### **Unequal Equal Pay Policies**

Explaining the unequal enforcement of equal pay policies across gender and ethnicity in Switzerland



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### Introduction

The puzzle: Why are the Swiss equal pay policies for migrants more effective compared to those for women?

Research design

Implementation of equal pay policies

**Gender Equality Act (1996-)** 

"Accompanying measures" to EU/CH agreements on the free movement of workers (1999-)

**Comparative analysis** 

### The puzzle

Number of cases investigated in 2010

Less than 100 individual cases (equal pay for men and women)

Over 35,000 company cases (equal pay for natives and foreigners)

## Factors that may explain variations in the implementation of equal pay policies

Political support for equal pay policies (population, parliament, government)

Role played by interest politics (employer organizations, trade unions, NGOs)

Regulatory strategy (liberal vs. corporatist implementation methods)

Framing of equal pay policy (anti-discrimination vs. anti-social dumping discourse)

#### Our cases

### A 'most similar systems research design'

#### Implementation of Swiss equal pay policies

- 1. Gender Equality Act (1996-)
- 2. 'Accompanying measures' to EU/CH agreements on the free movement of workers (1999-)

The two parallel Swiss cases allows us to control many explanations that have been used in the past to explain the relationship between gender inequality and different labour market regimes

#### **Gender Equality Act (GEA) (1996-)**

#### Political origins of the act

1981: Constitutional amendment approved following a popular initiative (60.3% yes-vote)

1991: General "women strike" (for its implementation)

1996: Approval of the Gender Equality Act by a large majority across the political spectrum in parliament

-> Political support for equal pay policies was high

#### **Gender Equality Act (1996-)**

Role Played by Interest Organizations:

Trade unions: strong mobilization (women strike)

**Employers organizations: hostile to the act** 

NGO's: Important lobbying role of bourgeois women rights groups within centre-right parties

-> Absence of a corporatist policy network that could play a role in the act's implementation

#### **Gender Equality Act (1996-)**

#### Regulatory strategy:

Liberal implementation method based on the conferral of individual rights and the right to take legal action

The number of legal GEA cases is very low and typically limited to public service employees

(note the very weak protection against unjust dismissals in Switzerland)

#### **Gender Equality Act (1996-)**

#### Framing of equal pay policy:

The Swiss gender equality policy debate is framed in terms of a "women's rights" and a "anti-discrimination" discourse.

This triggered the enactment of the GEA but also explains its regulatory strategy

#### **Political origins**

- 2000: Bilateral EU/CH agreements (....) on the free movement of workers (67.3% yes-vote)
- 2005: Extension of the EU/CH agreement on the free movement of workers to EU 8 (56 % yes-vote)
- 2009: Extension of the EU/CH agreement on the free movement of workers to Bulgaria and Romania (59.6% yes-vote)
- -> Political support for equal pay policies was high

**Role Played by Interest Organizations:** 

Trade unions: effective use of exchange power

**Employers organizations:** more or less reluctant acceptance of the acts

NGO's: weak role of migrant rights groups

-> Presence of a corporatist policy network that could play a role in the act's implementation

#### Regulatory strategy:

Corporatist implementation method supported by statutory instruments:

- facilitated extension of collective agreements;
- enactment of standard labour contracts with minimum wages in non-unionized sectors;
- tripartite commissions at federal and cantonal level to police the labour market.

#### Framing of equal pay policy:

The Swiss gender equality policy debate is framed in terms of a "anti-social dumping" discourse.

This triggered the successful enactment of the accompanying measures but also explains the presence of an effective corporatist implementation network

	Gender Equality Act	Accompanying Measures
Low/High EFFECTIVNESS	0	1
Needs to be explained by:		
Political Support		
- Population	1	1
- Parliament/Government	1	1
Interest group /NGO support		
- Trade union	1	1
- Employer associations	0	1
- Women/migrant NGOs	1	0
Regulatory strategy		
- Liberal	1	0
- Corporatist	0	1
Framing of equal pay policy		
- Anti-discrimination	1	0
- Anti-social dumping	0	1

#### Conclusion

#### Limits of the rights-based anti-discrimination discourse

#### **Equal pay policy dilemma:**

Employer support for equal pay policies is crucial Employers don't like to pay higher wages

#### A solution for this dilemma:

Employers like their competitors to pay higher wages

See the origin of EU's equal pay Article 157 TFEU (Article 119 Treaty of Rome of 1957)