciences and related fields	.62	.5985
1133	Administrators in teaching and related fields	.4219	.3779
1134	Administrators in medicine and health	.6998	.522
1135	Financial management occupations	.4732	.4077
1136	Personnel and industrial relations management occ.	.4547	.3903
1137	Sales and advertising management occupations	.3473	.3296
1141	Purchasing management occupations	.3346	.2092
1142	Services management occupations	.4132	.379
1143	Production management occupations	.163	.1679
1145	Management occupations, construction operations	.0611	.0544
1146	Farm management occupations	.3197	.3133
1147	Management occs, transport and communications	.2523	.234
1149	Others managers	.4154	.5513
1171	Accountants, auditors and other financial officers	.4779	.4653
1173	Organization and methods analysts	.3085	.3046
1174	Personnel and related officers	.5388	.5639
1175	Purchasing officers and buyers, except trade	.4668	.3041
1176	Inspectors and regulatory officers, n.e.c	.3631	.2175
1179	Occs related to management and administration, n.e.c	.5575	.4574
	<i>Occupations in Natural Sciences, Engineering and Mathematics</i>		
2111	Chemists	.2869	.3247
2112	Geologists	.1034	.0868
2113	Physicists	.1335	.2003
2114	Meteorologists	.1242	.151
2117	Physical sciences technologists and technicians	.2678	.325
2119	Occupations in physical sciences, n.e.c.	.1741	.24
2131	Agriculturists and related scientists	.2395	.3024
2133	Biologists and related scientists	.3919	.4093
2135	Life sciences technologists and technicians	.4279	.2944
2139	Occupations in life sciences, n.e.c.	.1929	.3225
2141	Architects	.176	.2398
2142	Chemical engineers	.1284	.1701
2143	Civil engineers	.0834	.0911
2144	Electrical engineers	.0976	.1071
2145	Industrial engineers	.1668	.2432
2146	Agricultural engineers	.1939	.2247
2147	Mechanical engineers	.0548	.0822
2151	Metallurgical engineers	.0304	.0537
2153	Mining engineers	.0449	.0534
2154	Petroleum engineers	.0521	.0353
2155	Aerospace engineers	.0363	.0586
2156	Nuclear engineers	.0813	.2247
2157	Community planners	.3226	.2716
2159	Professional engineers, n.e.c.	.1038	.0702

TABLE A-1 (CONTINUED)
LIST OF OCCUPATIONS (1980 SOC) AND PERCENT FEMALE (CENSUS 1990)

SOC Number	Occupation Title	Percent Female	
		Ontario	Québec
2160	Supervisors: other engineering occ.	.0988	.1159
2161	Surveyors	.0909	.0769
2163	Draughting occupations	.2058	.1857
2164	Architectural technologists and technicians	.192	.2573
2165	Engineering technologists and technicians	.1588	.0911
2169	Other occupations in arch. and engineer.	.1833	.1568
2181	Mathematicians, statisticians and actuaries	.4241	.3034
2183	Systems analysts, computer programmers	.3041	.3104
2189	Occupations in mathematics, statistics, etc.	.4217	.3684
	<i>Occupations in Social Sciences and Related Fields</i>		
2311	Economists	.3475	.3659
2313	Sociologists, anthropologists and related social	.4742	.5116
2315	Psychologists	.6645	.6305
2319	Occupations in social sciences, n.e.c.	.5902	.5033
2331	Social workers	.7431	.7164
2333	Occupations in welfare and community services	.7736	.66
2339	Occupations in social work and related fields, n.e.c.	.6936	.5804
2341	Judges and magistrates	.1934	.1483
2343	Lawyers and notaries	.2721	.3369
2349	Occupations in law and jurisprudence, n.e.c.	.7	.6882
2350	Supervisors:Library, museum and archival science	.6884	.6662
2351	Librarians, archivists and conservators	.8227	.7842
2353	Technicians in library, museum and archival scie	.6053	.7418
2359	Library, museum and archival science, n.e.c.	.6227	.824
2391	Educational and vocational counsellors	.6832	.5196
2399	Other occs in social science and related fields	.6845	.5053
	<i>Occupations in Religion</i>		
2511	Ministers of religion	.1325	.0708
2513	Nuns and brothers	.6723	.6371
2519	Occupations in religion, n.e.c.	.4754	.3363
	<i>Teaching and Related Occupations</i>		
2711	University teachers	.282	.3113
2719	University teaching and related occupations, n.e.c	.4719	.5042
2731	Elementary and kindergarten teachers	.7999	.8487
2733	Secondary school teachers	.4828	.4871
2739	Elem. and secondary school teaching, related occ.	.8411	.6923
2791	Community college and vocational school teachers	.4682	.4305
2792	Fine arts teachers, n.e.c.	.714	.6763
2793	Post-secondary school teachers, n.e.c.	.6385	.7088
2795	Teachers of exceptional students, n.e.c.	.8026	.721
2797	Instructors and training officers, n.e.c.	.4438	.363
2799	Other teaching and related occupations, n.e.c.	.6166	.5246
	<i>Occupations in Medicine and Health</i>		
3111	Physicians and surgeons	.2678	.2908
3113	Dentists	.1591	.1925
3115	Veterinarians	.3291	.3635
3117	Osteopaths and chiropractors	.2679	.2909
3119	Health diagnosing and treating occupations, n.e.c.	.6425	.6035
3130	Supervisors:Nursing, therapy and related assist.	.9177	.8646
3131	Nurses, registered, graduate and nurses-in-training	.964	.9109
3132	Orderlies	.2025	.1529

TABLE A-1 (CONTINUED)
LIST OF OCCUPATIONS (1980 SOC) AND PERCENT FEMALE (CENSUS 1990)

SOC Number	Occupation Title	Percent Female	
		Ontario	Québec
3134	Registered nursing assistants	.9255	.9039
3135	Nursing attendants	.9072	.7424
3136	Audio and speech therapists	.9002	.8969
3137	Physiotherapists	.8636	.7973
3138	Occupational therapists	.876	.8974
3139	Nursing, therapy and related assisting occs, n.e.c.	.8262	.3518
3151	Pharmacists	.5358	.5974
3152	Dietitians and nutritionists	.9464	.9437
3153	Optometrists	.4159	.5209
3154	Dispensing opticians	.4839	.5493
3155	Radiological technologists and technicians	.7823	.8276
3156	Medical laboratory technologists and technicians	.7289	.7716
3157	Denturists	.2043	.2101
3158	Dental hygienists and dental assistants	.9731	.9659
3161	Dental laboratory technicians	.3476	.4132
3162	Respiratory technicians	.624	.7577
3169	Other occupations in medicine and health, n.e.c.	.7943	.7685
	<i>Artistic, Literary and Related Occupations</i>		
3311	Painters, sculptors, and related artists	.4248	.5028
3313	Product and interior designers	.5231	.631
3314	Advertising and illustrating artists	.3895	.4129
3315	Photographers and camera operators	.1799	.2512
3319	Occs in fine and commercial art, photography	.4483	.4564
3330	Producers, directors, performing and audio-visua	.3612	.388
3331	Conductors, composers and arrangers	.1163	.2929
3332	Musicians and singers	.2867	.3199
3333	Occs related to music and musical entertainment,	.1047	.222
3334	Dancers and choreographers	.8412	.7987
3335	Actors/actresses	.4565	.3748
3337	Radio and television announcers	.3004	.1937
3339	Occupations in performing and audio-visual arts,	.2648	.3844
3351	Writers and editors	.4671	.4879
3355	Translators and interpreters	.6416	.6462
3359	Occupations in writing, n.e.c.	.7012	.4385
3360	Supervisors:Occupations in sports and recreation	.3359	.338
3370	Coaches, trainers and instructors, sports and recreation n.e.c.	.4896	.62
3371	Referees and related officials	.1642	.0769
3373	Athletes	.1857	.1013
3375	Attendants, sports and recreation	.219	.2908
3379	Occupations in sports and recreation, n.e.c.	.2259	.2083
	<i>Clerical and Related Occupations</i>		
4110	Supervisors:Stenographic and typing occupations	.9408	.9074
4111	Secretaries and stenographers	.9825	.9845
4113	Typists and clerk-typists	.9318	.9469
4130	Supervisors:Bookkeeping, account-recording occ.	.803	.7791
4131	Bookkeepers and accounting clerks	.8324	.815
4133	Cashiers and tellers	.8779	.8819
4135	Insurance, bank and other finance clerks	.8116	.8434
4137	Statistical clerks	.6752	.6619
4139	Bookkeeping, account-recording and related occs	.7115	.6653
4140	Supervisors:Office machine and EDP equipment op.	.5081	.4945

TABLE A-1 (CONTINUED)
LIST OF OCCUPATIONS (1980 SOC) AND PERCENT FEMALE (CENSUS 1990)

SOC Number	Occupation Title	Percent Female	
		Ontario	Québec
4141	Office machine operators	.613	.6217
4143	Electronic data-processing equipment operators	.7505	.7727
4150	Supers:Material recording, scheduling and distrib.	.2047	.1599
4151	Production clerks	.4141	.3802
4153	Shipping and receiving clerks	.2258	.1925
4155	Stock clerks and related occupations	.3098	.2169
4157	Weighers	.3511	.2038
4159	Material recording, scheduling and distributing occ.	.4922	.6283
4160	Supervisors: library, file and correspondence occ.	.7849	.8617
4161	Library and file clerks	.8402	.7671
4169	Library, file and correspondence clerks	.6068	.8118
4170	Supers:Reception, info, mail and message distribution	.4631	.3301
4171	Receptionists and information clerks	.9383	.8781
4172	Mail carriers	.2514	.1551
4173	Mail and postal clerks	.5599	.4406
4175	Telephone operators	.9125	.8507
4177	Messengers	.3834	.21
4179	Reception, info, mail and message distribution occ.	.6317	.3511
4190	Supervisors:Other clerical, related occs, n.e.c.	.6013	.647
4191	Collectors	.7191	.5843
4192	Claim adjusters	.6522	.6391
4193	Travel clerks, ticket, station, freight agents	.7321	.6642
4194	Hotel clerks	.653	.621
4195	Personnel clerks	.8107	.7483
4197	General office clerks	.8074	.7983
4199	Other clerical and related occupations, n.e.c.	.6478	.5687
	<i>Sales Occupations</i>		
5130	Supervisors:Sales occupations, commodities	.3943	.3187
5131	Technical sales occupations and related advisers	.1815	.1663
5133	Commercial travellers	.2569	.2073
5135	Sales clerks and salespersons, commodities, n.e.c.	.5329	.5002
5141	Street vendors and door-to-door sales occupation	.5678	.4863
5143	Newspaper carriers and vendors	.2941	.1464
5145	Service station attendants	.1901	.1549
5149	Sales occupations: commodities, n.e.c	.6166	.5327
5170	Supervisors:Sales occupations, services	.4059	.361
5171	Insurance sales occupations	.4347	.3967
5172	Real estate sales occupations	.4311	.4279
5173	Sales agents and traders, securities	.315	.3288
5174	Advertising sales occupations	.4604	.443
5177	Business services sales occupations	.3498	.3943
5179	Sales occupations:Services, n.e.c.	.3528	.3952
5190	Supervisors:Other sales occupations	.2995	.2989
5191	Buyers, wholesale and retail trade	.4894	.4459
5193	Route drivers	.0916	.038
5199	Other sales occupations, n.e.c.	.6079	.5571
	<i>Service Occupations</i>		
6111	Fire-fighting occupations	.0144	.0092
6112	Police officers and detectives, government	.1066	.0805
6113	Police agents and investigators, private service	.2499	.173
6115	Guards and related security occupations	.2229	.3023
6119	Protective service occupations, n.e.c.	.5338	.4233

TABLE A-1 (CONTINUED)
LIST OF OCCUPATIONS (1980 SOC) AND PERCENT FEMALE (CENSUS 1990)

SOC Number	Occupation Title	Percent Female	
		Ontario	Québec
6120	Supers:Food and beverage preparation	.5996	.3838
6121	Chefs and cooks	.4532	.4963
6123	Bartenders	.5008	.6541
6125	Food and beverage serving occupations	.7675	.8051
6129	Food and beverage preparation and related service occ.	.7548	.7167
6130	Supervisors:Lodging and other accommodation	.6041	.4232
6133	Lodging cleaners, except private household	.8585	.8825
6135	Sleeping -car and baggage porters	.0807	.1049
6139	Occupations in lodging and other accomodation	.4395	.1615
6141	Funeral directors, embalmers and related occs	.1506	.1604
6142	Housekeepers, servants and related occupations	.9508	.8463
6143	Barbers, hairdressers and related occupations	.7903	.8443
6144	Guides	.6046	.594
6145	Travel and related attendants, except food and b	.8016	.6748
6147	Child-care occupations	.9662	.9628
6149	Personal service occupations n.e.c.	.5216	.4936
6160	Supervisors:Apparel and furnishings service occ.	.418	.3889
6162	Laundrying and dry cleaning occupations	.7168	.6043
6165	Pressing occupations	.744	.6061
6169	Apparel and furnishings service occupations, n.e.c.	.3453	.4831
6190	Supervisors:Other service occupations	.3321	.1621
6191	Janitors, charworkers and cleaners	.4779	.3281
6193	Elevator-operating occupations	.2795	.0514
6198	Labouring and other elemental work:Other service	.4105	.2211
6199	Other service occupations n.e.c.	.2663	.1714
	<i>Farming, Horticulture and Animal Husbandry Occupations</i>		
7111	Farmers	.2365	.1676
7180	Foremn/womn:Other farming	.2304	.1194
7183	Livestock farm workers	.3389	.2788
7185	Crop farm workers	.4808	.4495
7195	Nursery and related workers	.1634	.131
7196	Inspecting, testing, grading and sampling occ.	.6862	.6698
7197	Farm machinery operators	.0783	.0799
7199	Other farming, horticultural and animal husbandry	.3726	.2653
	<i>Fishing, Trapping and Related Occupations</i>		
7311	Captains and other officers, fishing vessels	.0367	
7313	Net, trap and line fishing occupations	.1061	.087
7315	Trapping and related occupations	.0964	.1672
7319	Fishing, trapping and related occupations, n.e.c	.18	.3752
	<i>Forestry and Logging Occupations</i>		
7510	Foremen/women:Forestry and logging occupations	.0886	.0498
7511	Forestry conservation occupations	.0822	.0269
7513	Timber cutting and related occupations	.0312	.01
7516	Log inspecting, grading and related occs	.1493	.1176
7517	Log hoisting, sorting, moving and related occs	.0253	.0121
7518	Labouring and other elemental work	.3183	.1785
7519	Forestry and logging occupations, n.e.c.	.0641	.3946
	<i>Mining and Quarrying Occupations</i>		
7710	Foremen/women:Mining and quarrying inc. oil and gas	.0274	.0159
7711	Rotary well-drilling and related occupations	.0215	
7713	Rock and soil drilling occupations	.0132	

TABLE A-1 (CONTINUED)
LIST OF OCCUPATIONS (1980 SOC) AND PERCENT FEMALE (CENSUS 1990)

SOC Number	Occupation Title	Percent Female	
		Ontario	Québec
7715	Blasting occupations	.0171	
7717	Cutting, handling and loading occupations	.0151	.0072
7718	Labouring and other elemental work	.0305	.0556
7719	Mining and quarrying occupations n.e.c.	.0363	.0357
	<i>Processing Occupations</i>		
8110	Foremen/women: mineral ore treating occupations	.027	
8111	Crushing and grinding occupations, mineral ores	.0412	.0363
8113	Mixing, separating, filtering and related occs	.1111	.0144
8115	Melting and roasting occupations: mineral ores		.1328
8116	Inspecting, testing, grading, etc.: mineral ores	.1138	.0814
8118	Labouring and other elementa work: mineral ores	.0331	
8119	Mineral ores treating occupations, n.e.c.	.1028	.0437
8130	Foremen/women: metal processing and related occs	.0337	.009
8131	Metal smelting, converting and refining occs	.0479	.0206
8133	Metal heat-treating occupations	.0446	.0788
8135	Metal rolling occupations	.0654	.1431
8137	Moulding, coremaking and metal casting occupations	.0767	.0285
8141	Metal extruding and drawing occupations	.1582	.0147
8143	Plating, metal spraying and related occupations	.1109	.0567
8146	Inspecting, testing, grading and sampling occs	.1222	.1095
8148	Labouring and other elemental work: Metal process	.0963	.037
8149	Metal processing and related occupations, n.e.c.	.0525	.1208
8150	Foremen/women: clay, glass and stone processing occs	.0737	.0047
8151	Furnace and kiln workers: clay, glass and stone	.2125	
8153	Separating, grinding, crushing and mixing: clay, ...	.0489	
8155	Forming occupations: Clay, glass and stone	.1408	.101
8156	Inspecting, testing, grading and sampling: clay, ...	.4596	.2272
8158	Labouring and other elemental work: Clay, glass, ...	.1518	.1318
8159	Clay, glass and stone processing occ., n.e.c.	.1782	.0602
8160	Foremen/women: chemicals, ptrlm, rbbr and plstic	.0875	.1148
8161	Mixing and blending occs: chemicals and related mat.	.1482	.0819
8163	Filtering, straining and separating: chemicals	.2964	.1671
8165	Distilling, subliming and carbonizing occs	.0804	.1261
8167	Roasting, cooking and drying occs: chemicals	.1258	.0398
8171	Crushing and grinding occs: chemicals	.1297	.1295
8173	Coating and calendering occs: chemicals	.243	.2542
8176	Inspecting, testing, grading and sampling: chemcls	.3649	.2668
8178	Labouring and other elemental work: chemicals	.1867	.2219
8179	Chemicals and related materials processing occs, n.e.c.	.254	.2598
8210	Foremen/women: Food, beverage and related processing	.2421	.1254
8211	Flour and grain milling occupations	.1545	.0191
8213	Baking, confectionery making and related occs	.4927	.4426
8215	Slaughtering and meat cutting and related occs	.2588	.1606
8217	Fish canning, curing and packing occupations	.6299	.5829
8221	Fruit and vegetable canning, preserving occs	.5214	.472
8223	Milk processing and related occupations	.1296	.1166
8225	Sugar processing and related occupations	.1179	.3364
8226	Inspecting, testing, grading: food and beverages	.4275	.4019
8227	Beverage processing and related occupations	.1582	.093
8228	Labouring and other elemental work: food and beverages	.4032	.293
8229	Food, beverage and related processing occs, n.e.c.	.3449	.2772

TABLE A-1 (CONTINUED)
LIST OF OCCUPATIONS (1980 SOC) AND PERCENT FEMALE (CENSUS 1990)

SOC Number	Occupation Title	Percent Female	
		Ontario	Québec
8230	Foremen/women: wood processing occupations	.005	.0257
8231	Sawmill sawyers and related occupations	.0907	.0216
8233	Plywood making and related occupations	.3645	.1521
8235	Wood treating occupations	.2018	.0798
8236	Inspecting, testing, grading and sampling occs: wood	.1473	.0896
8238	Labouring and other elemental work: wood	.1389	.0408
8239	Wood processing, except pulp and papermaking, n.e.c.	.0963	.0099
8250	Foremen/women: pulp and papermaking occupations	.0459	.0239
8251	Cellulose pulp preparing occupations	.0767	.0992
8253	Papermaking and finishing occupations	.0713	.0303
8256	Inspecting, testing, grading and sampling occs: pulp	.1672	.1284
8258	Labouring and other elemental work: pulp and paper	.0746	.059
8259	Pulp and papermaking and related occs, n.e.c.	.1262	.115
8260	Foremen/women: textile processing	.1507	.2329
8261	Textile fibre preparing occupations	.4053	.2706
8263	Textile spinning and twisting occupations	.4917	.4954
8265	Textile winding and reeling occupations	.6431	.4761
8267	Textile weaving occupations	.4026	.3033
8271	Knitting occupations	.7597	.3068
8273	Textile bleaching and dyeing occupations	.1715	.0985
8275	Textile finishing and calendring occupations	.4206	.307
8276	Inspecting, testing, grading and sampling occs:textile	.626	.5531
8278	Labouring and other elemental work: textile	.3841	.4701
8279	Textile processing occupations, n.e.c.	.3964	.4964
8290	Foremen/women: other processing occupations	.3183	.2482
8293	Tobacco processing occupations	.6542	.4759
8295	Hide and pelt processing occupations	.4361	.1658
8296	Inspectng, testing, gradng and samplng occs: othr proc.	.6608	.5914
8298	Labouring and other elemental work: other proces.	.4633	.3303
8299	Other processing occupations, n.e.c.	.0608	.2482
	<i>Machining and Related Occupations</i>		
8310	Foremen/women: metal machining occupations	.0221	.0426
8311	Tool and die making occupations	.0328	.0123
8313	Machinist and machine tool setting-up occupation	.0723	.0276
8315	Machine tool operating occupations	.1426	.0708
8316	Inspectng, testing, gradng and samplng occs: metal	.2672	
8319	Metal machining occupations, n.e.c.	.2538	.0702
8330	Foremen/women: metal shaping and forming occs	.0291	.0172
8331	Forging occupations	.0864	.0108
8333	Sheet metal workers	.062	.0241
8334	Metalworking-machine operators, n.e.c.	.2075	.0796
8335	Welding and flame cutting occupations	.0551	.0173
8336	Inspectng, testing, gradng occs: metal shaping	.1547	.0919
8337	Boilermakers, platers and structural metal workers	.058	
8339	Metal shaping and forming occs, except machining	.177	.1731
8350	Foremen/women: wood machining occupations	.0517	.0327
8351	Wood patternmaking occupations	.0989	.1952
8353	Wood sawing and related occupations, n.e.c.	.1265	.0568
8355	Planing, turning and related wood machining occs	.0734	.0576
8356	Inspectng, testing, gradng occs: wood machining	.6269	.1397
8357	Wood sanding occupations	.272	.1032
8359	Wood machining occupations, n.e.c.	.1256	.1031

TABLE A-1 (CONTINUED)

LIST OF OCCUPATIONS (1980 SOC) AND PERCENT FEMALE (CENSUS 1990)

SOC Number	Occupation Title	Percent Female	
		Ontario	Québec
8370	Foremen/women: clay, glass, stone machining occs	.1393	.0901
8371	Cutting and shaping: clay, glass, stone, etc.	.1166	.0621
8373	Abrading and polishing: clay, glass, stone, etc.	.3467	.2812
8376	Inspectng, testing, gradng occs: clay, glass, etc.	.4084	.2391
8379	Clay, glass, stone machining occupations, n.e.c.	.2667	.116
8390	Foremen/women: other machining occupations	.0507	.2058
8391	Engravers, etchers and related occs, n.e.c.	.3883	.375
8393	Filing, grinding, buffing, cleaning and polishing	.0879	.0707
8395	Patternmakers and mouldmakers, n.e.c.	.1147	.0717
8396	Inspctng, testng, gradng and smplng: other machining	.5068	.2953
8396	Other machining and related occupations, n.e.c.	.1603	.2088
	<i>Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations</i>		
8510	Foremn/wmn: fabricating and assembling, metal prods	.0878	.0524
8511	Engine fabricating and assembling occupations, n.e.c.	.3906	.1568
8513	Motor vehicle fabricating and assembling, n.e.c.	.2495	.0784
8515	Aircraft fabricating and assembling occs, n.e.c.	.1185	.0804
8523	Industrial, farm, cnst machines fbrctng and assmblng	.0879	.0762
8525	Business and commercl machines fbrctng and assmblng	.5572	.5149
8526	Inspctng, testng, grdng and smplng: fbrctng and asm	.2352	.1146
8527	Precision instruments fabricating and assembling	.3316	.1354
8528	Labouring and other elemental work: fabrcng and asm	.2631	.127
8529	Other fabrcng and assmblng: metal products, n.e.c.	.2858	.2182
8530	Foremn/wmn: fabricating and assembling: elec. and rlt	.1102	.1168
8531	Electrical and related equipment fabrcng and asm	.4443	.3348
8533	Electrical and related equipment installing and rep	.0277	.0157
8534	Electronic and related equipment fabrcng and asm	.6416	.4711
8535	Electronic and related equipment installing and rep	.1353	.0518
8536	Inspecting and related: Fabricating and rlted, elctrc	.3892	.4554
8537	Radio and television repairers	.0514	.026
8538	Labouring and other: fabricating and rlted, elctrc	.4834	.3734
8539	Fabricating and related: Electrical, n.e.c.	.3653	.2682
8540	Foremn/wmn: Fabricating, assemb. and repairing: wood	.1303	.0582
8541	Cabinet and wood furniture makers	.162	.0591
8546	Inspctng, testng, gradng and smplng: wood products	.533	.1208
8548	Labouring: fabrcng, assmblng and repairing: wood	.2752	.1332
8549	Fabrcng, assmblng and repring: wood prods, n.e.c.	.152	.1469
8550	Foremn/wmn: Fabricating textile, fur and leather	.473	.4806
8551	Patternmaking, marking and cutting: textile, fur, etc.	.4279	.3467
8553	Tailors and dressmakers	.7135	.8783
8555	Furriers	.5016	.3709
8557	Milliners, hat and cap makers	.9198	.6549
8561	Shoemaking and repairing occupations	.6543	.4211
8562	Upholsterers	.2128	.1265
8563	Sewing machine operators, textile materials	.9285	.9098
8566	Inspecting and rlted occs: fabricating and rlted, txtle	.7379	.7914
8568	Labouring: Fabricating, assmblng and repairing, txtle	.6993	.5801
8569	Fabricating and related: textile, fur and leather	.5929	.602
8570	Foremn/wmn: Fabricating and rlted: rubber and rlted	.1361	.1074
8571	Bonding and cementing: rubber, plastic and related	.0806	.2037
8573	Moulding: rubber, plastic and related products	.3944	.255
8575	Cutting and finishing: Rubber, plastic and related	.4196	.3951
8576	Inspecting and related: fabricating and rlted, rubber	.3388	.406

TABLE A-1 (CONTINUED)

LIST OF OCCUPATIONS (1980 SOC) AND PERCENT FEMALE (CENSUS 1990)

SOC Number	Occupation Title	Percent Female	
		Ontario	Québec
8578	Labouring: fabricating and rlt'd, rubber, plastic	.334	.2495
8579	Fabricating, assembling and repairing: Rbbr, n.e.c.	.4363	.2713
8580	Foremen/women:Mechanics and repairers, n.e.c.	.0333	.0259
8581	Motor vehicle mechanics and repairers	.0174	.0083
8582	Aircraft mechanics and repairers	.0378	.0376
8583	Rail transport equipmt mechanics and repairers	.024	.0116
8584	Industrial, farm and construction machinery mechanics	.0114	.0095
8585	Business and commercial machines machanics	.0728	.0224
8586	Inspctng, testng, gradng: equipment repairs	.1371	.0358
8587	Watch and clock repairers	.1133	.0638
8588	Precision instrument mechanics and repairers	.0329	.0308
8589	Other mechanics and repairers, n.e.c.	.0318	.019
8590	Foremn/wmn: other products	.1226	.1596
8591	Jewellery and silverware fabricating, assmbling	.3346	.2671
8592	Marine craft fabricating, assembling and repairn	.0356	.0054
8593	Paper product fabricating and assembling occupations	.3148	.241
8595	Painting and decorating occupations, n.e.c.	.1337	.0858
8596	Inspctng and rlt'd: other products	.6422	.391
8598	Labouring: other products	.4917	.314
8599	Other product fabricating, n.e.c.	.3106	.3517
	<i>Construction trades occupations</i>		
8710	Foremen/women: excavating, grading, paving	.0131	.0145
8711	Excavating, grading and related occupations	.0112	.006
8713	Paving, surfacing and related occupations	.0226	.0109
8715	Railway section and track workers	.0157	.0138
8718	Labouring: excavating, grading, paving activities	.0374	.0251
8713	Paving, surfacing and related occupations	.0147	.0183
8730	Foremen/women: electrical power	.0403	.0377
8731	Electrical power line workers and related occupations	.048	.0167
8733	Construction electricians and repairers	.0156	.0115
8735	Wire communications installers and repairers	.0838	.0581
8736	Inspctng, testng, gradng: electrical power	.2163	.1675
8738	Labouring: electrical power, wire communications	.0772	.2609
8739	Electrical power, wire communications occs, n.e.c.	.0333	.0658
8780	Foremen/women: other construction trades occupations	.0222	.015
8781	Carpenters and related occupations	.0192	.0074
8782	Brick and stone masons and tile setters	.013	.0094
8783	Concrete finishing and related occupations	.0108	.0149
8784	Plasterers and related occupations	.0135	.0154
8785	Painters, paperhangers and related occupations	.0925	.0932
8786	Insulating occupations, construction	.0564	.0513
8787	Roofing, waterproofing and related occupations	.0134	.0038
8791	Pipefitting, plumbing and related occupations	.0098	.0052
8793	Structural metal erectors	.0335	.0047
8795	Glaziers	.0677	.0361
8796	Inspct, testng, gradng: other construction	.0802	.0675
8798	Labouring:Other construction trades	.0201	.0236
8799	Other construction trades occupations, n.e.c.	.0394	.0281
	<i>Transport Equipment Operating Occupations</i>		
9110	Foremen/women:Air transport operating occupation	.1126	.1848
9111	Air pilots, navigators and flight engineers	.0701	.0708

TABLE A-1 (CONTINUED)
LIST OF OCCUPATIONS (1980 SOC) AND PERCENT FEMALE (CENSUS 1990)

SOC Number	Occupation Title	Percent Female	
		Ontario	Québec
9113	Air transport operating support occupations	.1556	.1649
9119	Air transport operating occupations, n.e.c.	.255	.1835
9130	Foremen/women:Railway transport operating occ.	.0435	.0451
9131	Locomotive operating support occupations	.0399	.0581
9133	Conductor and brake workers railway	.0769	.0469
9135	Railway transport operating support occupations	.1336	.0475
9139	Railway transport operating occupations, n.e.c.		.0546
9151	Deck officers	.0712	.0286
9153	Engineering officers, ship	.0454	
9155	Deck crew, ship	.139	.0287
9157	Engine and boiler-room crew, ship	.1802	.0328
9159	Water transport operating occupations, n.e.c.	.1386	.0807
9170	Foremen/women:Motor transport operating occupations.	.0803	.0499
9171	Bus drivers	.4744	.2116
9173	Taxi drivers and chauffeurs	.0768	.0461
9175	Truck drivers	.0373	.0173
9179	Motor transport operating occupations, n.e.c.	.2184	.1848
9190	Foremen/women: other transport operating occs	.1206	.0547
9191	Subway and street railway operating occupations	.0959	.0675
9193	Rail vehicle operators, except rail transport	.0629	.0421
9199	Other transport equipment operating occs, n.e.c.	.0719	.0425
	<i>Material handling and related occupations, n.e.c.</i>		
9310	Foremen/women:Material handling and related, n.e.c.	.1093	.1178
9311	Hoisting occupations, n.e.c.	.0179	.0096
9313	Longshore workers, stevedores, freight handlers	.1167	.049
9314	Parcel carriers, n.e.c.	.1019	.1432
9315	Material handling equipment operators, n.e.c.	.0539	.0282
9317	Packaging occupations, n.e.c.	.6603	.4267
9318	Labouring:Material handling and related activities	.1272	.0997
9319	Other material handling occupations, n.e.c.	.1224	.1228
	<i>Other Craft and Equipment Operating Occupations</i>		
9510	Foremen/women:Printing and related occupations	.1638	.1781
9511	Typesetting and composing occupations	.5707	.4964
9512	Printing press occupations	.1241	.0919
9513	Stereotyping and electrotyping occupations	.0943	.3536
9514	Printing, engraving, except photoengraving, occs	.1273	.2128
9515	Photoengraving and related occupations	.2777	.2723
9517	Bookbinding and related occupations	.5886	.6188
9518	Labouring:Printing and related activities	.3742	.4125
9519	Printing and related occupations, n.e.c.	.3689	.3967
9530	Foremen/women: stationary engine and utilies eqp	.0636	.0083
9531	Power station operators	.0872	.0147
9539	Stationary engine and utilities equip. operators	.0468	.0579
9550	Foremen/women: communications equipement operators	.1508	.1463
9551	Radio and television equipment operators	.1813	.1181
9553	Telegraph operators	.5	.1703
9555	Sound and video recording operators	.0984	.1395
9557	Motion picture projectionists	.069	.0625
9559	Other electronic and comms equipment operating occ.	.2513	.4083

TABLE A-1 (CONTINUED)
 LIST OF OCCUPATIONS (1980 SOC) AND PERCENT FEMALE (CENSUS 1990)

SOC Number	Occupation Title	Percent Female	
		Ontario	Québec
	<i>Other crafts and equipment operating occs, n.e.c.</i>		
9590	Foremen/women: other crafts and equipment opr occs	.335	.3586
9591	Photographic processing occupations	.5096	.4327
9599	Other craft and equipment operating occupations	.3472	.5142
9910	Supervisors and foremen/women, n.e.c.	.1933	.2687
9916	Inspecting, testing, grading and sampling occs, n.e.c.	.1477	.1612
9918	Labouring: n.e.c.	.2646	.1768
9919	Other occupations, n.e.c.	.1479	.1394

TABLE A-2

ESTIMATED EFFECT ON LOG HOURLY WAGES OF WORKING IN TREATED SECTOR IN 1997/98 vs. 1987/88
 OMITTING WORKERS IN ESTABLISHMENTS WITH 20-99 EMPLOYEES

Sample	Women				Men			
	All Jobs	Female Jobs	Inter-grated Jobs	Male Jobs	All Jobs	Female Jobs	Inter-grated Jobs	Male Jobs
<i>A. Treated Sector: Larger Establishments in Ontario vs. Québec</i>								
1. All Workers	-.030 (.019) [23272]	.019 (.040) [7821]	-.017 (.035) [7948]	-.141** (.077) [2121]	.030 (.019) [26704]	-.000 (.065) [2118]	.008 (.037) [8041]	.044** (.022) [15545]
2. Non-Union Workers	-.039 (.028) [15131]	.037 (.037) [10978]	.009 (.044) [5990]	-.365* (.108) [1320]	.015 (.029) [14451]	-.038 (.110) [954]	-.015 (.026) [5192]	.048 (.037) [8305]
3. Blue Collar Non-Union Workers	.013 (.045) [5737]	.157 (.096) [1901]	.093 (.055) [3032]	-.428* (.135) [804]	-.016 (.037) [8823]	.088 (.281) [321]	-.116 (.029) [2208]	.035 (.040) [6294]
<i>B. Treated Sector: Larger Establishments within Ontario</i>								
4. All Workers	-.005 (.012) [14477]	.008 (.015) [7993]	.005 (.021) [5021]	-.090* (.045) [1463]	.009 (.012) [16311]	-.017 (.043) [1222]	-.013 (.023) [4905]	.023 (.014) [10184]
5. Non-Union Workers	.012 (.016) [10014]	.028 (.021) [5098]	.014 (.024) [3983]	-.089 (.059) [933]	.003 (.017) [9448]	-.008 (.062) [649]	-.026 (.030) [3367]	.013 (.021) [5432]
6. Blue Collar Non-Union Workers	-.047 (.026) [3671]	.024 (.054) [1143]	-.018 (.032) [1951]	-.179* (.069) [577]	-.052 (.021) [5650]	-.083 (.148) [218]	-.212** (.047) [1407]	-.003 (.023) [4025]

Notes: Calculations are from the LMAS for 1987 and 1988 and from the Ingoing Rotation Group of the LFS for 1997 and 1998. Larger establishments employ at least 100 employees. Other explanatory variables include dummies for Ontario and for 1997/98, a quartic in age, six education classes, dummies for metropolitan area, industry(10), employment in the federal, provincial, and local public service, union status, part time work, married, visible minority, tenure, and firm size (4), where appropriate. Standard error are in parentheses. Sample size are in brackets.

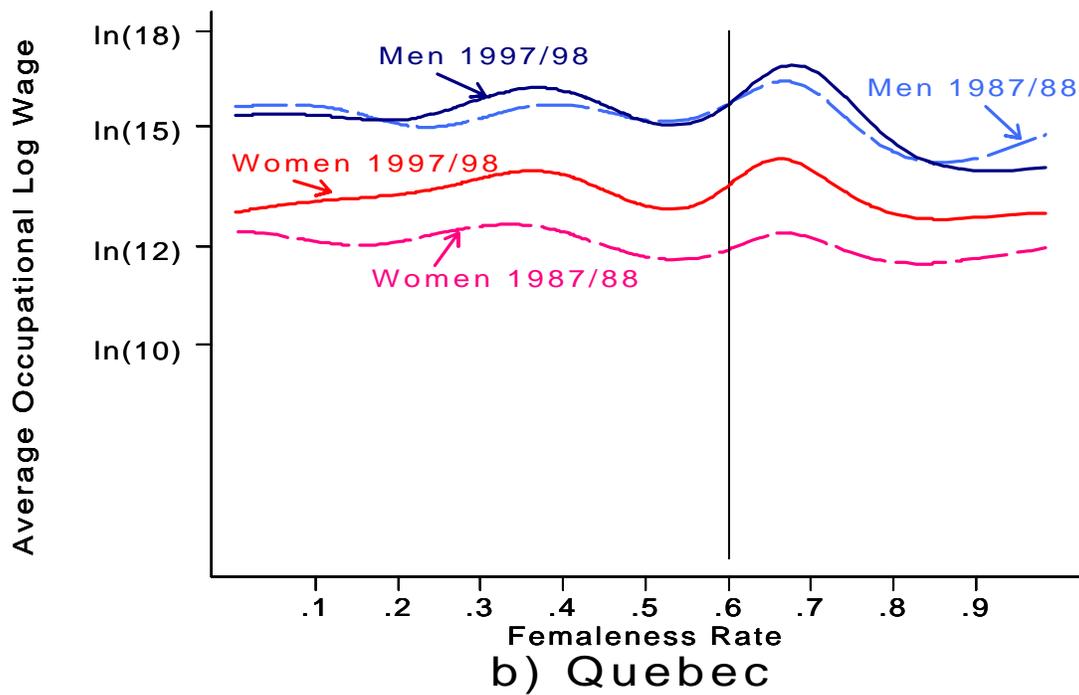
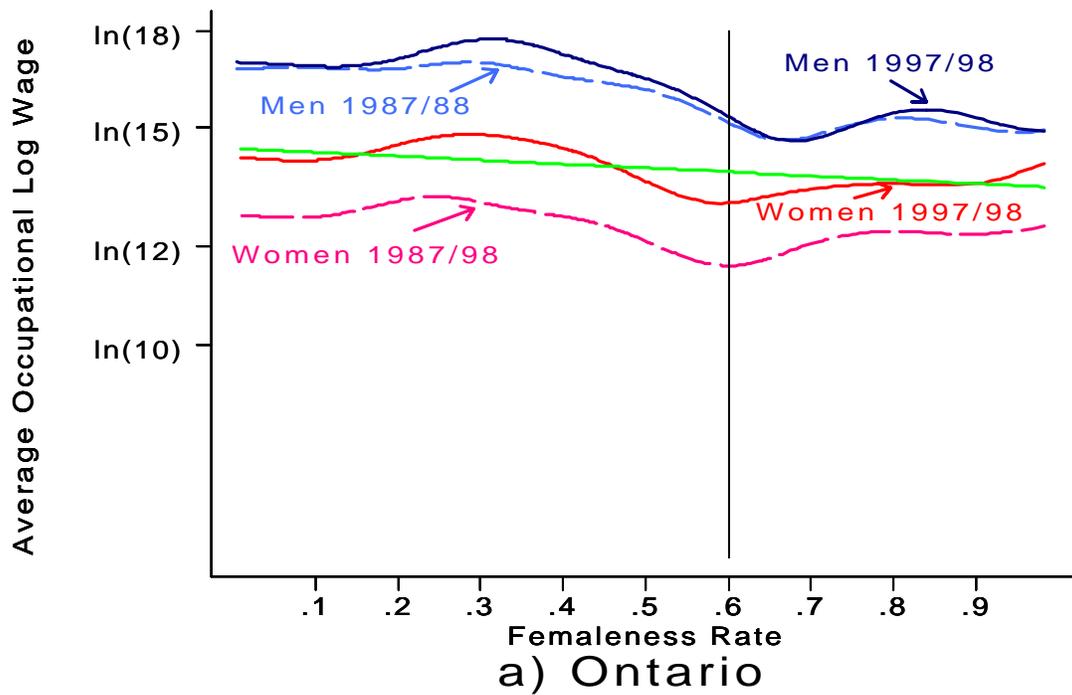


Figure 1. Weighted Kernel Regressions of Average Occupational Wages on Femaleness Rates

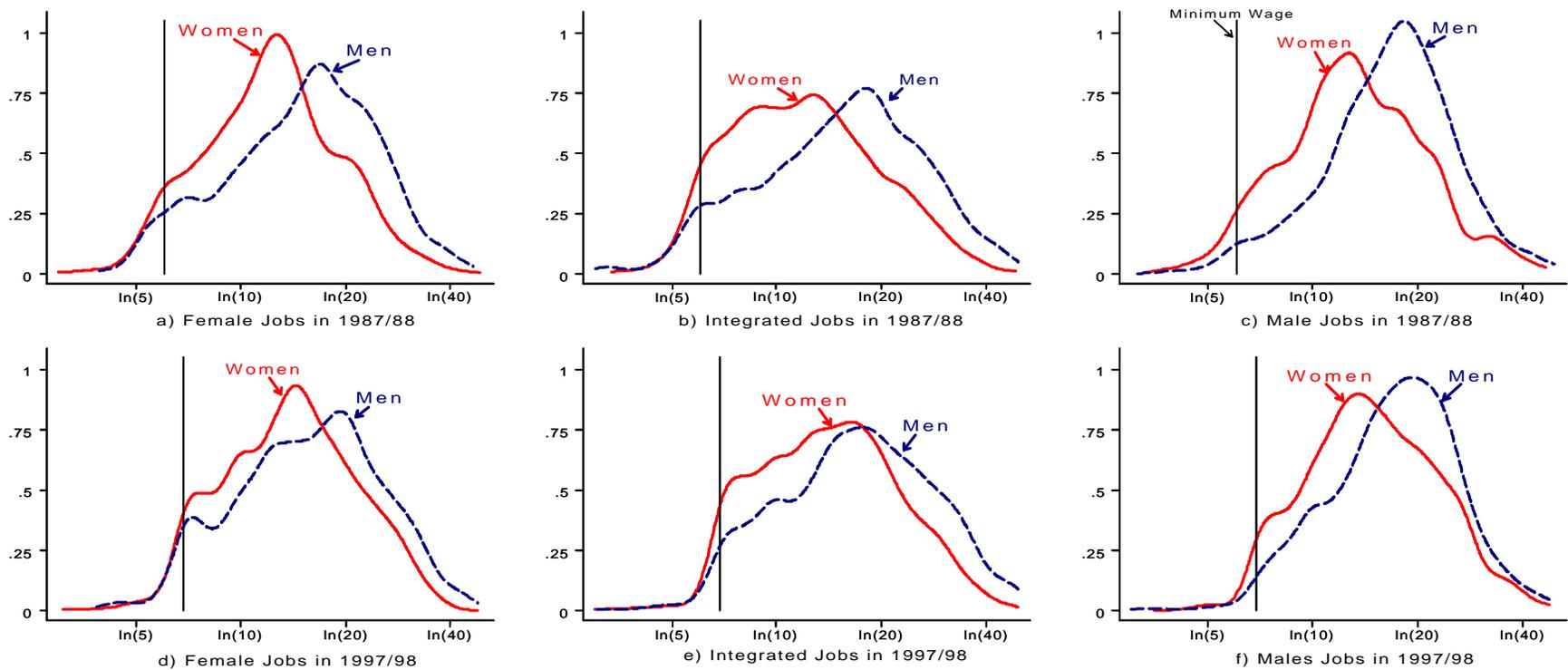


Figure 2. Differences in Women's and Men's Wage Distributions in Ontario

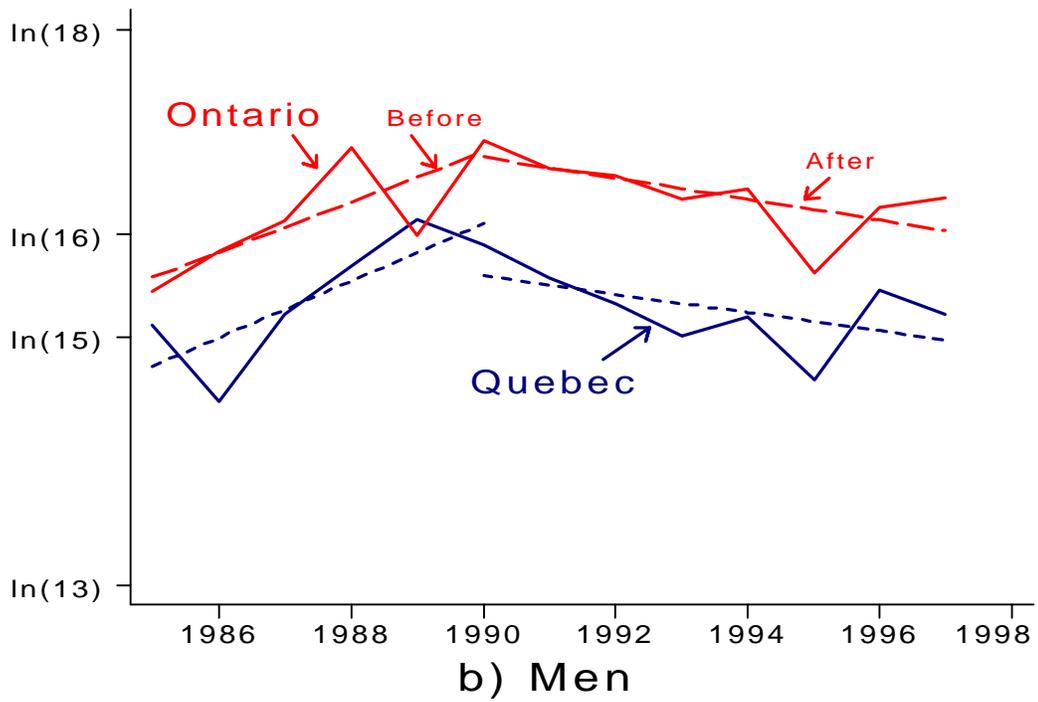
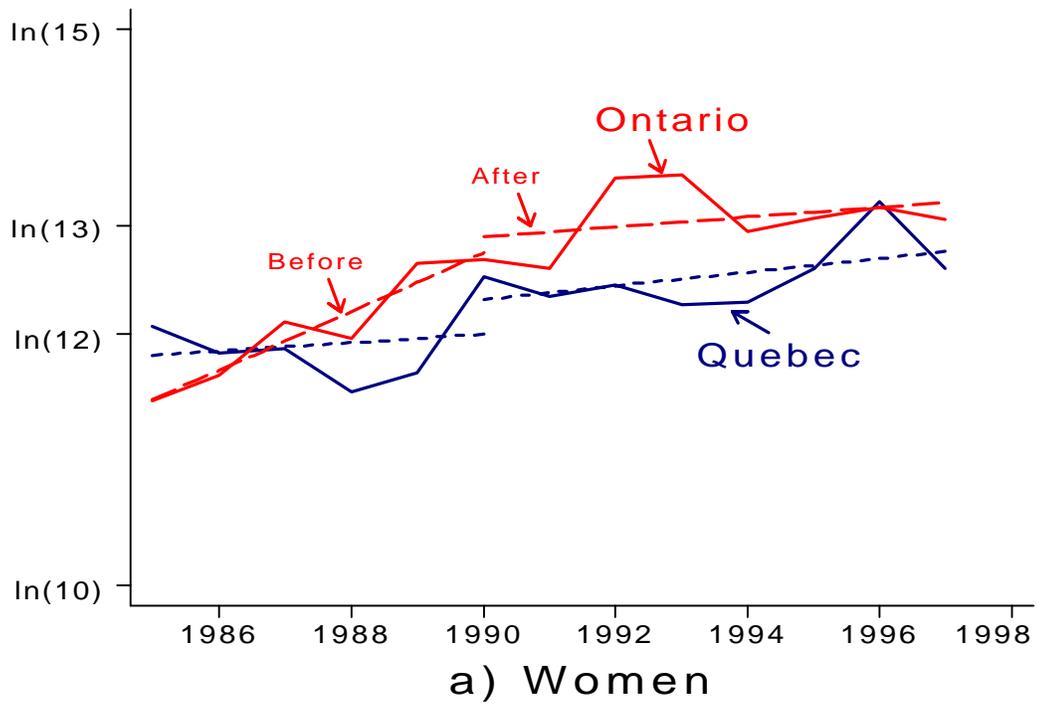


Figure 3. Average Log Hourly Wages and Trends Before and After the Law

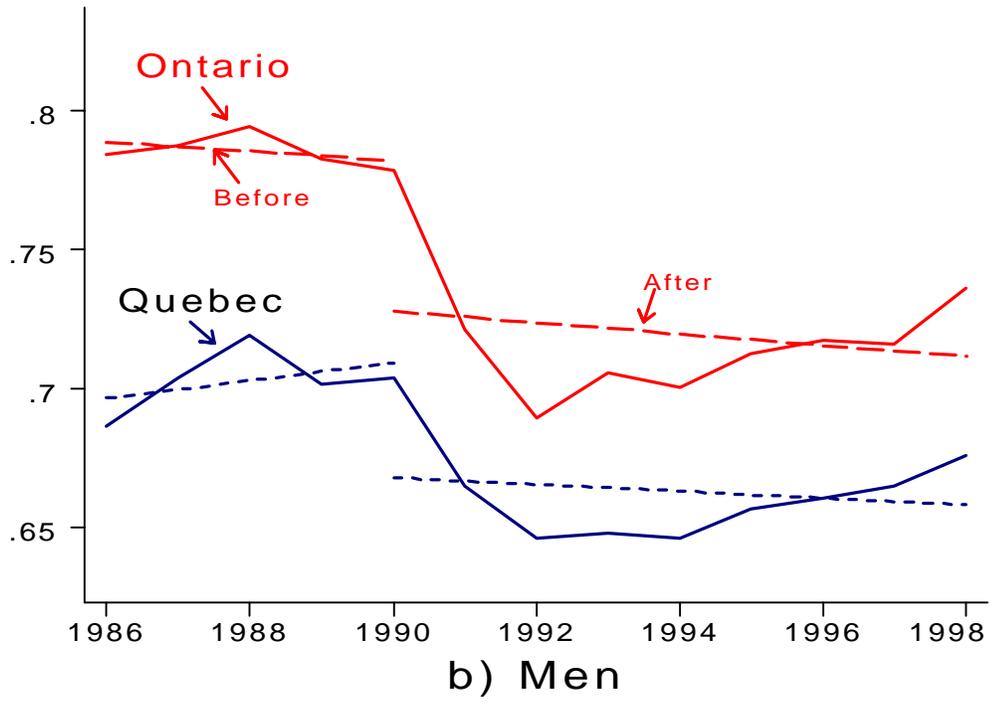
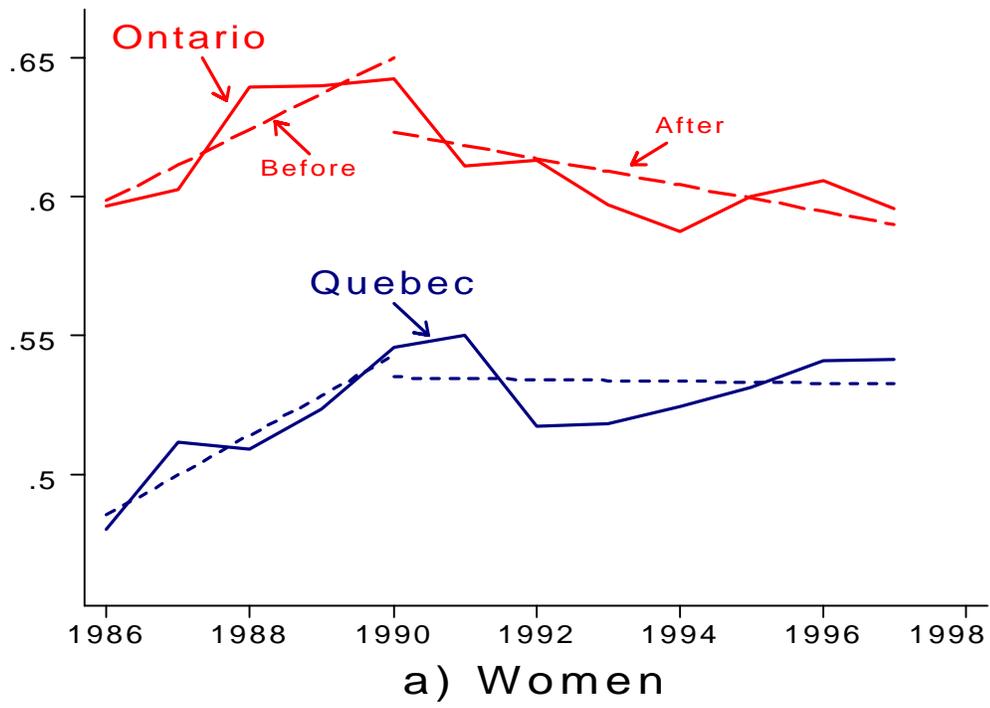


Figure 4. Employment Rates and Trends Before and After the Law

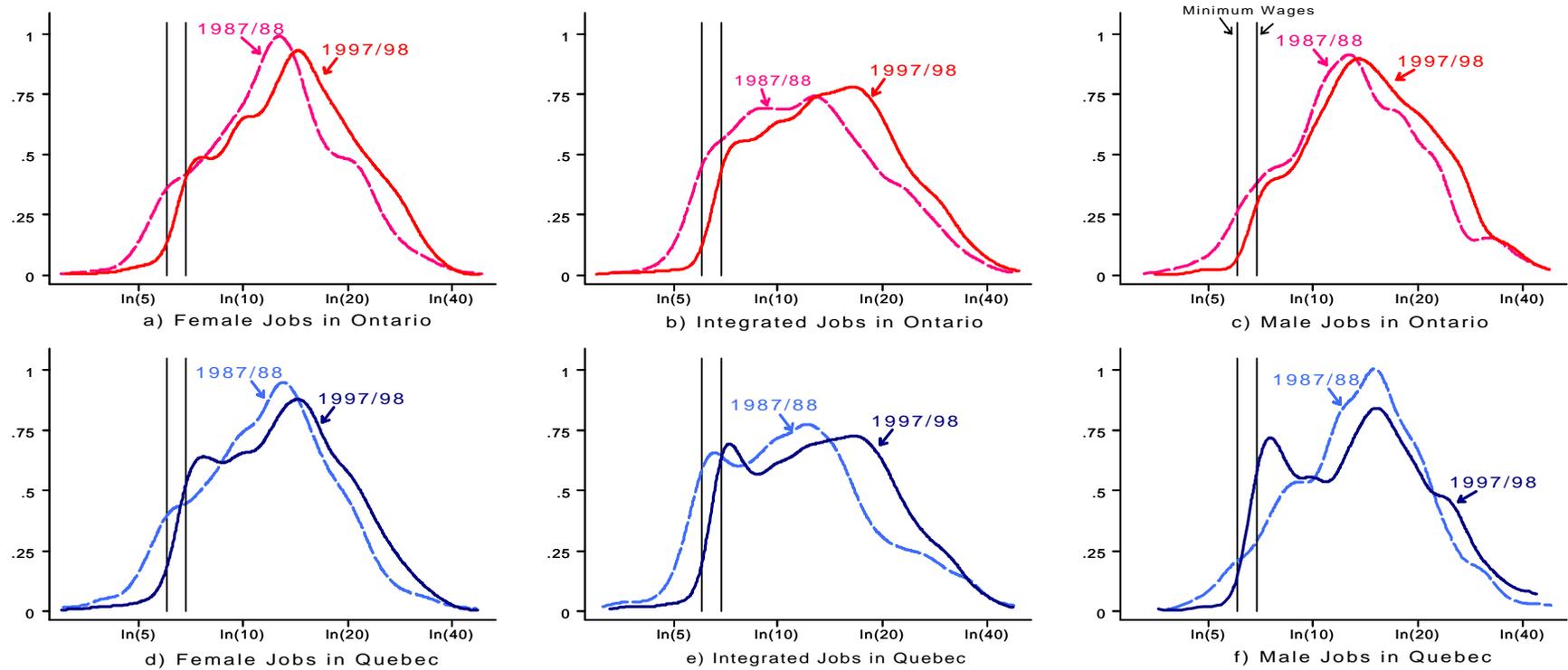


Figure A-1. Changes over Time in Women's Wage Distributions

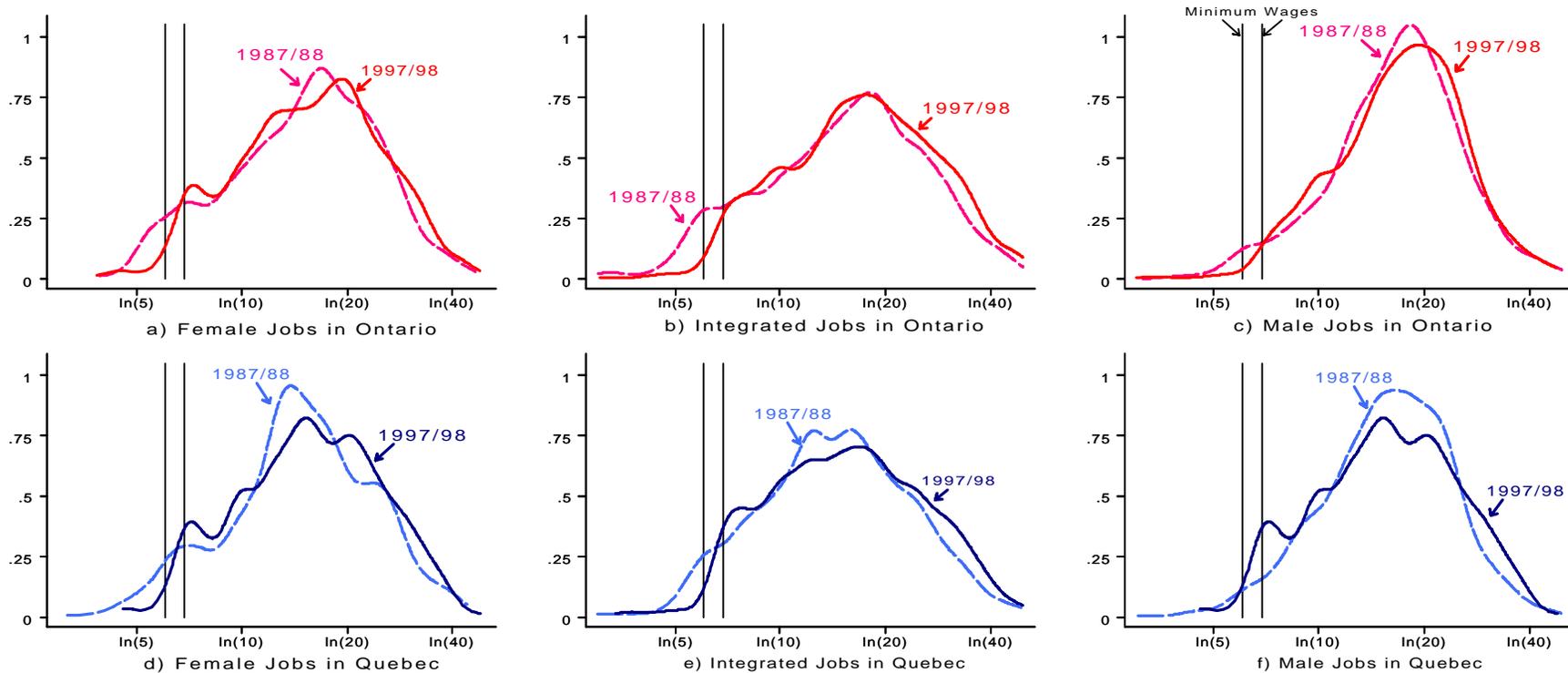


Figure A-2. Changes over Time in Men's Wage Distributions