

## The Gender Pay Gap: A Closer Look at the Underlying Causes

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The movement of women into the labor force has been referred to by some as the greatest social transformation of our time. In November 2010, approximately 47% of the labor force was female.<sup>1</sup> More opportunities for women exist now than ever before, and the presence of women in a wide range of workplaces is common. Yet one issue that's still being discussed is the gender pay gap.

The most commonly cited statistic in the current gender pay gap discussion is the "77 Cents" statistic: women earn 77 cents for every \$1 earned by their male counterparts. This statistic is presented in nearly every discussion; it has been cited by White House Senior Adviser Valerie Jarrett, Acting EEOC Chairman Stuart Ishimaru, Secretary of Labor Hilda Solis, and various scholars, academics, consultants and practitioners. The "77 Cents" statistic has been used as supporting evidence in discussions ranging from abstract theoretical musings on the role of women in society to concrete policy proposals such as The Paycheck Fairness Act.

The current administration has given gender pay equity a high priority. An interagency task force on gender pay equity has been created, and one of their main objectives is to better understand the full of the gender wage gap.

All of the current administration's work, however, is being driven by the "77 Cents" statistic and the assumption that the 23 cents-per-hour gender differential is attributable to gender discrimination. The "77 Cents" statistic does not accurately depict the real gender pay gap. It references the raw gender pay disparity, and does not consider the impact of legitimate non-discriminatory factors. When one examines the gender wage gap accounting for legitimate non-discriminatory factors such as occupational choice, industry, work experience, hours worked, the cash/benefits tradeoff, etc., the gender pay gap significantly narrows. In fact, there may be no gender pay gap at all.

### *The "77 Cents" Statistic*

In September, the U.S. Census Department released its report on income, poverty and health insurance coverage.<sup>2</sup> In that report, they indicate that the 2008 and 2009 ratio of female-to-male earnings of full-time, year-round workers<sup>3</sup> 15 years and older was 77%. This ratio is consistent with the findings of other research.<sup>4</sup>

The first thing that many people think of when they hear this statistic is gender discrimination: women earn 77 cents for every dollar earned by men because of discrimination. In actuality, the "77 Cents" statistic tells us nothing about gender discrimination. One cannot automatically assume that an observed differential in the earnings of men and women is attributable to gender discrimination. More importantly, the 77% ratio is the raw

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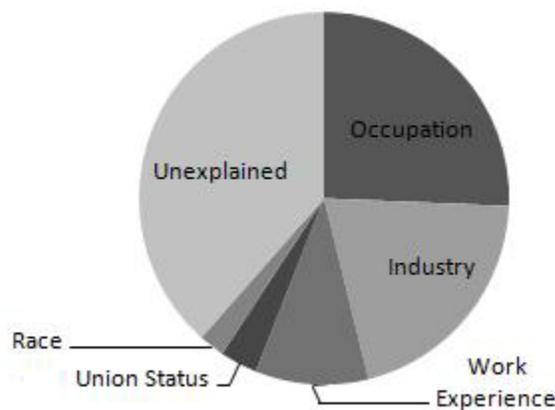
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earnings difference, and fails to consider a variety of factors that create legitimate differences between the earnings of men and women.

### *A Closer Look*

As noted by Blau and Kahn,<sup>5</sup> “some of the raw wage gap is due to differences in the measured characteristics of men and women.” In fact, Blau and Kahn found that approximately 59% of the raw wage gap could be explained by factors such as occupational category, industry, work experience, race, and union status. As shown in Figure 1, 27.4% of the raw wage gap is explained by occupational category. Industry category accounts for 21.9%, while labor force experience accounts for 10.5% of the raw wage gap. Union status and race account for 3.5% and 2.4% of the raw wage gap, respectively.

Figure 1: Explaining the Raw Wage Gap



Blau and Kahn also found that accounting for education reduces the raw wage gap by 6.7%.<sup>6</sup> This is consistent with research by the U.S. Department of Labor which found that women were more likely than men to graduate from high school, more likely to attend college,<sup>7</sup> and more likely to earn bachelor's, graduate and professional degrees.<sup>8</sup>

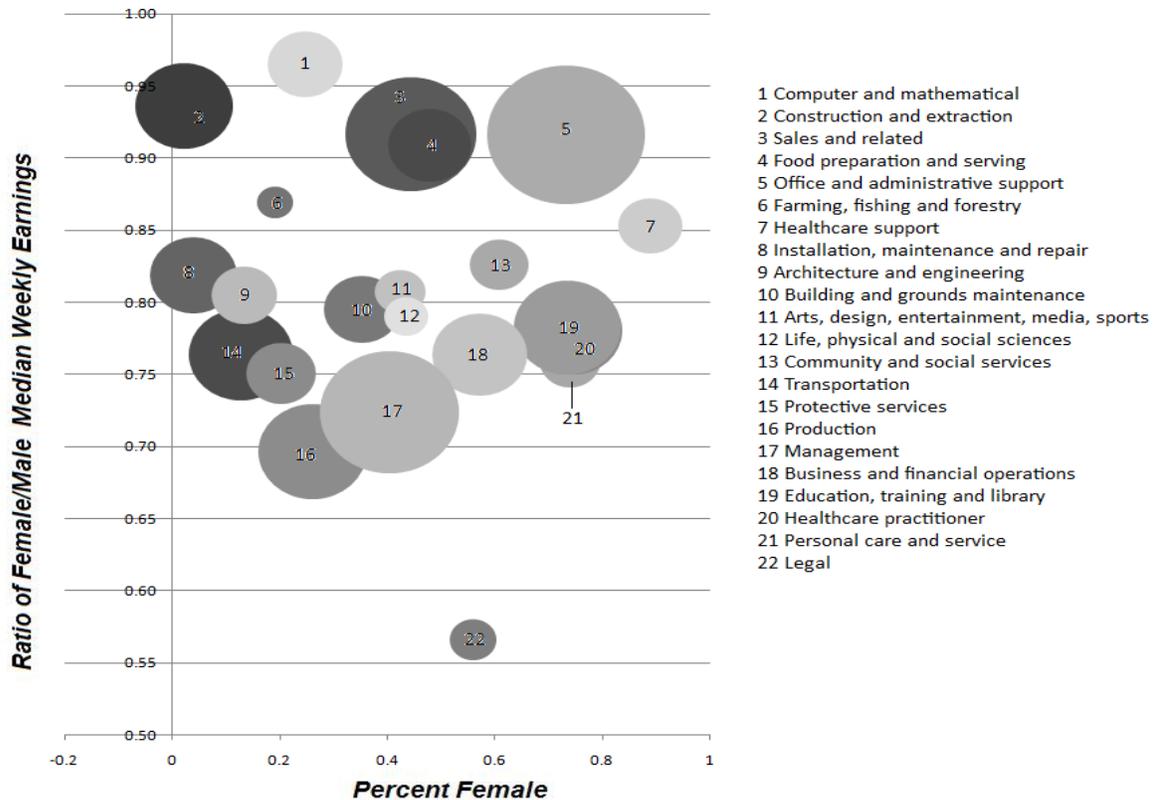
As will be shown in subsequent sections, the portion of the wage gap left unexplained by Blau and Kahn's research can be explained by individual choices made by individuals, such as career interruptions, willingness to negotiate, compensation expectations, hours worked, and the cash versus benefits tradeoff.

### *Occupation*

Historically, men and women have worked in different occupations. This phenomenon has been referred to by researchers as occupational selection, occupational sorting, and occupational segregation. While differences in the occupational choices of men and women have narrowed over the last thirty years, the differences persist. Using 2009 data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, we can take a closer look at the gender pay gap by occupational category.<sup>9</sup> Figure 2 shows, for each of the twenty-two major occupational categories, three pieces of information:

1. relative size of the occupational category—in terms of workers—is represented by the size of the sphere;
2. the percentage of female employees in the occupational category is presented along the horizontal axis;
3. the ratio of female-to-male median weekly earnings is presented along the vertical axis.

Figure 2: Occupation, Gender Distribution, and Earnings Ratios



There are some key observations from Figure 2:

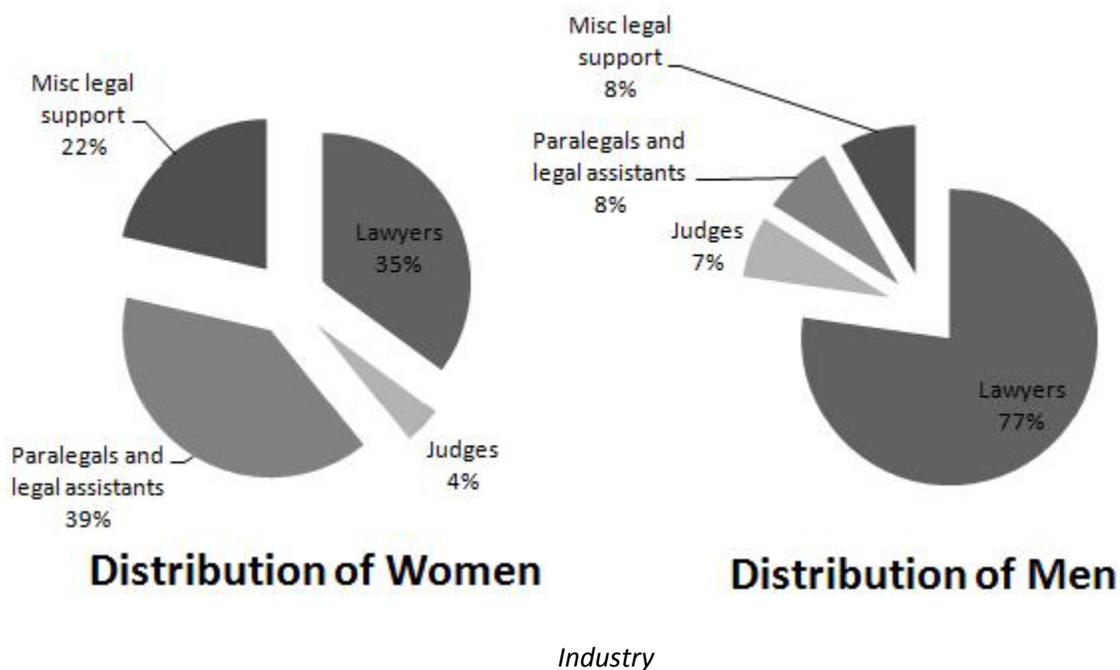
- Office and administrative support occupations employ the most individuals (14% of the total workforce age 16 and older);
- Farming, forestry and fishing occupations employ the least individuals (0.7% of the total workforce age 16 and older);
- Healthcare support occupations have the largest percentage of females (88.9%);
- Construction and extraction occupations have the smallest percentage of females (2.1%);
- Computer and mathematical occupations have the smallest difference between female and male weekly earnings (ratio = 96.5%);
- Legal occupations have the largest difference between female and male weekly earnings (ratio = 56.6%).

In all twenty-two occupational categories, the ratio of female-to-male median weekly earnings is less than one, meaning that the typical female in the given occupation earns less than her male counterpart in the same

occupation. This can be explained in part by looking at the various positions within occupation. For example, within the “legal” category, which has the smallest ratio of female-to-male earnings, there are four sub-categories: (a) lawyers, (b) judges, magistrates and other judicial workers, (c) paralegals and legal assistants, and (d) miscellaneous legal support workers.

As can be seen from Figure 3, an interesting pattern emerges when we look at the gender distribution within these four sub-categories. Men are concentrated in the “lawyers” category (77.2%), while women are concentrated in the “paralegals and legal assistants” category (86.7%). It should come as no surprise that the earnings of paralegals and legal assistants are typically less than the earnings of lawyers. This sheds light on why, even when controlling for broad occupational category, differences in the earnings of men and women still exist. If we were able to refine occupation sufficiently, it may be the case that more of the gender pay gap could be explained. Unfortunately, as we refine our definition of occupation further and further, data less and less data are available, making gender comparisons of earning more difficult and less reliable.

Figure 3: Gender Distributions Across Legal Sub-Categories



Fields and Wolff<sup>10</sup> examined the size of the gender wage gap by industry. They found that in some industries, the wage gap was positive, and in other industries, the wage gap was negative. Another interesting finding from this research is that industries that pay relatively high wages to men generally also pay relatively high wages to women.

According to Fields and Wolff, industry can account for as much as 22% of the gender wage gap. Furthermore, the observed differences in the distributions of men and women among industries can account for an additional 19% of the raw wage gap. Fields and Wolff found that in total, industry can account for as much as 37% of the raw gender wage gap.

### *Prior Work Experience*

While there's consensus surrounding the observation that accounting for prior work experience reduces the size of the gender wage gap, research has shown that the way in which work experience is measured impacts the amount of this reduction.

Not surprisingly, it has been empirically demonstrated that the actual amount of an individual's work experience accounts for a much larger portion of the gender wage gap than does the individual's potential work experience.<sup>11</sup> Potential work experience is often measured as the individual's age minus the individual's years of schooling, minus the individual's age when first attending school (usually assumed to be five or six).

Frequently, potential work experience is used as a proxy for actual work experience. Cases where this proxy is commonly used include situations in which actual work experience is unknown or unavailable, available only in a form that is not conducive to formal analysis (e.g., hard copy documentation), or situations in which creating a data set for actual work experience is prohibitive in terms of time and/or expense.

The problems with using potential work experience as a proxy for actual work experience are twofold. First, potential work experience may not reflect relevant actual work experience. If an individual changes from one occupation to another, and the skill sets and human capital requirements are different for those two occupations, potential work experience is likely to overstate actual relevant work experience.

Second, and perhaps more importantly to the current discussion, using potential work experience in a compensation model can introduce an artificial gender bias. This artificial gender bias stems from the fact that women typically experience greater periods of absence from the labor force than men because of childbearing and child rearing. This can lead to a distortion of the true picture of compensation equity.

Consider the following example. A thirty-five year old male employee and a thirty five year old female employee hold the same job and have identical educational backgrounds. Both entered the labor force at age 22, right after completing bachelor's degrees. Assume that the male employee has thirteen years of prior relevant experience, while the female employee has eight years of relevant prior experience because she left the labor force after giving birth and did not return until her child began elementary school. Further assume that the male earns \$2,500 per year more than the female employee, and we know with certainty that this \$2,500 difference is attributable to the five year difference in experience, and nothing else.

Using potential work experience does not, and in fact cannot, account for the situation described above. Our calculation of potential work experience would indicate that both individuals have thirteen years of experience. If we compare the compensation of the male employee and the female employee in the above example and control for gender and potential work experience, the model will indicate that the \$2,500 difference in earnings is attributable to gender. More specifically, one might infer that the \$2,500 difference is attributable to gender discrimination, when in fact the difference is attributable to differences in actual work experience.

### *The Role of Choices*

After controlling for occupational category, industry category, labor force experience, union status and race, a different picture of the gender wage gap emerges: women earn 91 cents for every \$1 earned by their male

counterparts. But this nine cent differential is not automatically attributable to gender discrimination. It's likely that most—if not all—of this nine cent differential can be explained by looking at the choices individuals make.

In 2009, the Department of Labor commissioned a study on the gender wage gap.<sup>12</sup> In the *Foreword* to this report, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Federal Contract Compliance Charles James stated:

This study leads to the unambiguous conclusion that the differences in compensation between men and women are the result of a multitude of factors and that the raw wage gap should not be used as the basis to justify corrective action. Indeed, there may be nothing to correct. The differences in raw wages may be almost entirely the result of individual choices being made by both male and female workers.

Some of the choices that may contribute to the gender pay gap include differences in career interruptions, willingness to negotiate, compensation expectations, hours worked, and the cash versus benefits tradeoff.

#### *Career Interruptions*

As mentioned previously, work experience explains a substantial amount of the gender pay gap. Empirical research has found that the continuity of work experience also plays an important role in earnings. Dey and Hill found that career interruptions, such as taking a leave for childbirth or for raising children, is associated with reduced earnings.<sup>13</sup> They also found that these career interruptions were more prevalent among mothers than among fathers.<sup>14</sup>

The results of a study by Light and Ureta indicate that after a career interruption of at least one year, the earnings of men decline approximately 25% upon returning to work.<sup>15</sup> The decline in earnings among women is approximately 23%. Interestingly, after a career interruption of at least one year, women's earnings recover faster than men's earnings.

Light and Ureta also found that the timing of career interruptions is important. Based on their statistical analysis, they estimate that the differences in the frequency, duration, and scheduling of periods of non-employment account for as much as twelve percent of the raw gender wage gap.

#### *Negotiation and Compensation Expectations*

Research indicates that there is a substantial difference in the willingness to engage in negotiations by gender. Babcock and Laschever examined compensation negotiations by students graduating from professional schools.<sup>16</sup> Women were significantly less likely than men to engage in negotiations to improve upon the initial compensation offer. Only 7% of the female students attempted negotiation, compared to 57% of the male students. As noted by Bowles, Babcock and Lai, women's reluctance to initiate negotiations, as compared to men, may be an "important and underexplored explanation" for the gender pay gap.<sup>17</sup>

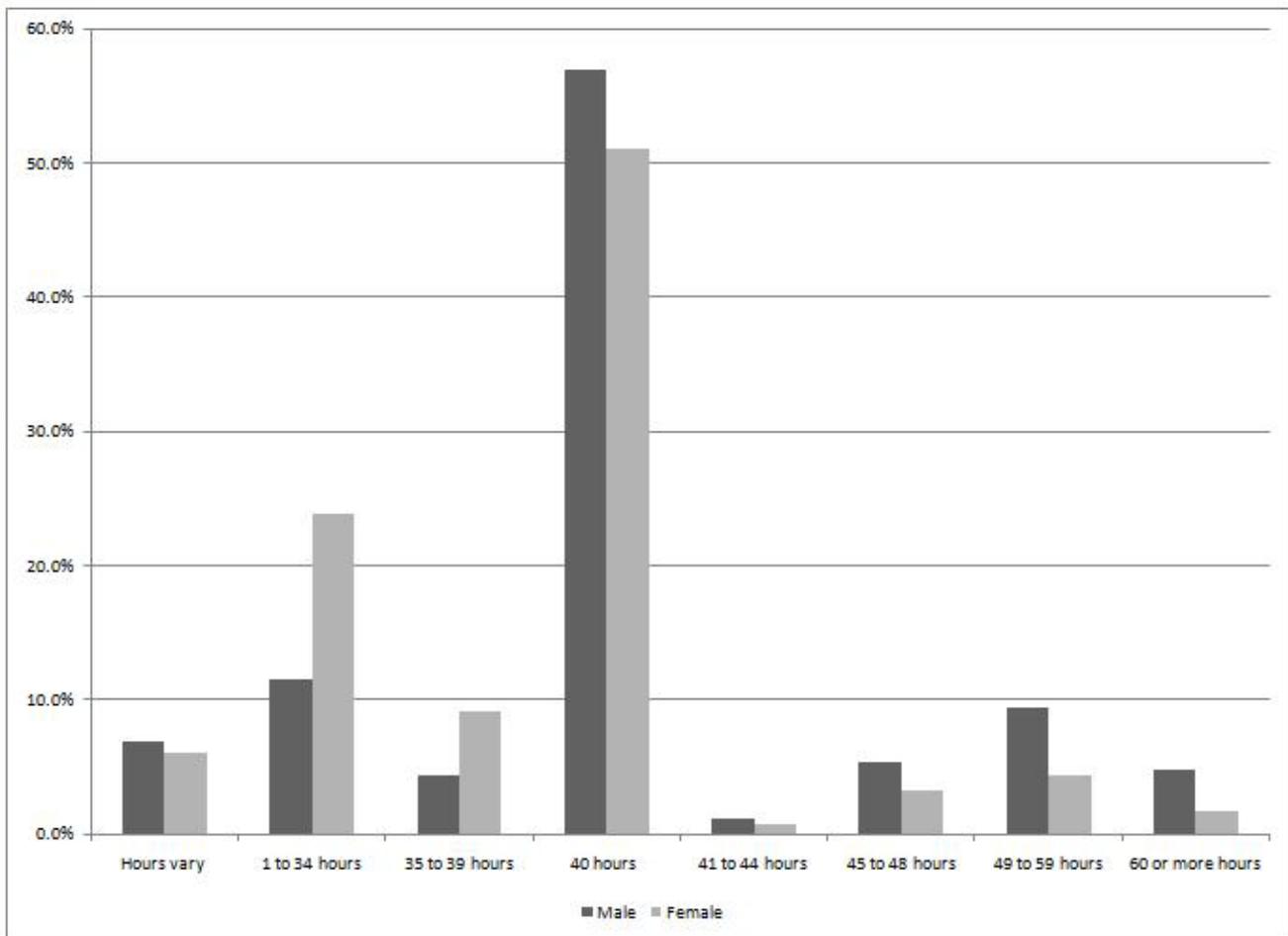
Intertwined with negotiation is compensation expectation. As noted by Hogue, DuBois and Fox-Cardamone, pay expectations play a role in the gender pay gap.<sup>18</sup> Considerable empirical support exists for the notion that women set lower compensation goals than men. This, in turn, leads to lower compensation as a result of negotiation. Sauser and York found that despite the fact that women typically earn less than men in similar positions, the satisfaction of women with their pay tends to be equal to or greater than men.<sup>19</sup>

Several studies of college students indicate that female students have lower compensation expectations than male students. One study showed that women’s estimates of “fair pay” for their first job averaged four percent less than men’s estimates; the estimate of fair career peak pay by women was twenty-three percent lower than men’s estimates. Another survey of undergraduate business students found that women’s salary expectations were between three and thirty-two percent lower than the expectations of men for the same positions.<sup>20</sup>

*Hours Worked*

Contributing to the gender pay gap are differences in the number of hours usually worked during the week by men and women. Figure 4 shows the usual number of hours worked per week by gender.<sup>21</sup> Not surprisingly, the majority of male and female employees usually work 40 hours per week: 57% of men and 51% of women. An interesting pattern emerges when we look at those employees who usually work more than 40 hours per week; they are predominantly male. According to data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, one in five men usually work more than 40 hours per week, compared to only one in ten women.

Figure 4: Weekly Hours Usually Worked By Gender



It logically follows that if men are generally working more hours—and specifically more overtime hours—the earnings of men will be greater than the earnings of women. This raises an interesting point about the way in which we measure the gender pay gap. The majority of empirical studies examines earnings, rather than pay rates. This could be leading to a distortion of the real picture of gender pay equity. If men are choosing to work more overtime hours, as indicated in Figure 4, then even if male and female employees have the same base rate of pay, the male employee's earnings will be greater than the female employee's earnings, simply because of overtime pay.<sup>22</sup>

### *Cash Versus Benefits Tradeoff*

Benefits account for nearly thirty percent of total compensation,<sup>23</sup> yet have been largely ignored in studies of the gender pay gap. Part of the reason benefits are ignored stems from the fact that pay and benefits are interrelated. Fringe benefits are provided more frequently to employees with relatively high levels of skill, job commitment, work experience, and job tenure.<sup>24</sup> Employees with these characteristics also tend to receive higher levels of wages and salaries. This positive correlation makes empirical analysis difficult, and statistical analysis methods and data sets must be developed to account for—and circumvent—this correlation.

Solberg and Laughlin conducted a study which accounted for this positive correlation.<sup>25</sup> In their study, Solberg and Laughlin estimated the size of the gender wage gap using only wages as the measure of earnings. They then re-estimated the size of the gender wage gap using an index of total compensation that included not only wages but nine types of fringe benefits.<sup>26</sup> Solberg and Laughlin concluded that “any measure of earnings that excludes fringe benefits may produce misleading results as to the existence, magnitude, consequence, and source of market discrimination.”<sup>27</sup>

### *The Need For More Research?*

In his 2010 State of The Union address, President Obama stated “[w]e’re going to crack down on violations of equal pay laws—so that women get equal pay for an equal day’s work.”<sup>28</sup> As a result of this pledge, the National Equal Pay Enforcement Task Force was created. The Task Force consists of members from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the U.S. Department of Justice, the U.S. Department of Labor, and the Office of Personnel Management.

The Task Force has identified five persistent challenges to the enforcement of equal pay laws.<sup>29</sup> One of these challenges is the government’s ability to understand the gender wage gap, and to identify and combat wage discrimination.

To address this challenge, the Task Force is recommending the reinstatement of the Equal Opportunity (“EO”) Survey administered by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs. This recommendation was accompanied by the OFCCP’s announcement on August 17, 2010 that the Interpretive Standards for Systemic Compensation Discrimination and the Voluntary Guidelines for Self-Evaluation of Compensation Practices would be rescinded.<sup>30</sup>

The Task Force believes that collecting more information about the earnings of men and women in the private sector will allow a deeper understanding of the gender wage gap, and will help to better target enforcement efforts. Therefore, they are recommending the reinstatement of the Equal Opportunity Survey, or similar instrument.<sup>31</sup>

*Reinstatement of the EO Survey and Increased Enforcement*

The intention of the original Equal Opportunity Survey was to increase compliance with equal opportunity requirements by improving employers' self-awareness and encouraging them to engage in compensation self-evaluations. The Survey was also intended to improve the use of federal enforcement resources by targeting those employers most likely to be out of compliance.

The Task Force believes that the implementation of an Equal Opportunity Survey—or similar instrument—will allow (a) better identification of those employers likely to be out of compliance with respect to compensation discrimination, (b) narrowing of the issues on which the resulting review will focus, and (c) identification of employers for corporation-wide and industry-focused reviews.

Additionally, the Task Force is considering revamping the EEO reports. Currently, there are four versions of the EEO report, but only one of the four versions collects any wage-related data. After reviewing the EEO reports and other data currently available, the EEOC concluded that there is no federal data source containing private sector employer-specific wage data by demographic characteristics.

Inter-agency cooperation of enforcement is also on the Task Force agenda. This is echoed in the Department of Labor's Strategic Plan 2011-2016.<sup>32</sup> According to the Strategic Plan, worker protection agencies are reforming their operations to increase collaboration with other federal, state and local agencies to ensure compliance throughout the workplace, and impose penalties and other remedies that are consistent with the seriousness of the violation.

It is not clear what the revised EO and EEO reports will look like, what specific information will be collected, or exactly when the compensation Standards and Guidelines will officially be rescinded by the OFCCP. What is clear is that the current administration has placed gender pay equity near the top of its agenda, and they will be taking a far more coordinated approach in the enforcement of gender pay equity.

It remains to be seen how the new data to be collected will contribute to the current administration's understanding of the current gender wage gap. The real question is whether having access to all of this data will provide a picture of the gender pay gap more accurate than the one we currently have.

*Conclusion*

While the government claims that it does not fully understand the gender wage gap, existing research provides substantial insight. Legitimate factors such as occupation, industry and work experience account for approximately fifty four percent of the gender wage gap, reducing the raw difference of twenty three cents per hour to an adjusted difference of nine cents per hour.<sup>33</sup> When personal choices, career interruption patterns, negotiation and compensation expectations, hours worked, and benefits are considered, this nine cent per hour difference is reduced even more.<sup>34</sup>

Even if the raw gender wage gap is not fully explained by the legitimate factors and the personal choices research has identified to date, one cannot infer that any remaining differential is attributable to gender discrimination. Undoubtedly, there are real cases of gender pay discrimination in our society. However, automatically concluding that any observed pay differential by gender is the result of discrimination is a spurious conclusion.

Gender pay equity is an issue that will continue to be discussed. One can only hope that as this discussion moves forward, the “77 Cents” statistic will cease to be the centerpiece of that discussion, as it does not accurately depict the real gender pay gap. When legitimate non-discriminatory factors and personal choices are accounted for, the gender pay gap significantly narrows. In fact, there may be no gap at all.

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<sup>1</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, Table A-1. Employment Status of the Civilian Population by Sex and Age (<http://www.bls.gov/news.release/empsit.t01.htm>)

<sup>2</sup> DeNavas-Wait, Carmen, Bernadette D. Proctor, and Jessica C. Smith, U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P60-238, *Income, Poverty and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2009*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 2010

<sup>3</sup> A full-time, year-round worker is a person who worked 35 hours or more per week (full-time) and 50 or more weeks during the previous calendar year (year-round).

<sup>4</sup> Shriver, Maria and the Center for American Progress, “The Shriver Report: A Woman’s Nation Changes Everything”, 2009. Blau, Francine and Lawrence Kahn, “The Gender Pay Gap: Have Women Gone as Far as They Can?” *Academy of Management Perspectives*, February 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Blau, Francine and Lawrence Kahn, “The Gender Pay Gap” *Economists’ Voices*, June 2007

<sup>6</sup> Women’s educational attainment has a positive effect on the gender wage gap. An editorial by Christina Hoff-Summers appearing in the September 21, 2010 edition of the New York Times cited a study indicating that young, childless, single urban women earn eight percent more than their male counterparts. This is in large part attributable to the fact that more of the women in this demographic earn college degrees when compared to their male counterparts.

<sup>7</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, “America’s Youth at 22: School Enrollment, Training and Employment Transitions Between Ages 21 and 22 Summary” Economic News Release, January 28, 2010 (<http://www.bls.gov/news.release/nlsyth.nr0.htm>)

<sup>8</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, “Educational Attainment in the United States: 2009”, April 20, 2010

<sup>9</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Highlights of Women’s Earnings in 2009”, Report 1025, June 2010

<sup>10</sup> Fields, J. and E. Wolff, “Interindustry Wage Differentials and the Gender Wage Gap”, *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, October 1995, Vol. 49

<sup>11</sup> Gabriel, P.E., “The Effects of Differences in Year-Round, Full-Time Labor Market Experience on Gender Wage Levels in the United States”, *International Review of Applied Economics*, July 2005, Vol. 19

<sup>12</sup> CONSAD Research Corporation, “An Analysis of the Reasons for the Disparity in Wages Between Men and Women”, prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, January 2009

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between motherhood and women’s earnings, see Anderson, D.J., M. Binder and K. Krause, “The Motherhood Wage Penalty Revisited: Experience, Heterogeneity, Work Effort, and Work-Schedule Flexibility”, *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 2003, Vol. 56

<sup>14</sup> Dey, J.G. and C. Hill, [Behind the Pay Gap](#), American Association of University Women Educational Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2007

- <sup>15</sup> Light, A. and M. Ureta, “Early-Career Work Experience and Gender Wage Differentials”, *Journal of Labor Economics*, 1995, Vol. 13
- <sup>16</sup> Babcock, L., and S. Laschever, *Women Don’t Ask* Princeton University Press, 2003
- <sup>17</sup> Bowles, Hannah, Linda Babcock and Lei Lai, “It Depends Who Is Asking and Who You Ask: Social Incentives for Sex Differences in the Propensity to Initiate Negotiation” ([http://cbdr.cmu.edu/papers/pdfs/cdr\\_099.pdf](http://cbdr.cmu.edu/papers/pdfs/cdr_099.pdf))
- <sup>18</sup> Hogue, M., DuBois, C. L. Z. and L. Fox-Cardamone, “Gender Differences in Pay Expectations: The Roles of Job Intention and Self-View”, *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 2010, Vol. 34
- <sup>19</sup> Sauser, William and C. Michael York, “Sex Differences in Job Satisfaction: A Re-Examination”, *Personnel Psychology*, 1978, Vol. 31
- <sup>20</sup> Martin, Beth Ann, “Gender Differences in Salary Expectations When Current Salary Information Is Provided”, *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 1989, Vol. 13
- <sup>21</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Highlights of Women’s Earnings in 2009”, Report 1025, June 2010
- <sup>22</sup> This discussion assumes that overtime is granted to male and female employees equally, and the only difference in overtime actually worked is attributable to individual choice.
- <sup>23</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Employer Costs for Employee Compensation – June 2010” (<http://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/ecec.pdf>)
- <sup>24</sup> CONSAD Research Corporation, “An Analysis of the Reasons for the Disparity in Wages Between Men and Women”, prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, January 2009
- <sup>25</sup> Solberg, E. and T. Laughlin, “The Gender Pay Gap, Fringe Benefits, and Occupational Crowding”, *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 1995, Vol. 48
- <sup>26</sup> The nine categories of benefits included in the analysis are retirement benefits, life insurance benefits, medical benefits, dental benefits, training and education benefits, profit sharing, maternity / paternity benefits, flexible work hours, and employer-subsidized child care.
- <sup>27</sup> Solberg, E. and T. Laughlin, “The Gender Pay Gap, Fringe Benefits, and Occupational Crowding”, *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 1995, Vol. 48
- <sup>28</sup> Remarks By President in State of the Union Address, January 27, 2010 (available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-state-union-address>)
- <sup>29</sup> National Equal Pay Enforcement Task Force (available at [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/equal\\_pay\\_task\\_force.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/equal_pay_task_force.pdf))
- <sup>30</sup> The Interpretive Standards for Systemic Compensation Discrimination and the Voluntary Guidelines for Self-Evaluation of Compensation Practices are available from the Department of Labor’s website: <http://www.dol.gov/ofccp/compfs.htm>
- <sup>31</sup> From 2000 to 2005, the OFCCP utilized the Equal Opportunity Survey to collect information on personnel data and compensation by EEO-1 category. The hope was that the EO Survey would identify non-compliant federal contractors and assist the OFCCP in identifying contractors for further evaluation. The EO Survey was discontinued in 2006 after an independent consulting group found that it was not a valid tool and did not predict systemic discrimination.
- <sup>32</sup> The Department of Labor’s Strategic Plan 2011-2016 is available at [http://www.dol.gov/\\_sec/stratplan/StrategicPlan.pdf](http://www.dol.gov/_sec/stratplan/StrategicPlan.pdf)
- <sup>33</sup> Blau, Francine and Lawrence Kahn, “The Gender Pay Gap: Have Women Gone as Far as They Can?” *Academy of Management Perspectives*, February 2007
- <sup>34</sup> The amount of reduction after considering personal choices, career interruptions, negotiation and compensation expectations, hours worked, cash versus benefits tradeoff, etc., varies by researcher, groups of employees studied, and how the explanatory factors are defined and calculated. But there is consensus across this research that these factors do explain a portion of the raw gender wage gap.