

Narrowing the Gap

The Difference That Public Sector Wages Make

Kate McInturff and Paul Tulloch





CCPA

CANADIAN CENTRE
for POLICY ALTERNATIVES
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ISBN 978-1-77125-153-2

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The opinions and recommendations in this report, and any errors, are those of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the funders of this report.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The CCPA would like to thank the Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada, the Canadian Union of Public Employees and the Public Service Alliance of Canada for their support.

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Introduction

THE SIZE OF the paycheck you take home at the end of the month is a reflection of a number of variables: education level, experience, hours worked, specialization, and performance among them. All of these are reasonable elements for employers to consider when determining the wages that they pay. The size of your paycheck should *not* be determined by your gender or your race. Yet employment incomes continue to vary for these reasons, and the gaps are greatest in the private sector.

The concerns expressed over public sector wages stem from the position that no one should be paid more simply *because* they are in the public sector. But are they? No. Salaries are higher in the public sector precisely for those groups of people who experience the greatest discrimination in the private sector — because the public sector goes further in correcting those discriminatory practices. Salaries are *lower* in the public sector for the groups least likely to experience discrimination on the basis of race and sex.

Using data from the *2011 National Household Survey* to compare the wages of full-time public and private sector workers, this study finds significant gaps in the wages of women, aboriginal workers and visible minority workers. Those gaps are bigger in the private sector in every instance.

The biggest wage gap exists for aboriginal workers. In the private sector, aboriginal workers earn between 30%–44% less than non-aboriginal workers with the same level of education. The same is true for visible minority workers and women. Education makes only a minor difference in the wage gaps in the private sector, with university educated aboriginal workers

still making 44% less than their non-aboriginal peers, university educated women making 27% less than men, and university educated visible minority workers making 20% less than their non-visible minority counterparts.

Although parity has yet to be reached for any of these groups in either sector, the public sector sees most of these wage gaps cut in half. For example, in the public sector those same university-educated workers see their wage gaps shrink to 14% for aboriginal workers, 12% for visible minority workers, and 18% for women. These are still significant gaps. However, the public sector provides important insights into the measures that are most likely to see workers earning a paycheck that reflects their experience and ability and not their sex or race.

There are several factors that appear to contribute to the lower levels of wage discrimination in the public sector. Unionization and access to collective bargaining is strongly correlated with a reduction in wage inequality.¹ Access to benefits such as paid parental leave, family leave and sick leave also reduce the gender wage gap by addressing the double burden of unpaid care work borne by female workers.² Finally, pay equity legislation has an evident impact on reducing discrimination and inequality. None of these elements are found exclusively in the public sector. However, the public sector has a higher concentration of all three factors — with higher rates of unionization, family leave benefits, and the legislated monitoring and regulation of pay equity. The result is not higher wages but rather a more equal system of pay.

The Gender Gap

THE CANADIAN GENDER pay gap is the eighth-largest among OECD countries.³ Women working full-time, full-year in Canada bring home 20% less on average than their male peers.⁴ That gap has narrowed by less than 2% over the past twenty years.⁵

Increased levels of education have helped to raise women's wages; yet even when the wages of university-educated women are compared to those of university-educated men, the gender wage gap persists. Research suggests that this is not a matter of women failing to 'lean in' — that is to say, women are not simply opting out of promotions or jobs that would bring them higher wages. Rather, women are hired at lower starting salaries and experience slower rates of promotion — a sticky floor to go with the glass ceiling.⁶

Occupational segregation is another factor in the gender wage gap. Male and female workers tend to be concentrated in different occupations. Women with post-secondary training are most likely to be teachers, nurses and office workers. Men with post-secondary training are more likely to work in finance, technology and engineering occupations. The occupations that are female dominated tend to have lower rates of pay than do the occupations that are male dominated. Less educated workers see less occupational segregation but a greater gap in their pay.

Public sector pay scales make a significant contribution to correcting the gender wage gap — not by paying everyone more, but rather by paying women more and men less. Women working in (traditionally female) health occupations, for example, are paid 14% less than their male peers in

FIGURE 1 Public and Private Sector Wages by Occupation, Men

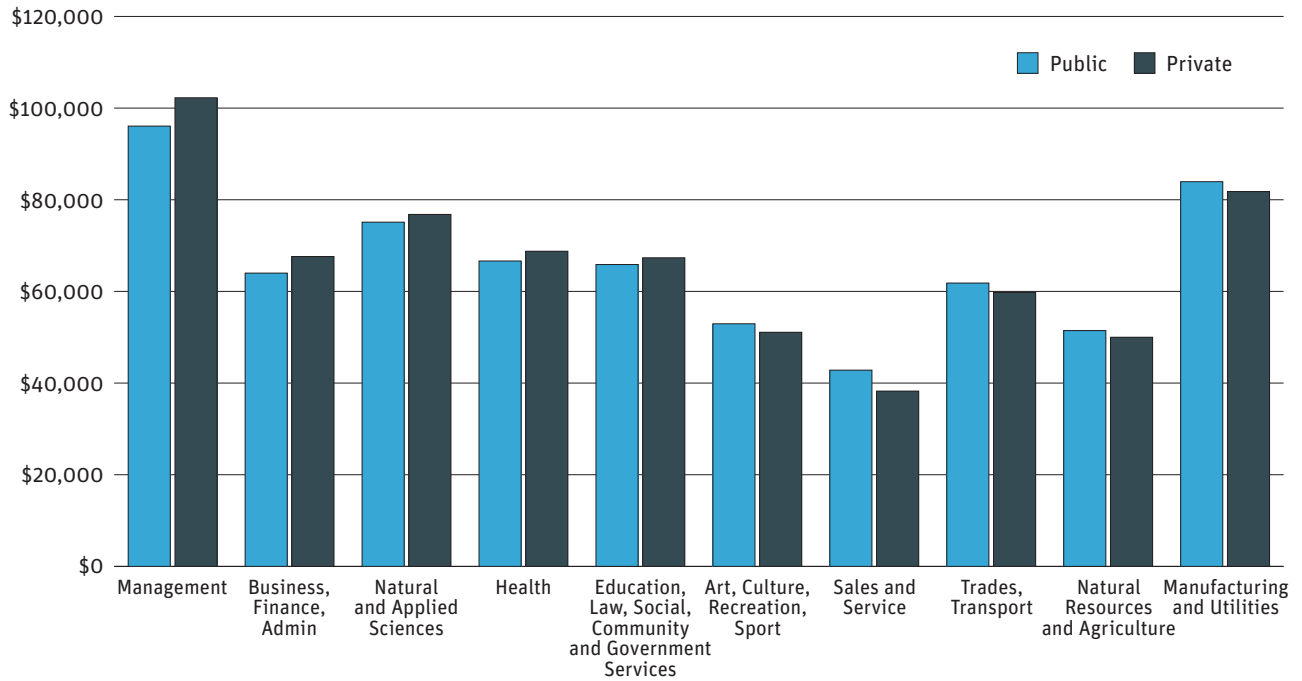


FIGURE 2 Public and Private Sector Wages by Occupation, Women

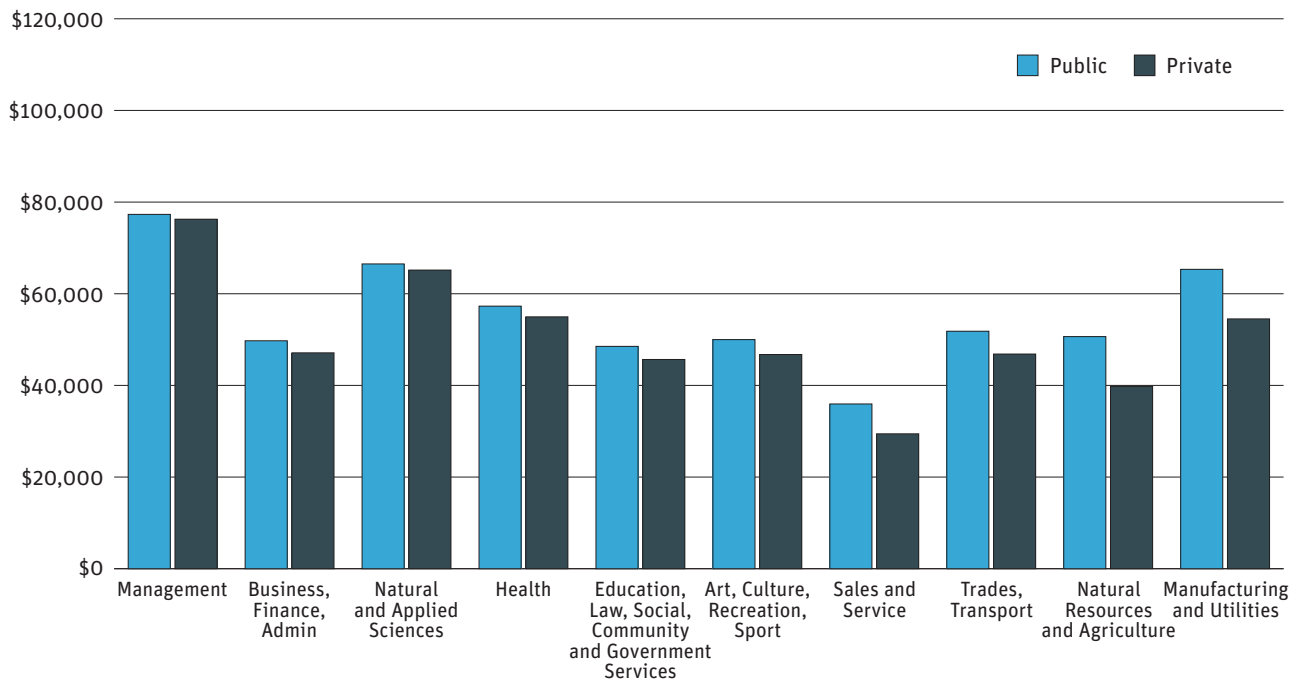
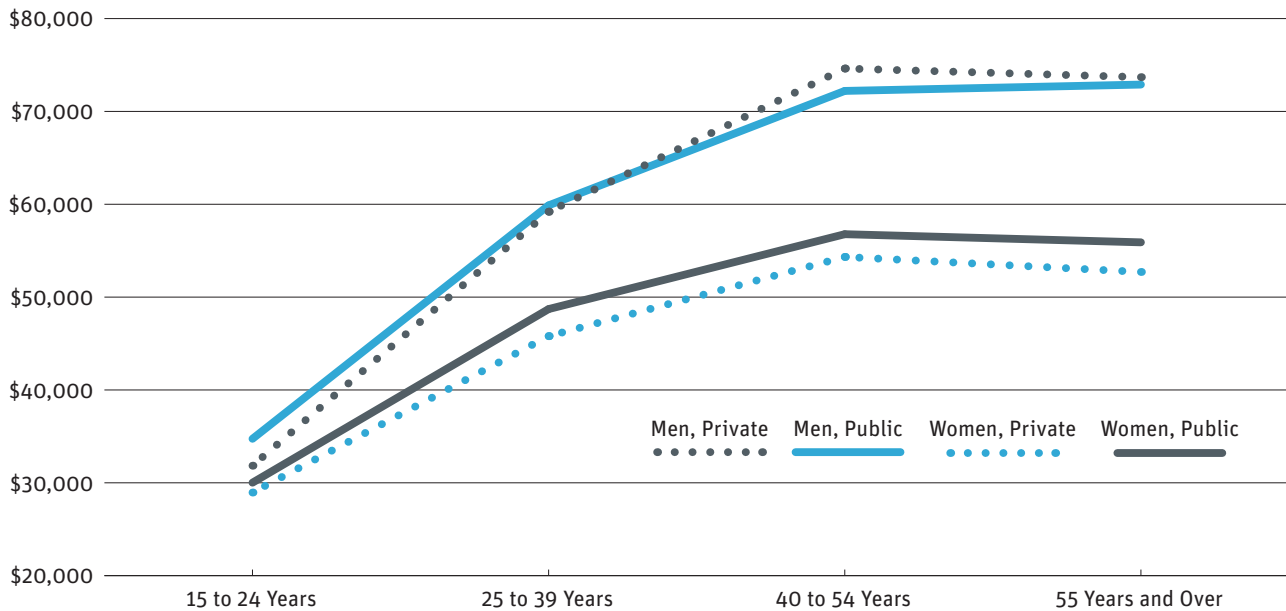


FIGURE 3 Public and Private Sector Wages by Age and Sex



the public sector. In the private sector, women are paid 20% less than their male peers. Women in health occupations earn 4% more than their private sector peers and men earn 3% less than their private sector peers.

The same is true in the (traditionally male) field of finance. Women working in finance occupations make 22% less than their male peers in the public sector and 30% less than their male peers in the private sector. Here again, the public sector does not pay everyone more, rather women in finance make 5% more on average in the public sector and men make 5% less.

When age and education levels are taken into consideration the result is the same. Women in every age group, with and without post-secondary education, face less wage discrimination in the public sector. For example, the group of women who should be among the highest paid (university-educated women between the ages of 40–54), are paid 27% less than men in the private sector. The public sector closes that gap to 17% and it does so by paying women in this group 3% more on average and by paying men in this group 6% less than their private sector counterparts.

Across the board, women are paid 22% less than men in the public sector and 27% less than men in the private sector. The extra 5% that women take home in the public sector comes to \$2689 per year. For most families, that amounts to a month's worth of basic necessities.⁷ Closing the gender wage

gap is not about providing an unearned premium to some workers and not others, it is about addressing discrimination. When the gender wage gap is filled, it makes a significant difference to women's economic security and the security of their families.

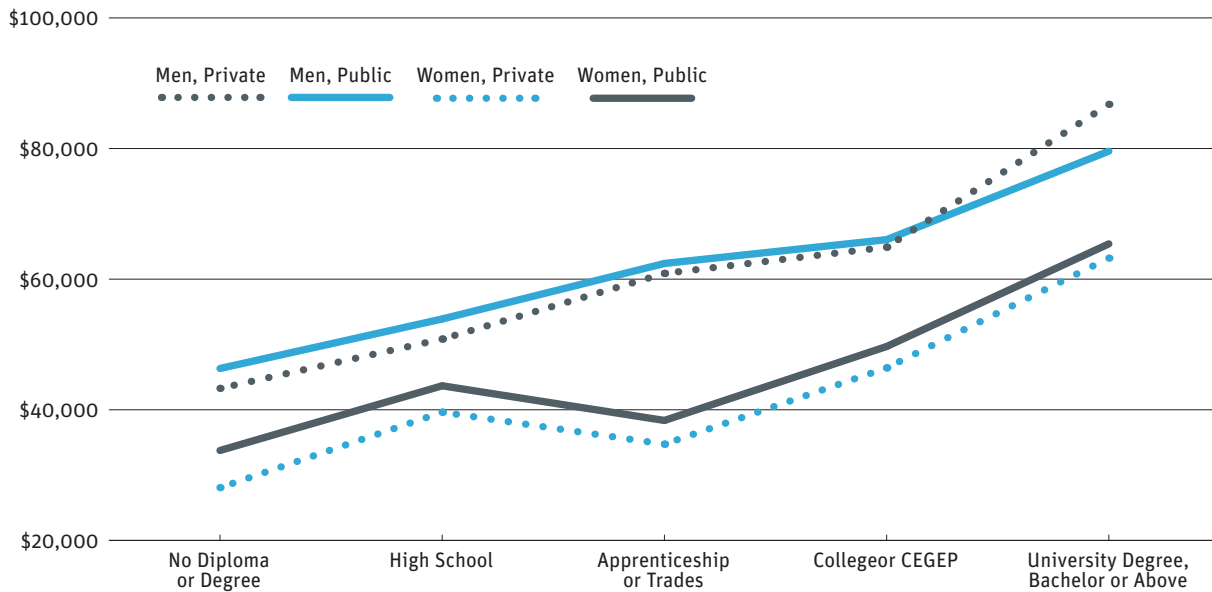
The Education Gap

THERE IS A clear and persistent correlation between education and income. However, rising tuition fees and disproportionately high youth unemployment rates mean that not everyone can afford to complete post-secondary training — be that an apprenticeship, a college diploma or a university degree.⁸ For workers with a high school degree or less, employment in the public sector can make the difference between earning enough to provide for themselves and their families or not.

Wages for workers with no post-secondary education are consistently higher in the public sector than in the private sector. This is true across age groups and for men and women alike. For the least educated women, however, employment in the public sector makes the difference between earning enough to buy a ‘market basket’ of goods or not.

The cost of providing basic goods and services for a family of four living in a Canadian city ranges from \$32,101 (Quebec City) to \$38,313 (Toronto).⁹ Wages for the least educated women, working full time, fall below that range in the private sector, with an average annual salary of just over \$28,000. The least educated women working in the public sector make just under \$34,000 per year — pushing their wages close to the amount needed to provide for themselves and their families. The impact of this is particularly significant given that households that depend on a female income earner are more likely to live in poverty, with single mothers and their children experiencing among the highest levels of poverty of any family group.¹⁰

FIGURE 4 Public and Private Sector Wages by Education Level and Sex

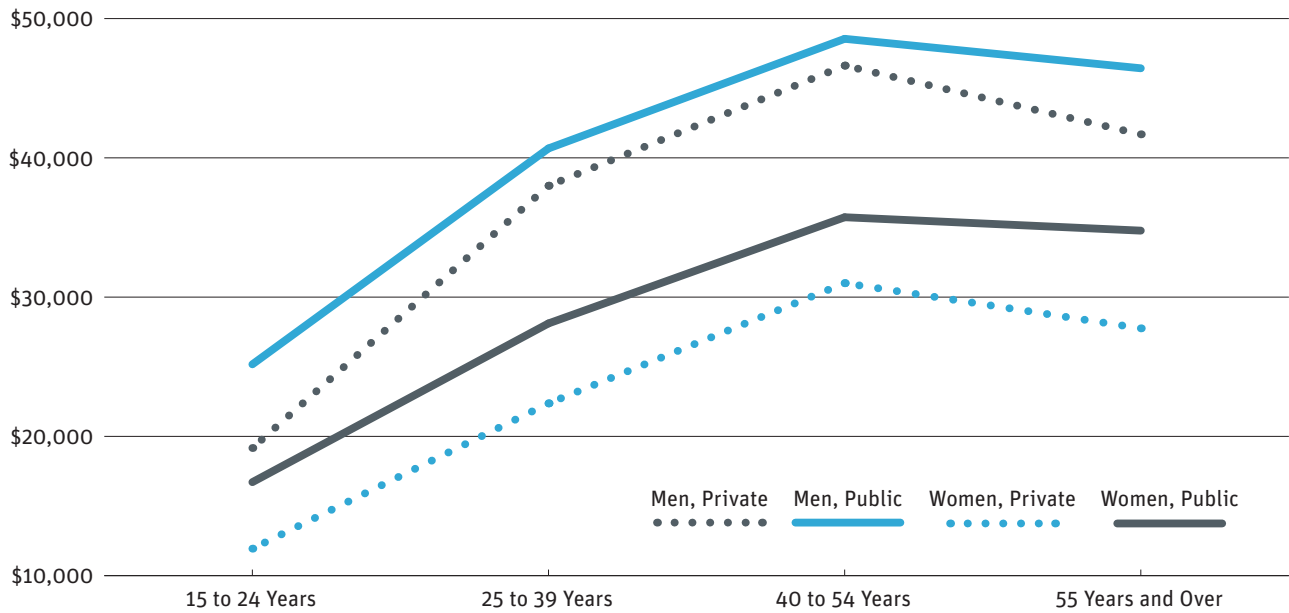


Men and women with low levels of education also see their wages fall significantly at the end of their working lives in the private sector, but not in the public sector. The least educated male workers see their salaries go from nearly \$47,000, in mid-life, to just under \$42,000 after the age of 55. In the public sector, the decline is much less acute, with the least educated male workers in the public sector seeing a 4% drop in their wages at the end of their working lives (as opposed to 11% in the private sector). Here again, this makes an important difference in ensuring that low-income seniors are not retiring into poverty.

At the other end of the education spectrum, the most educated male workers make 9% (or \$7,000) less in the public sector. Because of the correction for gender discrimination, university educated women still make slightly more in the public sector (earning 3% more on average than their peers in the private sector).

The decline in wages that less educated workers see at the end of their working lives is not present for highly educated workers. University educated workers see their earnings rise consistently over the course of their careers, with those in the 55 and older group having the highest earnings in both the public and private sector.

FIGURE 5 Public and Private Sector Wages for Least Educated Workers



Employees who bring additional training, skills and knowledge to the table can reasonably expect to be paid more. However, employees with less education also have a reasonable expectation that if they work full-time they will make enough to meet their basic needs. Thus, the fact that the lowest earning and least educated workers receive \$6000 more in the public sector and the highest earning and most educated workers see a \$7000 penalty in the public sector means that the public sector premium helps where it matters most – bringing people out of poverty – and the penalty is taken from those who need it least.

The Discrimination Gap

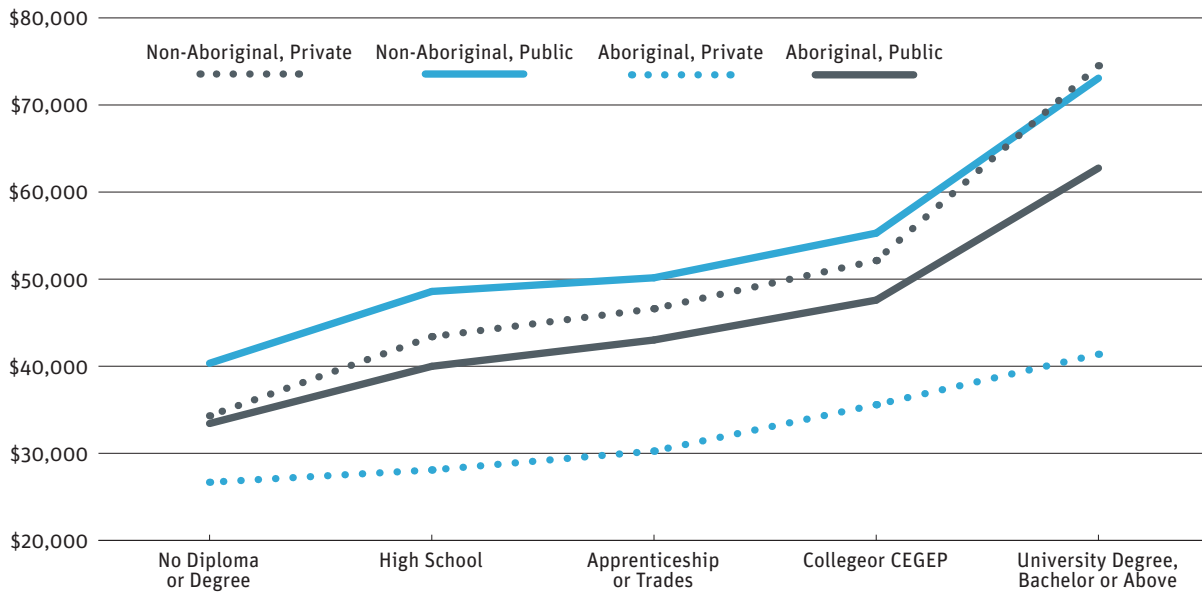
THE GENDER WAGE gap has been the subject of significant research and increasing public policy attention over the past decade. However, the *National Household Survey* data also records an equally significant wage gap in the earnings of workers who identify as Aboriginal and as visible minorities – a trend that has received less attention from researchers and policy-makers.

Aboriginal workers and non-aboriginal workers have different educational patterns and this necessarily impacts earnings. Non-aboriginal workers are more likely to have completed high school and more likely to have a university degree. Aboriginal workers are more likely to have completed training in the trades. However, when aboriginal and non-aboriginal workers with the same educational level are compared there is still a gap in their earnings – and that gap is twice as big in the private sector.

Aboriginal workers with a high school education are paid 18% less than their non-aboriginal peers in the public sector. In the private sector that gap widens to a whopping 35%. This means that in the private sector, someone with a high school diploma, working full-time, can expect to take home a paycheck that is fully one-third smaller than the person working by their side, just because they are Aboriginal.

That gap is even greater for aboriginal workers with post-secondary education. In the private sector, an aboriginal worker with a university degree can expect to take home fully 44% less than their non-aboriginal peers, with university-educated aboriginal workers earning just over \$41,000 per year compared to their non-aboriginal peers, who earn over \$74,000 per year.

FIGURE 6 Public and Private Sector Wages by Education and Aboriginal Identity



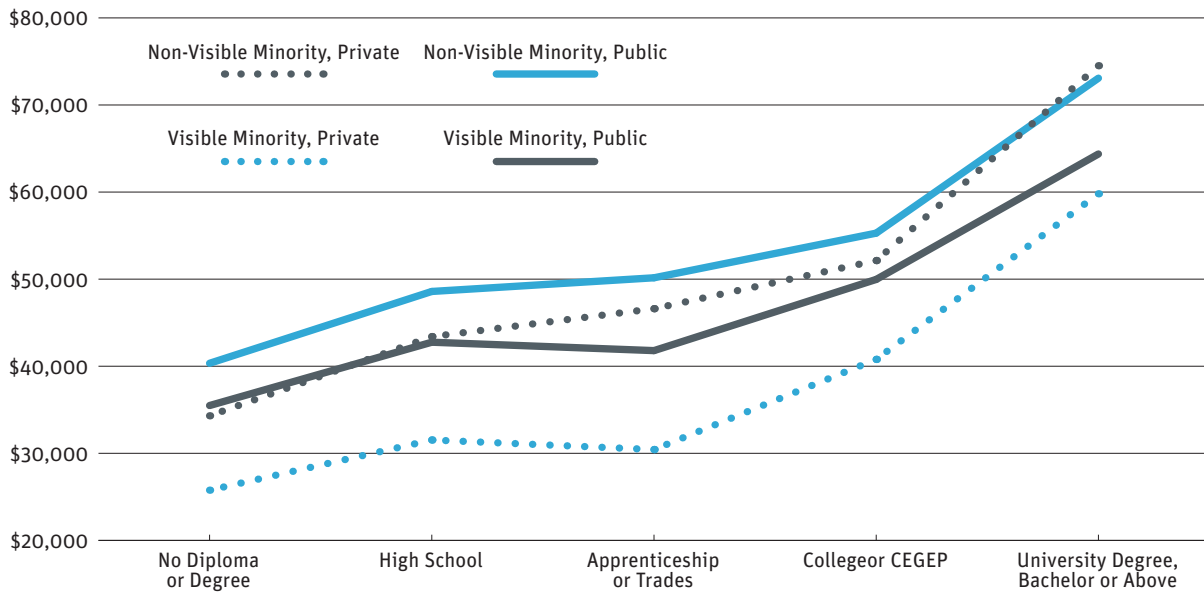
That represents more than \$33,000 in lost income each year for aboriginal workers with university degrees.

The wages of university-educated aboriginal workers are 34% higher in the public sector than they are in the private sector. That extra money goes directly to narrowing the gap between the wages of aboriginal and non-aboriginal workers from 44% to 14%. Non-aboriginal workers with a university education are paid 2% less in the public sector, further narrowing the pay gap in the public sector.

There are also significant differences in the earnings of visible minority workers and non-visible minority workers. These differences cannot be attributed only to differences in educational levels. In fact, those who identify as part of a visible minority are more likely to hold a university degree than are their non-visible minority peers, with 31% doing so, compared to 19% of the non-visible minority population. These education levels would suggest that wages should be higher for the visible minority population. They are not.

The pay gap for visible minority workers is not as great as it is for aboriginal workers, but it does persist across all education levels. In the private sector, visible minority workers with a high school diploma make 27% less than their peers (working full-time, full year). That penalty amounts to near-

FIGURE 7 Public and Private Sector Wages by Education, Visible Minority



ly \$12,000 a year for workers who already earn relatively low wages. In the public sector, that gap narrows significantly to 12%. Visible minority workers with a post-secondary education see a 13% discount on their wages in the private sector and, here again, that discount is more than halved in the public sector – with those same workers making 6% less than their peers.

There is a public sector wage “premium” for visible minority workers, but that is because they face less of a pay gap than in the private sector. Visible minority workers with a post-secondary education earn 7% more in the public sector, compared to the private sector. Non-visible minority workers with the same education level make nearly identical wages in the public and private sector. Thus, the premium exists precisely where discriminatory pay practices need to be corrected.

The Bottom Line

ON AVERAGE, WHEN you compare occupations that exist in both the public and private sector, full-time wages in the public sector are 2.3% higher than in the private sector. Given that the highest earning workers are generally paid less in the public sector, why does the premium still exist when wages are averaged together? For example, the fact that the most educated workers see a \$7000 penalty in the public sector would seem to cancel out the \$6000 public sector premium for the least educated workers. Likewise, the public sector premium for women seems to be off-set in a number of occupations by a public sector penalty for male workers.

The reason the bottom line still comes out higher for the public sector is that workers who face less discrimination in the public sector are seeking out those jobs in greater numbers. Thus, across a number of occupations more women than men are choosing to work in the public sector because this means less wage discrimination for them. More workers with low education levels are choosing to work in the public sector because they have a better chance of earning enough to lift them out of poverty there. Likewise, workers who earn bigger paychecks in the private sector are more likely to choose to work there. For example, men with a university degree are more than twice as likely to work in the private sector and men are three times as likely to work in the private sector during their peak earning years.

All of these workers are making reasonable choices about where they will get paid more. However, the reason that such a choice exists for women, for aboriginal and visible minority workers and for less educated work-

ers is because the public sector does not leave salaries to the magic of the marketplace. Pay equity legislation, higher union density and policies that help workers balance family needs with work make pay more equitable in the public sector

In spite of the positive impact of these measures on the fair treatment of workers, the past five years has seen the federal government cut public sector jobs, repeal pay equity measures, and attempt to reduce access to paid leave. Federal austerity measures will result in the loss of an estimated 28,600 jobs in the public service by 2016.¹¹ Federal public servants have also seen their access to pay equity guarantees reduced by the 2009 *Public Sector Equitable Compensation Act*, which redefined sex-based pay inequality as a matter to be decided with respect to market forces, rather than a right to non-discrimination on the basis of sex. Finally, unions have been the subject of legislative attacks at both the federal and provincial level.¹²

Dismantling the mechanisms that contribute to fair pay and shifting jobs from the public sector to the private sector will not benefit the majority of Canadians. It will benefit those who already earn the highest incomes of any group of workers – highly educated, older, male professionals. The shift to the private sector will come at a high cost to the workers most likely to experience discrimination and those with the lowest wages: high school graduates, women, visible minorities, and aboriginal workers. This is not only a loss for those workers and a loss to the economy, it is a step towards a less equitable society.

Appendix A

Methodology

THIS STUDY MAKES use of a custom dataset derived from the results of the *2011 National Housing Survey* (NHS). Data was provided for the number of workers and annual wages of those who worked full-time, full-year, classified by detailed occupational group (520 different specific occupations at the 4-digit level using the 2011 National Occupational Classification), by industry, sex, age, education, racial status and region. These records represent annual earnings for employees who worked full-time, full-year, defined as those who worked for 30 or more hours a week and for 49 or more weeks per year. Those identified as self-employed were excluded as they represent a very diverse group: both owners of companies and individual contractors or consultants.

Comparing annual wages of groups of workers can be most successful in providing meaningful measurement outputs by reducing the heterogeneity between the groups in question. The natural variance in annual wages has been shown to be highly dependent and correlated to several demographics of labour market participants such as occupation, age and gender. This study leverages the large sample size of the *2011 National Household Survey* to maximize these correlations within groups to provide estimates of aggregations of workers controlling by occupation, gender and age. The study then applied a Passche index based algorithm to compute the aggre-

gated differences between private sector and public sector workers on average annual wages.

This means that the underlying multidimensional array of domain estimates by 4 digit occupation, gender and age groupings is formed by the following estimates:

$$\text{No. of 4 digit occupations} \times \text{Gender} \times \text{age groups} = \\ \text{No. of domain estimates}$$

Estimated difference in annual wage were calculated based on a Paasche Index as follows. This dataset is used to produce estimates at varying levels of aggregation and control variables.

For Occupational Average Annual Wage Index $i = \frac{\sum [G\$*G\#]}{\sum [P\$*G\#]}$

G#= Count of Government Workers matched to same occupation

G\$= Total Employment Income for Occupation

P\$= Private Sector Employment Income for Occupation

The end result of which produces a hybrid stratified estimation process that produces a much more robust and reliable series of domain estimates.

Data Quality and Outlier Detection

The much publicized changes to the traditional census collection vehicle of Statistics Canada and the move to a voluntary survey has resulted in statistical outputs that are less reliable and contain less validity. Statistics Canada has termed higher than normal global non-response rates as the culprit in reducing the usability of these outputs. That is to say, the voluntary status of the *2011 National Household Survey* has produced higher non-response rates, creating higher than normal bias within some key variables.

Specifically, the main concern is the under reporting of lower-income individuals. This has the potential to artificially inflate average wages. Statistics Canada has qualified that this bias has more of a small-area affect and that the national level estimates have been adjusted using external income sources – mainly taxation data – to mitigate some of the non-response bias on the income components.

This report conducted an extensive assessment of the 2006 census National Occupational Classifications (NOC) and the *2011 National Household Survey* NOC based upon a special concordance file provided by Statistics

Canada that links the two surveys using a common 2006 NOC for both periods. The assessment examined the variances between both periods for each of the four digit occupation codes.

The results show some variance patterns that would signify bias and resulted in an upward movement in wage estimates in the *2011 National Household Survey* data, beyond those projected by the earlier surveys. However, once the targeted population was filtered to including only full-time, full-year workers, the estimated national level average wages displayed a more similar variance pattern between the two periods for a high proportion of the occupational categories and hence it was concluded the lower wage non-response bias had been reduced to acceptable levels.

To maximize the ability of the *2011 National Household Survey* to estimate the occupational averages, the data was filtered to remove outliers and other data anomalies associated with sampling and non-sampling errors. The most significant being the creation of an occupational filter that ensured outlier detection of categories where the average wage calculated 30 percent or higher for either the public or private sectors. While the four-digit NOC code provides the highest level of detail available, these levels of wage differences may signify that these occupational groups may be sufficiently different and require further five and more digit filtering. This approach was recommended by the Treasury Board in a federal study evaluating previous methods used to compare public and private sector pay.

Outliers and non-comparable occupations were further filtered by eliminating those where less than 25 individuals were employed within one occupation. To ensure internal consistency, occupations were excluded where either the public or private sector comprised less than 2.5 per cent of total employment for the occupational group. Again this is caused by misclassification in non-sampling errors as well as the limits of the four digit NOCs to contain the heterogeneity of wage variances.

Appendix B

The Numbers

TABLE 1 Average Public and Private Wages (Full-Time, Full-Year) by Age Group and Sex

	Public Workers	Private Workers	Public Wage	Private Wage
Women				
15 to 24 Years	34,095	48,320	30,015	28,953
25 to 39 Years	324,035	490,510	48,712	45,798
40 to 54 Years	477,340	641,650	56,776	54,328
55 Years and Over	194,430	237,775	55,900	52,709
Total Age Groups	1,029,900	1,418,255	53,188	50,499
Men				
15 to 24 Years	12,225	56,345	34,739	31,843
25 to 39 Years	169,000	728,135	59,882	59,200
40 to 54 Years	272,190	917,655	72,209	74,619
55 Years and Over	119,410	345,410	72,892	73,691
Total Age Groups	572,825	2,047,545	67,915	68,964

TABLE 2 Average Public and Private Wages (Full-Time, Full-Year) by Education Level and Sex

Education Level	Public Workers	Private Workers	Public Wage	Private Wage
Women				
No Certificate, Diploma or Degree	34,315	88,535	33,768	28,080
High School Diploma or Equivalent	152,765	338,370	43,672	39,631
Apprenticeship or Trades Certificate or Diploma	78,375	96,205	38,363	34,734
College, CEGEP or Other Non-university Certificate or Diploma	338,525	400,235	49,686	46,415
University Certificate, Diploma or Degree at Bachelor Level or Above	351,275	406,430	65,401	63,218
Total: Postsecondary Certificate, Diploma or Degree	840,225	988,660	55,720	53,363
Men				
No Certificate, Diploma or Degree	27,050	205,285	46,320	43,280
High School Diploma or Equivalent	84,365	405,440	53,903	50,827
Apprenticeship or Trades Certificate or Diploma	74,595	372,895	62,402	60,877
College, CEGEP or Other Non-university Certificate or Diploma	142,640	441,950	66,050	64,903
University Certificate, Diploma or Degree at Bachelor Level or Above	207,800	533,285	79,594	86,767
Total: Postsecondary Certificate, Diploma or Degree	457,550	1,434,665	71,851	74,451

TABLE 3 Average Public and Private Wages (Full-Time, Full-Year) by Occupation and Sex

Occupation	Public Workers	Private Workers	Public Wage	Private Wage
Women				
Management	65540	130065	77318	76265
Business, Finance and Administration	336255	735980	49742	47110
Natural and Applied Sciences and Related	43010	104345	66508	65166
Health	271060	99045	57296	54966
Education, Law and Social, Community and Government Services	242185	115120	48519	45657
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	12600	32790	49991	46742
Sales and Service	55620	188310	35951	29440
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators and Related	1585	8945	51821	46845
Natural Resources, Agriculture and Related	145	405	50647	39795
Manufacturing and Utilities	1900	3250	65328	54515
Men				
Management	50855	234130	96070	102260
Business, Finance and Administration	93585	301555	63995	67615
Natural and Applied Sciences and Related	124110	459925	75112	76799
Health	46685	30110	66638	68767
Education, Law and Social, Community and Government Services	85370	58085	65867	67345
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	6750	37815	52942	51086
Sales and Service	54650	147100	42821	38250
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators and Related	87105	731590	61823	59795
Natural Resources, Agriculture and Related	3100	9010	51456	50000
Manufacturing and Utilities	20615	38225	83946	81792

TABLE 4 Average Public and Private Wages (Full-Time, Full-Year) by Aboriginal Status and Age

Age	Public Workers	Private Workers	Public Wages	Private Wages
Aboriginal Women				
15 to 24 Years	2,140	1,820	25,569	18,996
25 to 39 Years	22,500	16,665	42,663	37,495
40 to 54 Years	36,425	22,230	50,919	47,131
55 Years and Over	10,720	6,265	49,427	41,337
Aboriginal Men				
15 to 24 Years	585	1,150	27,508	11,294
25 to 39 Years	7,940	11,915	51,293	45,087
40 to 54 Years	15,235	19,635	58,123	55,529
55 Years and Over	5,500	6,445	59,498	42,802
Non-Aboriginal, Non-Visible Minority Women				
15 to 24 Years	27,635	36,335	30,357	29,474
25 to 39 Years	254,510	354,210	49,125	46,059
40 to 54 Years	402,580	496,215	57,481	54,965
55 Years and Over	166,545	193,765	56,459	52,893
Non-Aboriginal, Non-Visible Minority Men				
15 to 24 Years	7,930	27,460	36,887	32,358
25 to 39 Years	131,650	361,300	60,117	58,925
40 to 54 Years	234,595	578,745	73,214	76,198
55 Years and Over	112,145	269,075	73,275	73,349

TABLE 5 Average Public and Private Wages (Full-Time, Full-Year) by Visible Minority and Age

Age	Public Workers	Private Workers	Public Wages	Private Wages
Visible Minority Women				
15 to 24 Years	4,195	7,205	30,205	25,844
25 to 39 Years	58,640	119,285	48,618	44,193
40 to 54 Years	63,495	110,125	54,837	49,766
55 Years and Over	24,790	31,605	53,798	47,493
Visible Minority Men				
15 to 24 Years	1,340	6,705	28,723	23,834
25 to 39 Years	32,175	119,790	57,360	55,169
40 to 54 Years	38,500	127,865	70,165	68,630
55 Years and Over	15,305	46,225	70,931	60,128
Non-Visible Minority, Non-Aboriginal Women				
15 to 24 Years	27,635	36,335	30,357	29,474
25 to 39 Years	254,510	354,210	49,125	46,059
40 to 54 Years	402,580	496,215	57,481	54,965
55 Years and Over	166,545	193,765	56,459	52,893
Non-Visible Minority, Non-Aboriginal Men				
15 to 24 Years	7,930	27,460	36,887	32,358
25 to 39 Years	131,650	361,300	60,117	58,925
40 to 54 Years	234,595	578,745	73,214	76,198
55 Years and Over	112,145	269,075	73,275	73,349

TABLE 6 Average Public and Private Wages (Full-Time, Full-Year) by Aboriginal Status and Education

Education	Public Workers	Private Workers	Public Wage	Private Wage
Aboriginal				
No Certificate, Diploma or Degree	9740	11980	33424	26676
High School Diploma or Equivalent	11425	14455	39989	28088
Apprenticeship or Trades Certificate or Diploma	7365	9195	43014	30258
College, CEGEP or Other Non-university Certificate or Diploma	20535	15195	47590	35581
University Certificate, Diploma or Degree at Bachelor Level or Above	10065	5265	62751	41374
Non-Aboriginal, Non-Visible Minority				
No Certificate, Diploma or Degree	47170	196835	40337	34309
High School Diploma or Equivalent	217050	528185	48587	43399
Apprenticeship or Trades Certificate or Diploma	129360	292550	50156	46606
College, CEGEP or Other Non-university Certificate or Diploma	414510	604970	55283	52135
University Certificate, Diploma or Degree at Bachelor Level or Above	442970	584430	73079	74509

TABLE 7 Average Public and Private Wages (Full-Time, Full-Year) by Visible Minority and Education

Education	Public Workers	Private Workers	Public Wage	Private Wage
Visible Minority				
No Certificate, Diploma or Degree	4875	31005	35486	25767
High School Diploma or Equivalent	20945	87110	42758	31530
Apprenticeship or Trades Certificate or Diploma	12115	25775	41793	30432
College, CEGEP or Other Non-university Certificate or Diploma	48945	98510	49968	40787
University Certificate, Diploma or Degree at Bachelor Level or Above	117040	264295	64372	59804
Non-Aboriginal, Non-Visible Minority				
No Certificate, Diploma or Degree	47170	196835	40337	34309
High School Diploma or Equivalent	217050	528185	48587	43399
Apprenticeship or Trades Certificate or Diploma	129360	292550	50156	46606
College, CEGEP or Other Non-university Certificate or Diploma	414510	604970	55283	52135
University Certificate, Diploma or Degree at Bachelor Level or Above	442970	584430	73079	74509

Notes

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3 “Gender Wage Gap: Full Time Employees.” OECD. Available online at: <http://www.oecd.org/gender/data/genderwagegap.htm>

4 “Employment Income Statistics in 2010 (7), Sex (3), Work Activity in 2010 (3), Highest Certificate, Diploma or Degree (6) and Industry - North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) 2007 (104) for the Population Aged 15 Years and Over in Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2011 National Household Survey.” Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

5 “CANSIM Table 202-0102: Average female and male earnings, and female-to-male earnings ratio, by work activity, 2011 constant dollars, annual.” Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

6 Beninger, Anna (2013). *High-Potential Employees in the Pipeline: Maximizing the Talent Pool in Canadian Organizations*. Toronto: Catalyst.

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11 Macdonald, David (2013). *The Fog Finally Clears: The Job and Services Impact of Federal Austerity*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

12 Jackson, Andrew (2013). “Up Against The Wall: The Political Economy Of The New Attack On The Canadian Labour Movement.” *Just Labour: A Canadian Journal of Work and Society*, Volume 20.



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