

PART TIME WORK IN CANADA

PART TIME WORK IN
CANADA:
A STUDY OF IDEOLOGY
AND IMPLICATIONS FOR WOMEN

By

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to explore the ideology of part time work and to consider the implications for women, who comprise the majority of part time workers. Ideology is examined through an analysis of the discussion and conceptualisation of part time work in business, trade unions and government. The extent, form and forum of discussion is considered, and assumptions about work, women's work and the perceived advantages and disadvantages of part time work are examined.

Three conceptions of part time work emerge, each referring to different types of work experience: "part time" as a second class employment status; "part time" as part year work; and "permanent part time work" for shorter than normal hours throughout the year. The failure to recognise different uses of the terms and the different experience of work they are used to describe has concealed the central issues related to part time work. The absence of clear definitions and the reliance on an ideal definition has served to perpetuate the inferior working conditions of part time workers and the interests of business.

The dominant ideology is shown to have several features: part time workers are viewed as temporary, peripheral, useful and cheap. Part time work is seen as suitable for married women and other marginal persons. Serious and responsible work is associated with full-time employment, and there is an acceptance of an hierarchical and split labour force. A

counter ideology, or minority view is identified in discussion. Two minority streams, with some overlapping concerns, emerge: the trade unions concern about conditions of work, and concern about equality for women, non-traditional sex-roles and alternative working hours, mainly voiced by women.

In the form in which part time work is presently conceived in dominant ideology it is unlikely to bring equality for women. The dominant ideology reinforces the maintenance of a flexible and unregulated pool of cheaper labour which serves the interests of business. Its perceived suitability for women reinforces the acceptance of sex-segregation in the labour force and maintains traditional sex-roles within the family. The expansion of permanent part time work with adequate working conditions, available for men and women, may minimise these effects.

The study illustrates the ongoing struggle for control over the labour of individual men and women in society. It also illustrates the way in which women's social roles and status, and economic status follow and accommodate to the demands of the market place.

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CHAPTER 1

PART TIME WORK IN CANADA A Study of Ideology and implications for Women.

Introduction

Part time workers, the majority of whom are women, have been increasingly prominent in the developed Western countries in the past twenty five years. Canada is one of the nations in the forefront of this trend, and in 1976 one in ten Canadians usually worked part time.¹ The increase of part time work has been in the context of rising unemployment and the growth of the service sector. In a split labour force, part time employees are typically peripheral workers in the secondary job market. Permanent part time work has been little available yet much in demand in skilled occupations.

The focus of this study is the ideology of part time work. Ideology, in the sense it will be used here, has been described as the thinking or consciousness reflecting the social situation of a particular period. The study will examine the discussion and conceptualisation of part time work by business, trade unions and government by considering the extent, form and forum of discussion. Assumptions about work, women's work, and the supposed advantages and disadvantages of part time work will be examined.

Discussion and ways of thinking about part time work reflect and perpetuate the experience of part time workers. The study will consider the impact of this on women's social

roles and status. Part time work may be the central experience of paid work for many women during their adult life. This presents a paradox. To parents, and at present particularly mothers, with family responsibilities, shorter and flexible working hours are attractive. Yet the long term implications of the trend toward part time work for women have remained obscure. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (1970) recommended increased opportunities for part time work as a means for achieving equality for women.² Government reports and some women's organisations have frequently voiced this demand. However, throughout the discussion of part time work and women there have been expressions of concern about possible negative implications of the expansion of part time work for women's status. As early as 1952 the International Labour Organisation posed this as one of the central issues in the study of part time work.³ Henripin (1970) observed that "~~as long as part time work was considered as a marginal solution~~" it may perpetuate women's inequality in the labour force.⁴ Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) referred to the "controversy on whether part time work is desirable for women with a serious career commitment".⁵

There has been little research on part time work in Canada. In U.S.A., Ginzberg referred to the lack of study of part time workers as an example of "the substantial or total neglect ofareas which are not in fashion, in which the theoretical apparatus is relatively primitive and for which the data have not even been gathered."⁶ The most comprehensive

Canadian research is Bossen's study of employer attitudes to and requirements for part time workers. It was published by the Federal Department of Labour in 1975. Other studies have used small local samples or have focussed on particular types of part time work.

Part I of this study will broadly review the changing nature of women's work, and will review the existing studies of part time work in Canada. The historical and sociological review concentrates on the period from the second world war to the present.

Part II will examine the discussion in business, trade unions and government. In attempting to operationalise the concept of ideology, explicit discussion and stated definitions and policies have been the primary focus. Where the assumptions implicit in practice are in contrast to the stated views this will be reported, as, for example, in the government's role as employer. ~~The reader should be warned that a variety of~~ definitions and working arrangements are typically included under the term "part time work". This can be confusing, but it is the attempt to tease out the different conceptions of part time work which is the value of this study.

AN OVERVIEW OF PART TIME WORK IN CANADA.

Part time workers.

The majority of part time workers have been women. The percentage of women in the part time labour force has been relatively constant - ranging from 63.5% in 1953 to 71.6% in

1976 - although the actual numbers of part time workers have increased six fold.⁷ More than half of the women part timers are married and the largest group (38.1% in 1976) are in their peak years of productivity between 25 and 44 years of age. In 1961, 17.3% of the 1.6 million women in the paid labour force usually worked part time, while 3% of the male labour force worked less than a full work week.⁸ By 1974 the number of women who worked outside the home exceeded three million, and more than one quarter of these women worked on a part time basis.⁹

Men who work part time are typically students or men retired from full-time employment, and a smaller number of others are moonlighting.¹⁰

Occupations.

In 1976, 84% of part time workers were in the service industry, and were concentrated in trade and service occupations.¹¹ The majority were in unskilled occupations. In personal and business services part time workers are employed in hotels, hospitals, and laundries, as waitresses, front desk clerks, cleaners and housekeepers. Recreational occupations include entertainment and tour guides, swimming pool and locker room attendants, cleaners and cashiers. Part time employees in the retail trade work as sales clerks, cashiers, markers, switch-board operators and food service workers.¹² One Canada Manpower official commented that recorded statistics may show only the

tip of the iceberg, as many women supplement their incomes by babysitting and housecleaning, but do not declare this for income tax reasons.¹³

Some part time work is to be found in clerical and professional occupations. In the health and correctional services, part time workers include nurses and other para-professionals. Teaching, data processing, special activity instructors and library assistants are other part time occupations.¹⁴

Part time work is concentrated in the female dominated sectors of the labour market, and part time workers are almost entirely absent from managerial positions. Wages and overall earnings of part time workers are low, as a result of the concentration of work opportunities in the low skill, low paying jobs, added to the limited opportunities for promotion.

Definitions of Part time Work.

The variety of working arrangements and conditions of part time workers is reflected in the variable nature of the concept and in the various definitions which are used. In 1963 the International Labour Organisation defined part time work as "Work on a regular and voluntary basis, for a daily or weekly period of substantially shorter duration than current normal hours of work".¹⁵ In Canadian industry this usually refers to an employee working half or less of the typical working week, that is, "24 hours or less a week". Statistics Canada changed its definition in 1976 from a person who "usually

works less than 35 hours a week" to "less than 30 hours a week".

The emphasis on regular work in this international definition theoretically serves to distinguish part time work from casual and seasonal labour. Casual work refers to temporary work where employment is "sporadic, discontinuous or short term."¹⁶ It may be full days, part days or part week work. Canada Manpower Centres define casual work as work which lasts for less than five days. Seasonal work is usually full time but only for a few months at certain times of the year, for example, fruit picking, or fishing.

In practice the distinction between part time work and other temporary labour is less than clear. The great majority of part timers work irregularly, either "on call" for a particular employer or in a series of jobs. Some opportunities for continuous, regular, part time work exist. Typically "regular" employees work either five days, for a shorter number of hours per day, or the same days regularly each week.

Two other alternatives in working time have been noted in recent years: flexitime and the compressed work week.¹⁷ Neither of these patterns of work reduce the actual number of working hours, and are therefore beyond the scope of this study.

THE DISCUSSION OF PART TIME WORK.

The Context of the Discussion.

In Canada and elsewhere part time work has been dis-

cussed in three contexts. It has been most frequently linked with the employment of women with family responsibilities.¹⁸ Part time work has been discussed as one of the new patterns of work in the context of concern about changing patterns of work and leisure in an age of automation.¹⁹ A third theme in the background discussion to part time work has been concern for the utilisation of qualified manpower within the context of expanding economies accompanied by inflation, high unemployment and periods of economic recession.

The International Labour Organisation, of which Canada has been a member since its inception in 1919, has been one of the most prolific sources of discussion and studies of part time work.²⁰ International studies were published by the I.L.O. in 1963 and 1973. Trends elsewhere were very similar to those found in Canada: married women were the predominant group, and they usually worked in service or clerical occupations, or the professions, particularly teaching, nursing and other ancilliary health occupations.²¹ The I.L.O. journal, International Labour Review has periodically published articles from Britain and other European countries where part time work has been increasing. Many of these articles focussed on women and part time work.²² The U.S. Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour studied the topic in 1951, 1960 and 1968.²³ The seventies brought studies from Australia, where, in the context of full employment, part time work for married women was introduced in areas of labour shortage. The experience of Japanese women in part time work geared to suit their family

responsibilities has been described in a study published in 1971.²⁴

The classic international study Part time Work: its extent and its problems was published by Hallaire (1968) as one of the studies of the "employment of special groups" sponsored by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (O.E.C.D.) Its objective was to compare the theoretical views of part time employment with the actual situation in eight countries, including Canada, U.K., U.S.A., and Sweden. Hallaire studied the trends in each country, those groups seeking part time work, arguments for and against part time work and problems of the lack of protection in working conditions. He noted the predominance of married women and the possibilities for single parents, students, physically handicapped persons and the elderly, thus broadening part time work from a "women's issue" to include other special groups. In his conclusion he commented that part time work was one of the solutions to "the many problems raised by women's work", but he did not explore the implications of this beyond recommending the expansion of day care services.²⁵

The few Canadian studies (see Appendix II) will be reviewed in detail in later chapters.

Conflicting interests within the Canadian discussion:

Most of the available Canadian research on part time work has been sponsored by various arms of government. Their response to the increasing incidence of part time work appears

to have been prompted by international interest. The cautious nature of their response may reflect an awareness that part time work is potentially a controversial issue with implications not only for manpower, family and community service policy, but for fair employment standards and practices. Some of the caution and silence on the topic may be the result of widely differing views between some parts of labour and business about part time employment.

Business has welcomed part time employees as a source of unregulated and flexible labour. It has not been in their interest to examine the working conditions of part timers, nor economical for them to keep records of the train of part time workers in their employ.²⁶

Traditionally the trade union movement has been concerned about part time work as cheap labour and exploitation and, in the context of unemployment, as a threat to full time jobs.

Part time work has been championed as a cause by some parts of the equal rights movement for women. Frequent recommendations for its expansion have been based on its potential advantages to women in their efforts to combine work outside the home with child care and domestic work. Several now well-established American private employment agencies have attempted to promote part time work for women: Catalyst, Alumnae Advisory Centre, and Remer-Ribolow Employment Agency are examples.²⁷ The Toronto Times Change women's project had the same goal. Women's organisations have been interested in permanent or

continuous part time work.

Some women's groups have been concerned about the exploitive aspects of part time work. For example, the Vancouver Status of Women spontaneously wrote to express their view that (B.C.) "Women's groups firmly believe that any effort to make yet more part time work available would not be advisable until our tax system is changed and some of the other negative aspects - irregular hours, fewer fringe benefits etc. - are corrected".²⁸

Writers concerned with equality of women express very different views on part time work. Some of the diversity results from the limited amount of research on the topic. Some difference of opinion stems from the absence of any detailed exploration of the implications of work for women.

Potential employees are another group interested in part time work. Schonberger (1970) revealed that nearly 10 million U.S. housewives, aged between 18 and 49 years, were interested in obtaining part time work. The conditions they required were, first, that it be part day (a four hour work day was suggested), and, second, that adequate "public or employer-furnished child care be made available".²⁹ Several Canadian surveys have demonstrated an interest by women in part time work opportunities. A sample survey of women graduates showed that more than half wanted to work part time.³⁰ In a similar study, 91.2% of a sample of 600 men and women Ontario government employees expressed an interest in working part time at some stage of their careers.³¹

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF PART TIME WORK.

It is useful now to step aside to consider some sociological issues in the study of part time work.

The conceptualisation and definition of particular social phenomena have implications for the sociology of knowledge. Mannheim (1936) and Mills (1939) have suggested that concepts, language and definitions have particular social origins, serve particular interests, and have a mutually reinforcing effect on social behaviour. They assist in the structuring of social reality. Meaning and consciousness is transmitted by what Mills called the "cultural apparatus" which is "established and used by dominant institutional orders".³²

The observations of Mannheim and Mills on the sociology of knowledge suggest several questions about the various definitions and conceptions of part time work. What are the origins of these different usages and meanings of "part time work? Whose interests do they serve? What are the implications of the absence of definitions in some areas where part time work occurs, and the lack of clarity surrounding "part time work" in others? To what extent do the different definitions reflect social reality? That is, which are useful in clarifying, rather than obscuring the actual situation of part time work in Canadian society?

The study of part time work contributes to the sociology of work and the study of industrial society. Caplow (1964)

described the sociology of work as "the study of those social roles which arise from the classification of men by the work they do".³³ By popular definition, students, retired persons, moonlighters, and married women with family responsibilities are all accorded their primary social status from some other attribute or activity. How then will part time workers be classified, and how is their increasing presence in the labour force to be understood? Patterns of part time work are significant for understanding changing patterns of paid work, leisure and domestic labour. Reasons for part time work, whether a voluntary allocation of time to paid work or the result of economic need and underemployment, are relevant to a study of industrial society. The meaning of part time work, both at the macroscopic and microscopic levels, is significant for understanding the social experience of work, and the function it serves in society.

A small number of writers have identified part time work as a key to the beginning of new structural relationships between the occupational and family systems. Some of the writing has been purely analytical. Some has been prompted by concerns about equality for women, their changing roles, and their place in the paid labour force. The question of whether part time work will bring equality for women, or conversely, whether it will perpetuate occupational segregation of women in the labour force, is significant for the sociology of women, the study of the family, the understanding of work in contemporary society, and the study of social change.

(i) The Problem of Definition:

Definitions and conceptions of part time work vary according to the patterns of employment and typical working hours in each society.

Part time work may refer to part-day or part-week work, and where the term is used to include casual and seasonal labour it may refer also to part-year employment. Where jobs are scarce apparently "part time" employment may simply be seen as short hours of work and be discussed as underemployment. Where part time employment is in the form of home industry, or where the payment is on a piece work basis it may be discussed just in those terms.

Theoretical definitions:

Several theoretical or ideal definitions of part time work have been developed. The I.L.O. (1963) definition has already been quoted.

Jean Hallaire (1968) offered a set of criteria as an ideal for defining part time employment which endorsed the I.L.O. definition. He suggested that it should be regular work, as the feature which differentiates it from casual labour is its stability. The work should also be voluntary, that is, the hours of work should reflect the choice of the employee rather than the constraints of economic circumstances. Finally, the working hours should be "appreciably below average".³⁴

Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) chose to define

"part time" specifically from the vantage point of married women, as "any or all of those arrangements for enabling mothers to continue their careers during the period when their responsibility for small children makes it hard for them to fit into standard time-tables."³⁵

A recent conference in the U.S.A. referred to three models of part time work: specialist, job pairing and job sharing.³⁶

Later chapters suggest that an adherence to an ideal definition of part time work may in fact obscure, rather than elucidate, the actual situation of part time work in society.

The ideal definitions refer to part time work as it is conceptualised in developed countries. In those developing countries plagued by poverty and under-development, work for short hours exists involuntarily because of the shortage of jobs. The 1963 I.L.O. survey noted the impossibility of ~~assessing its extent, but reported the impression that it was~~ widespread and involved many women workers.³⁷ The phenomenon is often described and discussed as underemployment, not as part time work. Some recent studies have discussed the increasing amount of involuntary part time work in the U.S.A. as underemployment.³⁸

Canadian definitions.

Pierson (1976) reported that during the second world war the National Selective Service (Civilian) Regulations exempted from government control "part time subsidiary employment which

is not (a person's) principal means of livelihood". Work was defined as "part time subsidiary" if it was in addition to a full time job or if it was outside the normal working hours of 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. Housewives were mentioned as a special case for whom it was defined as work of 24 hours or less per week, in or outside working hours.³⁹

Part time work statistics were first available in the 1951 census, and the monthly labour force survey has recorded them since 1953, using the definition of "usually working less than 35 hours a week". Part time jobs are recorded whether or not they are in addition to full time work. In recent years the majority of civil servants in Quebec have worked less than 35 hours a week, as have many teachers across the country. This inaccurately inflated part time work statistics, and in January 1976 Statistics Canada changed the definition to "less than 30 hours a week". They also introduced questions on "~~reasons for part time work~~" into the monthly labour force survey.⁴⁰

In other spheres of government part time workers are not separately defined but are subsumed under the term "employee". Canada Manpower Centres do not differentiate between job placements in full or part time work on the assumption that persons take work for the number of hours which suits them.⁴¹ The Unemployment Insurance Commission keeps no records of part time workers as such because their records are kept according to size of earnings. Canada Labour collates aggregate data on incomes and earnings. They are not presented by sex, and part time

earnings are integrated with full time earnings figures.⁴²

Part time and casual workers can obtain employment in "indeterminate" positions in the Federal Civil Service. Because of the absence of a clear definition of part time employee, permanent part time workers are excluded from the public service.⁴³ The Ontario Civil service defines a civil servant as a full time worker, although part time employees exist in the unclassified service. An Interim task force attempted to define part time employment in 1974, and in a regulation change in January 1976 to allow a pilot project, they defined it as "Employment for less than the established and normal full schedules of work." The Task force identified four distinct types of part time employment in the civil service: continuous part time employment; term employment (for special time limited tasks or projects); contingency employment ("to meet largely unanticipated occasional or spontaneous needs"); and fee-for-service part time.⁴⁴

Three conceptions of part time work.

This study shows that three types of work experience are referred to by the use of "part time" work.

I. "Part time" as a second class employment status.

One of the difficulties in defining part time work arises from the fact that "part time" does not always refer to shorter hours, but to a particular type of employment status. Usually this status is characterised by temporariness and

limited commitment on the part of the employer to the employee. Sometimes the supposedly "temporary" arrangement may persist for a number of years, but the "part time" status reflects conditions of work and benefits available to the worker. Part time workers frequently work just below the maximum number of hours (presently 30 a week) and receive "part time" benefits, that is few or no benefits, in addition to their wage.

II. "Part time" as part year work.

The only common thread in the various working arrangements described as "part time work" is that it is part year work. Part time work throughout the year sometimes merges with seasonal labour, and "part time" employees work full time for a period, for example, at Christmas or during the summer holidays.⁴⁵

"Term employment", "fee-for-service" and "contingency" ~~part time employment, identified by the Ontario Task force,~~ may fit into this category.

III. Permanent part time work.

This type of part time work is described in the definitions of "part time employment" suggested by the I.L.O. and Hallaire. Synonyms are "continuous part time", as used by the Ontario Task force; and "regular" part time, a term commonly used in the retail trade.

The implications of these different uses and the resulting confusion in the discussion of part time work will

become apparent throughout the study and will be considered in the conclusion.

(ii) The Social Function of Part time Work.

Implicit in discussions of work is the assumption that work is a full time occupation. Publications in the sociology of work, such as Caplow (1964) The Sociology of Work, Fox (1971) A Sociology of Work in Industry and Parker (1971) The Future of Work and Leisure do not mention part time work. Traditionally the discussion of the meaning of work has assumed that work is a person's major activity, that which determines his or her social role and status, as well as his or her personal identity and self-definition. In spite of changing conceptions of the meaning of work, this assumption tends to have been maintained.⁴⁶

Part time work has developed where people, usually women as secondary family income earners, occasionally sought extra (paid) work to supplement their family income. Zweig (1952) contended that "married women and especially those with children at home really only want part time jobs and accept full time employment only because part time work is not available".⁴⁷ Myrdal and Klein (1956) noted that part time work was a solution to the "widespread desire of married women to enter gainful employment" in Britain. They suggested that it was a "good temporary solution" for women who wanted to resume their careers after the child rearing years. Some of the advantages they mentioned were maintaining their skills; being home for the children after school; breaking the "monotony of

unrelieved housework while not impinging too heavily on domestic routine"; and helping "to preserve a certain discipline of work" which facilitates re-entry into the labour force as a full time worker later.⁴⁸ Cook (1975) in her survey of The Working Mother in nine countries suggested that "When a mother cannot arrange for child care, she seeks to solve the problem by working part time".⁴⁹ The common thread in all three suggestions is that part time work is a convenient, short term solution to women's wish to work and to fulfil their family obligations.

For students, an increasing proportion of the part time labour force, part time work can provide income during their schooling and anticipatory socialisation for work. One business periodical recommended that "The non-book knowledge of how to work with people as a member of a competitive organisation is of course invaluable to a student".⁵⁰ For retired persons, part time work can ameliorate the boredom and sense of uselessness induced by compulsory retirement.

The function of part time work in the political economy has been little discussed. In industries subject to peak periods, either weekly or yearly, part time workers have been welcomed and have filled the gaps in the ebb and flow of the demand for labour. They have been equally useful in continuous operations, to provide labour for evening and weekend hours without the costs and other problems of scheduling full time workers. Some beginnings have been made linking part time work with "peripheral" and "marginal workers". Morse (1969) has provided the most substantial contribution with his book The

Peripheral Worker. His "theory of peripherality" will be discussed later in this chapter.⁵¹

Part time work is still surrounded by connotations of temporariness: it is seen as "subsidiary", "occasional" and "peripheral". The status and concrete benefits and work opportunities available to part time workers reflect these assumptions. In spite of the increasing numbers of persons working part time, it is still seen, with few exceptions, as inconsequential and 'second class' work.

The meaning of part time work is difficult to separate from beliefs and ideas about women's work. The traditional division of labour within the family has been such that work has been man's sphere and an income to support the family has been his responsibility and burden. Historically women have been valued for their child bearing function and their production of domestic and sexual services. Until relatively recently sociologists have studied women only in connection with their domestic role. In spite of the increased participation of women in the paid workforce, women's work continues to be a curiosity and is only beginning to be explored. Women in the labour force are still frequently discussed as an homogenous group, although they may be married, single and self-supporting, childless or with children, among other social role patterns.

The underlying premise appears to be the legacy derived from biology and traditional family roles that "Women's work" is different from men's work. As women have entered the paid

labour force, they have done so by performing tasks which were closely associated with women's service as housewife and mother. They have entered service and "helping" occupations. Their dominance in the growing administrative and clerical work force of the twentieth century was not in management, but as secretaries and clerks - the housekeepers and Girl Fridays of the market place.

Closely related to this assumption is another which has plagued the history of women's wages. Child care and household maintenance is not paid work and so women's work in general has been economically undervalued, and the women underpaid. It has been assumed that women's work is easier, less necessary and therefore should be paid less.⁵²

Geoffroy and Sainte Marie (1971) reported union members attitudes to women in industry in Quebec. They viewed women as temporary workers, taking jobs on a short term basis while ~~waiting to marry, to have their first child, or to supplement~~ husband's income. Women were believed not to be seriously attached to the workforce.⁵³

The belief that women work only for "pin money", or to supplement husband's income to provide luxuries, is still prevalent in spite of the percentage of women who are self-supporting, and the large number of women in the labour force whose earnings bring their family income above the poverty line.⁵⁴

The ideology of "women's work" and that of part time work may be closely linked, and may in fact create a self-

fulfilling prophecy. Neither part time work, nor "women's work" appear to conform to the norm of work in our society. The realm of paid work has been, in our consciousness, a realm of men, and a full time occupation.

(iii) Part time Work, Women and Social Change.

Safilios-Rothschild (1976) noted that the ideal family model was described by Parsons as having one link to the occupational system, through the husband's work. She observed that dual linkages (and even equal status dual linkages) were occurring and that it was likely that these would require structural changes in one or both systems. In her view, this was unnecessary as long as women remained "marginal and secondary" workers when they entered the workforce. Similarly no changes had to be made when women worked part time because this enabled them "to carry out all their familial responsibilities with some minor adjustments."⁵⁵ Young and Willmott (1973) concurred with her view: "Part time work has been so popular with women (and might in future be so with men) precisely because it does enable the demands of the one institution and another to be reconciled according to individual wish".⁵⁶ Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport (1971) found some acceptance of the idea of part time work as a temporary arrangement at relatively junior levels, but considerable reluctance to develop permanent part time at senior levels. Their comments were made in the context of examining the possibility of adapting employment to women's life cycles, and in the aftermath of their observation of women's

interest in permanent part time work "not simply as a temporary arrangement while they have small children but from then on throughout their working life".⁵⁷

Several writers have suggested that equality for women requires that changes occur in both the family and the occupational systems.

Marchak (1973) concluded an analysis of women's participation in the labour force by noting that part time work may be an ideal solution for both men and women, and that "to overcome the Canadian Labour Farce, there must be equal opportunities for both sexes - equal to raise children as well as to earn incomes."⁵⁸

Henripin (1970) contended that the provision of equality for women in society and in the workplace will require a "complete reorganisation of the working world". He stated that:

We must face the issue squarely. There can be no true equality of opportunity for women as long as the prime responsibility for the care of children continues to be generally and systematically left to them; any change in this area involves a complete reorganisation of the working world. Indeed either society must take complete charge of children - and this is not in keeping with Western ideas and feelings in the present day and age - or the methods of the working world will have to become far more flexible than they are at present in order to make it possible for both parents to share this responsibility on a reasonably equal basis." 59

He then suggested that part time work, with flexible working hours, was a basic step toward bringing about this change "for these are the only conditions under which it will be possible for parents to share in bringing up their children." Safilios-Rothschild (1974) also suggested that equality for women required "equal social and economic responsibility" for children

by both parents. She recommended part time work as a potential solution to inequality. However she stated that for this to occur certain conditions regarding part time work must be fulfilled: the provision of the same fringe benefits for part time and full time workers; "crediting years of part time work toward seniority, promotion, tenure and salary adjustments in the same ways as years of full time work"; "encouraging sufficient numbers of men to work part time"; and "making an effort to establish the part time work option in at least some high prestige occupations".⁶⁰

These writers are referring to the conception I have called "permanent part time work". They have provided a glimpse of what is possible with regard to part time work. Their view rests on certain assumptions about the role of women and the potential of part time work. They assume that work is important to women and can be made compatible with maternal and domestic responsibilities. ~~Parenthood, not motherhood,~~ is what should be considered with regard to child care. There is an assumption that shorter working hours need not detract from the seriousness and importance of work, and that there is no magic in the number of hours of weekly work - as the history of changing "normal" hours of work indicates.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND ASSUMPTIONS:

To focus on one aspect of social life is to plunge into the complexity of the way men and women in a society live together, provide for their basic needs, and develop a way of life

for themselves and their children. It opens a window onto the complexity of social organisation within a particular national political economy, and to the similarities and differences of international political, social and economic systems. A study of part time work clearly demonstrates this. Hallaire (1968) noted that "the part time employment system cannot be studied in any given country without a thorough understanding of both the economic and psychological background."⁶¹

In order to articulate the theoretical perspectives which have informed this study, I will discuss the concept of ideology; some concepts from the study of stratification - class, elites, and sexism; the concepts of the split labour force and occupational segregation; and a theory of peripherality.

The Concept of Ideology.

Ideology has already been defined as the "consciousness of an epoch" - ~~the thinking or consciousness~~ reflecting the social situation of a particular period. In his essay which traced the historical evolution of the meanings and uses of the concept of ideology, Lichtheim also identified a second recurring definition. Ideology has sometimes been defined as "false consciousness", in that "thinking may be 'ideological' in the narrower sense of distorting rather than reflecting the reality it describes".⁶² Earlier, Mannheim (1936) had made a similar point about "false consciousness" when he noted that "knowledge is distorted and ideological when it fails to take account of the new realities applying to a situation, and when

it attempts to conceal them by thinking of them in categories which are inappropriate".⁶³

Both meanings are useful in a study of part time work. The first definition suggests the focus on the discussion about conceptions and definitions of part time work. The second points to the importance of attempting to evaluate prevalent ideas about a particular social phenomenon. Popular images and beliefs often have their roots in the social experience of earlier periods of history, and may be perpetuated by powerful groups, and the total "cultural apparatus", either because their present relevance has not been challenged, or because they serve particular powerful contemporary interests. Popular views about equality of citizens in a democratic society are one example. They have been shown to be an inaccurate reflection of the social reality of class divisions and an unequal distribution of wealth and power. Yet the perpetuation of such ideas benefit the privileged and so they retain their presence as widely held beliefs.

Marx, Mills and others have observed the impact of class and power on ideology. In the German Ideology, Marx and Engels (1846) stated that "The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas".⁶⁴

More recently sociologists have suggested that the sex variable also has had an influence on the development and perpetuation of ideology, in the form of male dominance. Dorothy

Smith (1975) suggested that women have been excluded from participation in the development of the prevalent ideologies and the structures which perpetuate them. In examining the implications for academic women, she referred to the male influence in the "social apparatus concerned with the production and distribution of ideas and images" and men's control over "what enters the discourse, by occupying the positions which do the work of gatekeeping and the positions from which people and their 'mental products' are evaluated".⁶⁵ Smith's contribution was to link the prevalent ideas to the positions of power, held by men, which determine, and limit popular ideology. It is important to add, however, that sexism has been shown to be a prevalent ideology in our society and so is unlikely to be perpetuated only by men, but by men and women. It is likely, for instance, that many women will share ideas about women's work, which may not be accurate, nor, on examination, perpetuate a positive experience for women.

Power: the concepts of class and elite.

Marx' comments on the impact of class on ideology, reported above, presuppose an analysis of society divided by class. Marx' analysis of class rested on his assertion that "The mode of production of material life determines the social, political and intellectual life processes in general."⁶⁶ In his writings about capitalism during his lifetime, this led him to the recognition of classes. In spite of his various uses of the term class, he always assumed both economic and socio-

cultural dimensions of the concept. His conception of class also implied a state of conflict or struggle between the classes.⁶⁷

The concept of class has been refined and variously defined by students of social stratification since Marx. One of the related approaches to social stratification has been the development of elite theory.⁶⁸ Both the concepts of class and elites have a long history which cannot be explored here. In terms of clarifying the theoretical assumptions of the present study, it is sufficient to point out that a number of theorists, both in North America and Western Europe, have studied power and domination in capitalist society in these terms.⁶⁹

Both Porter (1965) and Clement (1975) have shown Canadian society to be structured according to class-based elite groups, in spite of their differences in orientation and, to some extent, interpretation of evidence. Clement postulated the existence of a corporate elite.⁷⁰ In contrast to pluralist analyses, Clement's analysis suggested that the development of bureaucracy has served to rigidify class and hierarchical power divisions rather than to spread power. He noted his own and other scholars observations that "increasing inequality is a general phenomenon penetrating the entire social structure".⁷¹

Alongside the development of corporate wealth and power, the trade union movement has attempted to protect the interests of labour.⁷² In spite of their relative powerlessness,

their views on a topic such as part time work are significant in that the trade union movement remains the institutionalised voice for the interests of labour.

In the era of corporate capitalism, government has become active in influencing the relationship between capital and labour through economic and labour market policies. Government, as an employer, as a "customer of the private sector", and as the initiator of many economic and social policies, has expanded its influence considerably in Canada during the twentieth century.⁷³ Miliband (1969) has demonstrated that government in capitalist societies acts to benefit capitalist interests. He stated that:

Governments may be solely concerned with the better running of 'the economy'. But the description of the system as 'the economy' is part of the idiom of ideology, and obscures the real process. For what is being improved is a capitalist economy; and this ensures that whoever may or may not gain, capitalist interests are least likely to lose. 74

As a result of these theoretical insights about the nature of power in contemporary Canadian society, business, trade unions and government were chosen as the significant participants in the discussion of part time work.

Sex and Social Stratification.

The impact of sex on ideology has already been postulated. The study of social stratification has been criticised for omitting women from the analysis of power.⁷⁵ However a considerable amount of literature has recently emerged examining

sex as an independent variable, power relations in society have been described as "sexist". Safilios-Rothschild (1974) defined sexism as "the entire range of attitudes, beliefs, practices, policies, laws, and behaviours discriminating against women (or against men) on the basis of their gender."⁷⁶

Smith (1975) has indicated the need for a sociology "which will account for women's position in society and is capable of examining social structure from the perspective of women as subjects".⁷⁷ The same is true for the examination of ideology. It is this objective which prompts my attempt to examine the implications of part time work for women, given that they are the majority of part time workers.

The Split Labour Force.

Just as Canadian society is divided on lines of class and sex, the labour market is also divided.

The concepts of dual labour market, occupational segregation and a theory of peripherality will be discussed here as they are useful to an understanding of part time work.

Bonacich (1972) noted that "To be split, a labour market must contain at least two groups of workers whose price of labour differs for the same work, or would differ if they did the same work."⁷⁸ A split labour market consists in an hierarchy: employers; higher paid labour; and cheaper labour. As long as a labour shortage exists, higher paid labour is protected. Cheaper labour is an actual or potential threat to higher paid workers. Bonacich described two ways that the

hierarchy is maintained: exclusion - that is attempts to prevent the entry of cheaper labour; and caste systems - whereby cheaper labour are restricted to certain types of jobs.

The dual labour market analysis postulated a "primary sector" which "offers jobs which possess several of the following traits: high wages, good working conditions, employment stability and job security, equity and due process in the administration of work rules, and changes for advancement".⁷⁹ The secondary sector consists in jobs which "tend to involve low wages, poor working conditions, considerable variability in employment, harsh and often arbitrary discipline, and little opportunity to advance".⁸⁰ Intermittent employment is one of the characteristics of the secondary sector, and discrimination and changes in the job contract increase the secondary job market.⁸¹

A growing body of literature has been concerned to explain women's experience in the labour force. Blau and Jusenius (1976) suggested that it is likely that a greater number of women work in secondary jobs and that the dual labour market concept could assist in explaining this. It is however not useful in explaining the sex-segregation in each sector, nor the differentiation within female jobs.⁸²

One important concept in the analysis of women in the labour force is that of occupational segregation.⁸³ Armstrong and Armstrong (1975) have demonstrated that occupational segregation for women in the Canadian labour force has been consistent for the past thirty years. They found women to be

concentrated in the low skill, low paying jobs, and suggested that "the shift to more income recipients per family camouflages both the continued low pay for women and the growing income disparity for individuals."⁸⁴

On the basis of an historical and sociological analysis, Morse (1969) asserted that the American labour force was split or bifurcated along "lines of profound social cleavages where primarily age, sex and racial characteristics" were used to determine membership in either the main nucleus or the peripheral component of the labour force.⁸⁵ His formulation was similar to the dual labour market analysis. He asserted that the demands of the economy required a degree of flexibility in production, so that "Part time and intermittent employment on a significant scale are inherent characteristics of dynamic economies and economies in which personal services constitute an important part of final demand".⁸⁶ Where climatic factors add a strong seasonal character to the demand for labour, he suggested that this feature of the labour market would be particularly essential.

Morse developed a number of propositions which led to his "theory of peripherality". He asserted that peripheral work experience, characterised by intermittent employment, is usually performed by low status social groups: "in contemporary America these groups are (1) females, (2) younger and older workers and (3) the non-white. Morse described the process of the development of peripherality as a two-way commitment between the worker and the workplace, in which family and educational

experiences were considered to be key influences.

A number of writers have postulated that women have provided a reserve supply of labour, and Morse's analysis suggests that this is particularly likely for women part time workers.

METHOD.

The method employed will be the examination and analysis of secondary sources of data: documents, policy statements, recommendations, studies and journal articles. Statistical data from Statistics Canada and other studies will be used for the background material in Part I. Interviews with key and knowledgeable persons will be used to obtain and to clarify material, and to identify trends where written documents are incomplete.

In the tradition of critical sociology, the four principles which guide the research are as follows:

- (i) First, the present situation is most fully elucidated within an historical perspective.⁸⁷
- (ii) Second, an examination of a particular social activity must be grounded within a broad understanding of the social, political and economic context. A narrow limited focus on an area of study will lead to a limited view of the social issue and its future path.

In Part I, Chapter 2 will present an account of the changing nature of work and the changing roles of women in Canadian society.

Chapter 3 will consist in an examination of the extent and nature of part time work in Canada since 1945.

(iii) Third, the recognition that an objective view of social experience is difficult if not impossible, and therefore the value perspective of the researcher should be articulated as clearly as possible.⁸⁸

As I have said earlier, the study will attempt to examine part time work from "the perspective of women as subjects". As such, it is written from within the minority view which is a recurring voice in the discussion of part time work: that which envisages the possibility of an "equality of condition" for men and women in society, of men and women sharing equally in public life and work, and in the private life of the family.

(iv) The fourth principle is the assertion that any particular social phenomenon is more fully understood if the actual situation is considered alongside the way in which issues and supposed problems are discussed and conceptualised in any particular social epoch. Schroyer (1970) has described critical social theory as retaining philosophical analysis as the "mode of methodological reflection and as a critique of ideology".⁸⁹ In this context, ideology refers to the consciousness, the conceptualisations and beliefs about some aspect of social life. The historian, William Appleman Williams, sought to find a scientific view of history by looking both at the descriptions of facts and events - the reality - and at the characteristic

definition and explanation of these events.⁹⁰ This rests on the assumptions that conceptualisation and definition of issues grow out of and reflect the typical social arrangements, and that, in turn, they mould and change on-going social structures.

Part II will explore the ideology of part time work as evidenced by discussion in business, trade unions and government.

Chapter 4 will focus on the Discussion of Part Time Work in Business. Views of businessmen recorded in existing studies will be reviewed. An analysis of articles in business periodicals (listed under "part time employment") between 1960 and 1976 will be made to assess the extent and nature of businessmen's attention to part time work. (See Appendix I)

Chapter 5 will examine the Discussion in the Trade Unions. Standard agreement guidelines, policies of federations of labour, and opinions expressed in existing studies will be examined. Interviews will be used to clarify material.

Chapter 6 will consist in the Discussion in Government. Studies, statements, recommendations, and unpublished reports of pilot projects and task forces will be examined. (See Appendix II)

Chapter 7 will be an analysis of Collective Bargaining and Part time Work, focussing on the practice of the Ontario Labour Relations Board.

The discussion in the various groups will be analysed according to the following indicators:

1. The extent of discussion of part time work.

2. The form of discussion - for example, policy statements, recommendations, journal articles etc.
3. The forum of discussion - the extent to which it is internal or public.

One limitation of the review of discussion is that material discussed at conferences and committees, but not recorded, has not been monitored.

4. Assumptions about work

For example, extent of concern about labour standards; concern about job security, long term job satisfaction and possibilities of promotion; assumptions about the relationship between part time and full time workers.

5. Assumptions about women and women's work.

For example: centrality or peripherality of women's work to them; assumption that they are secondary income earners; assumption that they are temporary or attached to the labour force in a long term way etc.

6. Advantages and disadvantages of part time work, and to whom these accrue.

For example, to women only; to business; to men and women; to "society" etc.

Footnotes - Chapter 1

1. Using the new definition of "less than 30 hours a week", the percentage of workers working part time in June 1976 is 10.5% (1,031,000 persons in a total labour force of 9,855,000. Canada, Statistics Canada. The Labour Force June 1976. Catalogue 71 - 001.
2. Canada: Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada Ottawa: Information Canada 1970, p. 105.
3. Their preliminary report concluded with three questions. They considered that "Any attempt to develop part time employment, in view of its economic and social implications, must take two closely linked factors into account." "Firstly, are the conditions under which part time workers are employed equivalent to those of full time workers, taking into account that their hours of service are less? ...Secondly, does part time work threaten the employment opportunities and the employment conditions of full time workers or do the latter feel this to be the case? Will the development of part time employment tend to lessen the value of women's work in general? The reserves expressed by experts in Government and worker circles and in women's movements would seem to indicate that these are two particularly difficult aspects of the question." International Labour Office. Part time Employment. Preliminary report for U.N. Commission on the Status of Women, seventh session, Geneva, 1953. (xeroxed) p. 23.
4. Royal Commission on the Status of Women op. cit., Separate statement by Jacques Henripin, p. 427.
5. Fogarty, Michael, Rhona Rapoport and Robert Rapoport, Sex, Career and Family. London: Allen and Unwin 1971, p. 158.
6. Morse, Dean W. The Peripheral Worker, N.Y. Columbia 1969, p. v.
7. See Chapter 3, Table 3:1, p. E2.
8. Eastham, Katherine and Elizabeth Neville, Working Women in Ontario, Ontario: Labour, Women's Bureau 1971 p. 5. They were quoting Canadian figures from D.B.S. Special Tables.
9. Canada, Labour. Women in the Labour Force. Facts and Figures 1975. Ottawa: Information Canada p. 23. Table 11 showed that 25.2% of the 3,161,000 women in the labour force in 1974 worked "less than 35 hours a week".

10. See D.B.S. Special Labour Force Studies No. 8, Under-utilisation of Manpower in Canada, by Nand Tandan. Sept. 1969, p. 9; Canada Labour: Trends in Working Time, 1974, p. 28, for comments on moonlighting and part time statistics. In 1972 it was estimated that 3% of the Canadian labour force were multiple job holders. For age and sex analysis of part time employees see Canada, Statistics Canada. Special article "Full time and part time employment by age and sex." The Labour Force. Jan. 1974.
11. See tables 3:6 and 3:7, Chapter 3, for percentage of part time workers in different industries and occupations.
12. Bossen, Marianne, Part time work in the Canadian Economy Canada: Labour 1975, pp. 47-8.
13. Interview with Assistant Manager, Canada Manpower Centre, Hamilton.
14. Bossen, op. cit., pp. 47-8.
15. "An International Survey of Part time Employment:1" International Labour Review. October 1963, p. 383.
16. Canada: Labour, Women's Bureau. Part time Employment in the Retail Trade. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969, p.4.
17. Flexitime refers to a flexible rearrangement of working hours, and the compressed work week describes work schedules where the normal hours of work are confined to a period shorter than the usual five days. See Trends in Working Time, op. cit.; and U.S. Temporary Commission on Management and Productivity in the Public Sector: An Introduction to Alternative Work Schedules N.Y. State, Albany, 1976 for detailed descriptions of flexitime and the compressed work week.
18. Conferences such as Women Workers in a Changing World (1963) (Geneva); The Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities (Geneva, 1965); Employment of Women - regional trade union seminar (Paris, 1970); have urged governments to develop services to enable women to combine paid work and family work harmoniously.
19. See for example Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development: New Patterns for Working Time. Paris: O.E.C.D. 1973, pp. 57-62. This report is rather typical of discussion of this subject in that it emphasised flexitime and the compressed work week, and gave less attention to part time employment. The seminar aimed to consider ways of increasing worker choice in distribution of time throughout the life cycle in order to combine (a) Work and

education (initial training and continuing education), (b) Work and family or household activities, and (c) Work and retirement.

20. They first discussed part time work in 1946 at a "meeting of experts on the post war employment of women" where it was seen as a means of combining home responsibilities and work. See also the submission to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women reported above in footnote 3.
21. I.L.O. survey 1963 op. cit., and I.L.O. Part time Employment: An International Survey, Geneva, Dec. 1973, (xeroxed) p. 29.
22. For example, "The Part time Employment of Women in Industrialised Countries" I.L.R. Vol. LXXXVI, No. 5, Nov. 1962; "Japan: Part time Employment of Women" I.L.R. Vol. LLVII, No. 5, May 1973; "Problems of women's employment in Great Britain" I.L.R. Vol. LXIX, No. 1, Jan. 1954.
23. Referred to in I.L.O. survey 1973, op. cit.
24. Australia: Department of Labour Some Aspects of Part time Work (1970) and Part time Employment (1974), see "Japan: Part time Employment of Women" op. cit.
25. Hallaire, Jean. Part time Employment: its extent and its Problems. Paris O.E.C.D. 1968.
26. See chapter 4, The Discussion in Business, for a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of part time work as presented in business periodicals.
27. "Catalyst" is a non-profit organisation aiming to increase career opportunities for women who are college graduates. It is located at 14 East 60th St. New York; the Alumnae Advisory Centre is a similar organisation also based in New York, and it sponsored Jane Schwartz' study of Part time Employment, 1964; Remer-Ribolow (private) employment agency, New York, has a division called "New time" which specialises in permanent part-time positions. (See Industry Week Oct. 14th, 1974).
28. Letter from Vancouver Status of Women Council, dated 29 November, 1976, who had heard from the Women's Bureau of this study.
29. Schonberger, Richard J. "Ten Million U.S. Housewives want to work" Labour Law Journal, June 1970, p.

30. Graham, Kathie. "Part time Employment: another alternative to the traditional work week." Canadian Personnel and Industrial Relations Journal 8 (1) 35-38 Jan. 1974, p. 36.
31. Ontario: Ministry of Treasury and Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, Womens Advisory Committee. Survey of Attitudes towards Part time permanent work in the Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs. (xeroxed) Sept. 1975, p. 1.
32. Mills, C. Wright. "Language, Logic and Culture" in Power, Politics and People edited by Irving Louis Horowitz, New York: Oxford University Press 1972 edition p. 409. See also chapters 1 and 2 of Mannheim, Karl Ideology and Utopia (1936) New York: Harvest Books.
33. Caplow, Theodore. The Sociology of Work. N.Y. McGraw Hill, 1954, p. 4.
34. Hallaire, op. cit., pp. 15-16.
35. Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport, op. cit., p. 436.
36. An Introduction to Alternative Work Schedules, op. cit. p. 37. Specialist was defined as "a task or series of tasks which require less than full time attention", job pairing "two or more people...jointly responsible for the completion of one full-time job", and job sharing is where the "job is divided so that two or more people are individually responsible for completion of an assigned portion of a full-time job."
37. I.L.O. survey 1963 op. cit., p. 384. See comments pp. 383-4.
38. See for example, Bednarzik, Robert. "Involuntary part-time work: a cyclical analysis". Monthly Labour Review, Vol. 98, No. 9, September 1975, pp. 12-18; Hodge, Claire and Kames Wetzel "Short Work weeks and Underemployment" Monthly Labour Review 90: (Sept.) 1967, pp. 30-35. For Canadian data see Tandan, Nand K. "Underutilisation of Manpower in Canada" D.B.S. Special Labour Force Studies No. 8, Sept. 1969. At that time it appeared that few part time employees worked shorter hours involuntarily. The study examined persons working shorter work weeks due to short-time and turnover and lay-offs. By June 1976 14.5% of those working part time "could only find part time work" see Table 3:10 Chapter 3, p. E38.
39. Pierson, Ruth. "Women's Emancipation and Recruitment of Women into the Canadian Labour Force in World War II" Newfoundland: Memorial University (unpublished paper) April 1976, p.7.

40. Canada, Statistics Canada The Labour Force, March 1974. "Part time work is defined as those who worked less than 35 hours during the reference week or had a job and did not work and said they usually work less than 35 hours at their present job." (p. 79) Hours "actually worked" are also recorded, though part time work statistics are compiled from the hours "usually worked". In those developed countries where part time work is used extensively the statistical definitions are variable. For example, in the U.S.A. part time workers are those persons "who usually work less than 35 hours a week", whereas in Japan the figure is 34 hours and in the U.K. it is 30 hours. New Zealand uses the percentage of three-quarters of the full working week to define the upper limit, and Australia uses a lower limit of hours to distinguish part time from casual employment. Statistics also vary according to whether second jobs are included, and whether or not work at home is counted, in addition to other variations in general labour statistics.
41. Material on the practice of Canada Manpower was obtained by a personal interview and correspondence.
42. The Unemployment Insurance Commission requires insurance payments from, and correspondingly covers, persons who earn more than \$40 per week, and who have at least eight insured weeks within one year. (Correspondence from Unemployment Insurance Commission, Ottawa). See Canada, Labour: Canadian Labour Income - Recent Trends. 1974 and correspondence from Canada Labour which stated that they had no record of earnings of part time workers.
43. See Canada Treasury Board Secretariat, Report on Part Time Work Situation 1973 (restricted.) Chapter 3 outlines the Acts and Regulations governing part time employees in the Public Service of Canada.
44. Ontario: Civil Service Commission: Task Force on Part time Employment March 1975 (xeroxed).
45. Many collective agreements, and the OLRB practice of linking year-round part time employees and students, reinforce this practice. Such employees do not move to "full-time" employment status and benefits.
46. Tilgher (1930) documented the changing meaning of work throughout various periods of history. He noted that to the Greeks work was a curse, a sorrow or burden, and that the Jewish tradition and primitive Christianity saw it as punishment for man's sin. Christianity later added a positive element - that the products of one's labour could be joyfully shared with one's needy brothers, that it made possible charity and almsgiving. Calvin brought a new

attitude to work - that men must work to follow the will of God, though they must not "lust after the fruits of their labour". But to please God "work must not be casual... Intermittant occasional work will not do. It must be methodical, disciplined, rational, uniform and hence specialised work". (p. 20) Increasingly the attitude of duty surrounding work, has been in large part replaced by the idea that work has intrinsic value. Tilgher commented that the nineteenth century was the Golden Age for the idea of work: it saw the burgeoning of the work ethic "making it the cause of all human progress, material, intellectual and spiritual". By 1898 when Charlotte Perkins Gilman was campaigning for women's right to work, she used terms which suggested it to be essential for moral health: "Human labor is an exercise of faculty without which we would cease to be human; that to do and to make not only gives deep pleasure, but is indispensable to healthy growth." (p. 157)

Twentieth century commentators acknowledged, sometimes with implied lament, that for many people work has become no more than a way to earn a living. According to Mills (1951) "Neither love nor hatred of work is inherent in man, or inherent in any given line of work. For work has no intrinsic meaning. Maslow (1954) linked work and self esteem, and Parker (1971) suggested that the meaning of work varies according to the "type of occupation (skills used), industry (use to which skills are put) and status (position in the employing organisation or in society)." (p. 52) Tilgher, Adriano. "Work through the Ages" and Morse, Nancy and R.S. Weiss "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job" in Noscov and Form, (eds.) Man, Work and Society; Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, 1898. Women and Economics. Carl N. Degler (ed.) N.Y. Harper Torchbook, 1966. Mills, C. Wright "The Meaning of Work throughout History" and Maslow, Abraham "A theory of human motivation: the goals of work" in The Future of Work, Fred Best (ed.) N.J. Prentice Hall, 1973.

47. Zweig, F. Women's Life and Labour, 1952 quoted in Myrdal, Alva and Viola Klein Women's Two Roles, London RKP 1968 edition, p. 83.
48. Myrdal and Klein, ibid., p.162.
49. Cook, Alice. The Working Mother, N.Y. Cornell, 1975, p. 37.
50. "Flexible personnel for Flexible workloads". (Comment: As you were saying.....) Personnel Journal 49 (Jan.) 1970, pp. 61-2.
51. Morse, Dean W. op. cit.

52. According to the Report of a U.S. Special Task Force (1973) "Women's status as 'secondary workers' is largely the result of their roles as mothers and their lower earnings.The occupational status of women is the major symptom of an opportunity structure that is much more limiting for women than men. And work in the home is not considered to be 'real work' by society." Report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Work in America, Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1973, pp. 64-65.
53. Geoffroy, Renée and Paule Sainte Marie: Attitudes of Union Workers to Women in Industry. Studies of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, No. 9, Ottawa, Information Canada, 1971, p. 44.
54. See for example Report of a Special Task Force, op. cit. pp. 58-59; Ontario Federation of Labour, Facts & Figures, 1974, p. 56; Canada: Labour: Women's Bureau '71. "The Importance of Perseverance"; Canada Labour: Women at Work in Canada, 1964; Gunderson, Morley "Work Patterns" in Gail Cook (ed.) Opportunity for Choice, op. cit., p. 93 ff.
55. Safilios-Rothschild, Constantina "Dual Linkages between the Occupational and Family Systems: A Macrosociological Analysis" in Blaxall, Martha and Barbara Reagan (eds.) Women and the Workplace, The Implications of Occupational Segregation, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976, p. 54.
56. Young, Michael and Peter Willmott, The Symmetrical Family, Middlesex: Penguin, 1975 edition, p. 284.
57. Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport, op. cit., p. 456.
58. Marchak, Patricia. "The Canadian Labour Farce: Jobs for Women" in Stephenson, Mary Lee (ed.) Women in Canada p. 212.
59. Henripin, op. cit., p. 426.
60. Safilios-Rothschild (1974) suggested two principles which she saw as necessary to guide policies and legislation to liberate women. First, "both parents must have an equal social and economic responsibility toward their children". This is to suggest that each must bear responsibility within the home, as well as have opportunity for participation within the 'public sphere' outside the home. The second principle was related to pregnancy and women's work. She stated that "Many discriminatory policies about women's employment have been justified on the basis of the sanctity of motherhood" and suggested

that "it is time to change policies so that pregnant women and mothers of very young infants can choose whether to work, how much time they will spend with the infant, and whether to interrupt work careers". Safilios Rothschild, Constantina. Women and Social Policy, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1974, p. 20.

61. Hallaire, op. cit., p. 97.
62. Lichtheim, George: The Concept of Ideology and other essays, New York: Vintage Books, 1967, p. 31.
63. Mannheim, op. cit., p. 96.
64. Marx, Karl. Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society. Translated and edited by Lloyd D. Easton and Kurt H. Guddat. N.Y. Doubleday & Co. Inc., 1976, p. 438.
65. Smith, Dorothy. "An Analysis of Ideological Structures & how women are excluded: considerations for academic women." Can. Rev. Sociol. & Anthro. Vol. 12, No. 4, Part 1, 1975.
66. Marx, Karl (1859) A Critique of Political Economy, quoted in the introduction to Karl Marx and Freidrich Engels The Communist Manifesto, (ed.) Samuel Beer, N.Y. Meredith Co., 1955, pix.
67. In Marx' simplest presentation he described two classes. The capitalist or bourgeois class were "owners of the means of social production and the employers of wage labour" and the proletariat were the "class of modern wage-labourers, who having no means of production of their own are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live." In the final volume of Capital, Marx referred to three social classes: wage-labourers, capitalists and landowners. Marx, Karl and Freidrich Engels, The Communist Manifesto, ibid., p. 12. Marx, Karl. Capital, Vol. III (1864-5) pp. 1031 ff. quoted in McLellan, David, The Thought of Karl Marx: An Introduction, Toronto: MacMillan, 1971, pp. 164-5.
68. Porter (1965) linked the study of class and elites and commented that "We are almost at the point of substituting power for property, that is, of constructing a twofold class system of those who have the power to make the major decisions for the society, that is, elites, and those who do not have such power, non-elites". Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969, p. 25.

69. For example, Mills (1956) described the power elite as being "composed of men whose positions enable them to transcend the ordinary environments of ordinary men and women; they are in positions to make decisions having major consequences". Domhoff (1971) defined the power elite as "active, working members of the upper-class and high level employees in institutions controlled by members of the upper class". In his analysis, the power elite "has its roots in and serves the interests of the social upper class". Mills, C. Wright. The Power Elite, N.Y. Oxford University Press, 1970 edition, p. 3. Domhoff, William G., The Higher Circles, N.Y. Random House, 1971, p. 106.
70. Clement documented two economic processes evident in Canadian history and particularly since the 1950's. The first was the "increasing centralisation and concentration of capital into fewer and larger firms", and the second was the increase of "foreign, particularly U.S., direct investment". Both processes were linked with an indigenous Canadian elite, and the development of a "com-prador elite, the Canadian counterpart of a foreign based parasite elite". (p. 168) These two groups comprise the corporate elite. Clement, Wallace. The Canadian Corporate Elite. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1975, p. 168.
71. Ibid., p. 168.
72. Porter (1965) identified labour leaders in Canada to be on the "periphery of the over-all structure of power, called in by others when the 'others' consider it necessary, or when the labour leaders demand a hearing from the political elite". Porter, op. cit., p. 540. Clement added that "To the extent labour does enter the State in Canada, it is restricted to lower levels of power". Clement, op. cit., p. 349.
73. In his analysis of The State in Capitalist Society, Miliband (1969) described the State system as being comprised of government (central and sub-central levels of government) "which speaks on the State's behalf"; the administrative hierarchy of the public sector; the military and para-military - "concerned with the management of violence"; and the judiciary, including all State sponsored forums for arbitration and conciliation. Miliband described capitalist societies as being "highly industrialised" and having the "largest part of their means of economic activity" under private ownership and control. He demonstrated the link between membership in positions of power within the State system and class (upper or professional) origin. Miliband, Ralph. The State in Capitalist Society, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972 edition, pp. 49-51.

74. Ibid., p. 79. See entire Chapter 4 "The Purpose and Role of Governments".
75. Acker (1973) pointed out six assumptions in the social stratification literature about the social position of women. The underlying assumption was that "the family is the unit of the stratification system". (p. 937) Related to this, the social status of the family is determined by the male head, and the social status of women is also determined by the man (husband or father) to whom she is attached. Women's status is presumed to be equal to that of the man to whom she is attached. Only when women are not attached to a man do they determine their own social status. Because of these observations, inequalities for women "in hierarchies of wealth, power and prestige" were for a long time overlooked in the study of social stratification.
- Acker suggested that the individual, rather than the family, was the most appropriate unit for analysis to allow the development of a more complex and more accurate analysis of social power. Acker suggested two alternative assumptions:
- "1. Sex is an enduring ascribed characteristic which (a) has an effect upon the evaluation of persons and positions, and (b) is the basis of the persisting sexual division of labour and sex-based inequalities.
 2. The sex dichotomy cuts across all classes and strata." (p. 940) Acker, Joan. "Women and Social Stratification: A Case of Intellectual Sexism". American Journal Sociology, Vol. 78, No. 4, (Jan.) 1973.
76. Safilios Rothschild (1974) op. cit., p. 1.
77. Smith (1975) op. cit.
78. Bonacich, Edna. "A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labour Market" American Sociol. Rev. Vol. 37, Oct. 1972, p. 549.
79. Piore, Michael. "The Dual Labour Market: Theory and Implications" in David Gordon (ed.) Problems in Political Economy, An Urban Perspective. Mass: Heath & Co., 1971, p. 91.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., p. 92. Piore (1970) observed that "Discrimination of any kind enlarges the captive labour force in the secondary sector, and thus lowers the wages which secondary employers must pay to fill their jobs." He also commented that work usually performed in the primary sector "is sometimes shifted to the secondary sector through subcontracting, temporary help services, recycling of new employees through probationary periods and the like."

82. Blau, Francine and Jusenius, Carol. "Economists' approaches to Sex segregation in the Labour Market: An Appraisal" in Blaxall and Reagan, op. cit., p. 197.
83. Tangri (1976) defined "occupational segregation" as occurring when an "occupation does not contain a representative distribution of persons in the major demographic variables according to their proportion in the adult population." (p. 84) Madden (1976) was more specific in her formulation when she referred to "occupational segregation by sex" as occurring in the labour market "whenever men and women are distributed over occupations in different ways." (p. 245) Hartmann (1976) argued that "Job segregation by sex....is the primary mechanism in capitalist society that maintains the superiority of men over women, because it enforces lower wages for women in the labour market." (p. 139) Tangri, Sanra S. Comments Iv, Madden, Janice Fanning. Comment III, and Hartmann, Heidi, "Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation by Sex" in Blaxall and Reagan, ibid.
84. Armstrong, Hugh and Pat Armstrong. "The segregated participation of women in the Canadian Labour Force, 1941-71" Can. Rev. of Sociol. & Anthro. Vol. 12, No. 4, Part 1, 1975, p.
85. Morse, op. cit., p. 66.
86. Ibid., p. 65.
87. C. Wright Mills has claimed that this is indispensable to an understanding of the inter-relationships of social structures and the processes by which they change. He stated:
 "If we want to understand the dynamic changes in a contemporary social structure, we must try to discern its longer run developments, and in terms of them ask: What are the mechanics by which these trends have occurred, by which the structure of this society is changing?"
 Mills, C. Wright. The Sociological Imagination, N.Y. Oxford University Press, 1971 edition, p. 152, see also entire chapter 4 "The Uses of History".
88. Schroyer speaks of the attempt to make facts meaningful, to uncover the implicit meaning of facts, while recognising that neutrality cannot be achieved. Robert Lynd made similar points. (See Lynd, Robert. "Knowledge for What?" in Truzzi, Marcello (ed.) Sociology: The Classic Statements. N.Y. Random House, 1971, pp. 393-4.)
 Piet Thoenes, has described his search for a "scientific guiding principle" in a way that is useful. Referring to the history of a society he states that "what is implied

in principle is a relationship of tension in which the social sciences do their work." He further claimed that any analysis which fails to maintain its focus on this tension "runs the risk of shedding its scientific nature". How then is it possible to maintain a focus on this tension? Theones highlights the inadequacies of two possible methods. To focus only on the ideals, aspirations or Utopias of a society leaves the study afloat from the existing situation. Yet to "confine oneself to a description of existing social facts in an encyclopedic form" is equally unproductive. It is not necessarily clear what a social fact is, and some criteria must be used to determine the value or weight of any social fact for a particular sociological analysis.

Theones suggested that the appropriate criterion for selection is the "aspiration concept". He stated:

Once it is realized that inter-human events in the field of group relationships are the result of human aspirations, then it becomes clear that... the aspiration concept must be accepted as the criterion of selection when existing relationships are being described. It is this dialectical tension between what is and what ought to be which gives its cachet to social events, and thereby to the science which studies them. (pp. 29-30)

If objectivity is impossible it is difficult to fully explicate the value stance of a researcher and the exercise can become reduced to a debate about differing views and opinions on matters which are open to empirical investigation. It is possible for example, to determine who are the part-time workers and where they work. It is more difficult to understand why and to evaluate effects of the expansion of part-time work. To do so and to employ Theones "aspiration concept" requires an explication of the various interest groups involved, and their values: employers, women workers, trade unions, public policy makers. To this extent at least it is possible to articulate those features of human experience and social life which are valued by this researcher and by other commentators. Theones, Piet. The Elite in the Welfare State, London: Faber and Faber, 1962, pp. 29-30.

89. Schroyer, Trent: "The Tradition of Critical Theory" in Critical Anthropolology, Vol. 1, Sept. 1970, p. 24.
90. Williams, William Appleman. The Contours of American History. Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1961, See pp. 20-1 in Chapter 1, "History as a Way of Learning".

PART I.

CHAPTER 2

THE CHANGING NATURE OF WORK AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC LIFE

Introduction

The majority of part time workers, and those most significantly affected by the way it is used and conceptualised, are women. It is therefore useful to examine part time work within the context of the changing nature of work and history of "women's work".

Woman's social role has been circumscribed by the family roles of wife and mother. Dorothy Smith (1973) has observed that "The situation of women cannot be understood without relating it to the family. Nor can the structure and organisation of the family be understood without grasping how it is determined by the organisation of the productive enterprise."¹ While women have typically been involved in the production of goods (cooking, sewing) and services (child care, 'wifery' and housework) within the home, this has been indirectly related to the economy. "Women's work" has been unpaid work. It has had use but not surplus value in the economy.

The entry of women into the paid labour force since World War II, both as full time and part time workers, has been viewed as bringing about major changes in the social and economic position of women. This popular belief obscures some other features of the history of women's work which will be

considered in this chapter.

A long range historical view indicates that prior to industrialisation women were active in home and agricultural production and were therefore crucial to economic life.² Since the onset of industrialisation women were increasingly isolated from production in the private domain of the family. Essential though this activity is to the economic and social order, according to Dorothy Smith, it does not take place "within the public sphere...in which history is made".³

However the participation of women in the paid labour force has been gradually increasing since the mid-nineteenth century: first, single women, and recently since World War II, married and older women.⁴ The twentieth century brought two world wars and also increased urbanisation and industrialisation and subsequent changes in the occupational structure. The growth of the service sector and the expansion of trade have drawn on women's services. The temporary help industry which flourished after the second world war has also drawn women into the paid labour force in large numbers. It is important to note that the recorded statistics of women's participation in the labour force include a large segment (in some years 25%) of part time workers.

Women's participation in the paid labour force has shown itself to be a poor indicator of emancipation and equality for women. A combination of the ideas that "woman's place is in the home", and the low economic value ascribed to "woman's work" pervades much of society's attitude to women

within the paid workforce. Women's participation has been marked by marginality, occupational segregation and low wages and overall earnings. Women have been a cheap supply of reserve labour available when the demands of the labour market and economy required their labour outside the home.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: Developing industrialisation, the growth of the service sector and married women in the paid labour force.

The first decade of the twentieth century saw a peak 34% increase in the Canadian population of which the natural increase accounted for approximately one million persons.⁵ Canada has had the highest birthrate among Western industrialised nations, but this has shown a gradual decline and since 1959 a more rapid decrease.⁶

Urbanisation has increased, with the peak period of urban population growth being the 1950's. In 1966, 49% of the population lived in towns of 10,000 or more persons, and in 1968, seventeen metropolitan areas were identified accounting for nearly half of the Canadian population.⁷

Urbanisation and industrialisation have led to changes in the occupational structure. Agricultural occupations have declined. Secondary industry increased during the early years of the century, and the great change in the occupational structure was the development of the tertiary sector, employing 30% of the workforce in 1911 and 46% in 1955.⁸

Women have entered the paid labour force in increasing

numbers. From the turn of the century the female labour force has been increasing much faster than the female population of working age, with the most rapid increase being after 1955. This trend has been Canada wide, although Ontario has consistently been the province with most working women.⁹

Table 2:1 shows the percentage of the female population who were economically active 1901-1973.

The growth of the retail trade and the service producing industries have been linked with the increased participation of women in the paid labour force. Clement (1975) identified 11 companies in the retail trade as dominant corporations. He observed that "Retail companies employ a tremendous number of people". Referring to Eatons, Hudsons Bay, Simpsons and Simpson Sears, he noted that "These four companies employ about one hundred thousand people, more if part-time seasonal help were included."¹⁰ The majority of these employees are women. Marchak (1973) referred to the twentieth century "bureaucratic and commercial revolution" which has brought with it a demand for "workers who are literate, and who have accurate book keeping skills, office machine skills, administrative ability and pleasant personalities."¹¹ Women have filled some of this demand.

TABLE 2:1

Female Population and Labour Force, Canada¹²

Year	Population 000s	% eco. active LFPRate	% Total labour force
1901	1,982	12% (238,000)	13.3
1911	2,552	14.3%(365,000)	13.4
1921	2,843	17.2%(489,000)	15.5
1931	3,481	19.1%(665,000)	17.0
1941	4,133	20.2%(834,000)	18.5
1951	4,933	23.6%(1,164,000)	22.0
1961	5,984	29.5%(1,764,000)	27.3
1964	6,466	30.5	28.4 (1,972,000)
1969	7,383	35.2	31.9 (2,602,000)
1974	8,368	39.7	34.4 (3,324,000)

Revised Statistics Canada categories show:

1975	44.3%
1976	45%

WORLD WAR I: WOMEN TEMPORARILY IN MEN'S JOBS

World War I produced a temporary influx in women's employment, but more significantly it produced some changes in women's occupations, increases in women's wages and some changed attitudes to women's employment. Women's presence in new fields of employment also stimulated some of the post war protective labour legislation and the Suffragette movement of the twenties with its accompaniment of women's increased activity in education and political life.

The impact on women's participation came after 1915, and was particularly stimulated by conscription which was introduced in 1917. In the early years of the war, which were characterised by "the disruption of business and employment and industrial slackness", women's employment was reported to be low in all the major cities.¹³ From 1915 government public work projects eased unemployment and by 1916 war production began to increase with the opening of munitions plants. The necessity for labour led to the mobilising of large numbers of women to work in these plants. This was not without reluctance and antipathy which was readily expressed in the press as well as more official documents, one of which termed the recruitment of women workers the "dilution of labour".¹⁴

The changes in women's occupations were significant for women in the labour force, as by the end of the war women had entered many trades, and performed successfully in spite of shortened periods of training.¹⁵ Women's wages increased during the war, but still did not approach equal pay.¹⁶

Government policy: "the war is over" and women's place is at home.

At the end of the war the Government actively encouraged women to withdraw from the labour force. Below is an example of the bulletins issued by the Ontario government at the end of the war.¹⁷

To Women workers -

Are you working for love, or for money?

Are you holding a job you do not need?

Perhaps you have a husband well able to support you and a comfortable home?

You took a job during the war to help meet the shortage of labour.

You have "made good" and you want to go on working.

But the war is over and conditions have changed.

There is no longer a shortage of labour. On the contrary Ontario is faced by a serious situation due to the number of men unemployed.

This number is being increased daily by returning soldiers.

They must have work. The pains and dangers they have endured in our defence give them the right to expect it.

Do you feel justified in holding a job which could be filled by a man who has not only himself to support but a wife and family as well?

Think it over.

Archibald (1973) observed that "in 1921 marital status became a basis for exclusion along with sex" in the Federal Civil Service. From 1921, married women were excluded "unless they were self-supporting, or unless the government could not find anyone else".¹⁸

After the war women either returned home, or where they remained in the work force, they did so mainly in those traditional areas of women's work which did not threaten men's employment. It has been noted in relation to World War One

that "The major historic trend in the occupational distribution for women has been a move out of service into clerical occupations."¹⁹ In addition, the suffragette movement of the 1920's probably found its impetus in the greater participation of women in public life during the war.²⁰

The experience of World War I, plus the continuing demand for clerical and service workers brought some changes in attitude to single women working. Homemaking was still considered to be the most appropriate form of employment for women, and employment was seen as, if appropriate at all, a preparation for motherhood and housewifery.

THE THIRTIES:

The distribution of women workers shows a decline in every occupation except personal service in the 1931 figures. Women suffered the economic hardship of the depression years, whether at home, or whether single, young, and trying to maintain their place in the shrinking labour market. One of the signs of women's militancy is found in events such as the ten week strike of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which was striking for a forty hour work week along with other demands.²² It was however a period of lay-offs and hard times, and the increase in personal service work is probably indicative of the availability of women as cheap labour during this period. Fewer than one in five women were working for pay in 1931, and they were seen (and saw themselves) as temporarily in the work place until marriage.

WORLD WAR II: PART TIME AND FULL TIME WORK FOR MARRIED WOMEN
IN WAR TIME JOB VACANCIES

The movement of women, and particularly married women with family responsibilities, into the paid labour force during the second world war has often been described as a major concession to women's equality with men and their right to work. A closer examination of the war years suggests that attitudes to women's work and women's rightful place changed little. It was again a temporary phenomenon.

The recruitment of women to the work force was legitimated by patriotic slogans such as "Roll up your sleeves for victory!" and "Women! Back them up - To bring them back" with reminders of the economic rewards in small print (though some evidence suggests that perhaps this was the most appealing part of the campaign). Ruth Pierson (1976) has provided a detailed documentation of the mobilisation of women workers during the war. She has provided a case study of women being used as a reserve supply of labour, and has shown how women with children were drawn in as part-time workers as a further reserve, when the pool of potential full-time workers was exhausted.²²

By 1942 the slack in the labour market in the aftermath of the depression years was used up. The active campaign of the Women's division of National Selective Service focussed first on 20-24 year old single women ("young girls") by introducing a compulsory registration for work, parallel to con-

scription for active service. There was a deliberate attempt to "direct single women into essential war industries rather than to have employers building up huge staffs of married women with children."²³ The shortage of labour continued as men went to war and war industries at home expanded, and married women without children were drawn into the work place with the help of extensive publicity of the need for workers. Pierson noted that "by the summer of 1943 serious labour shortages had developed in areas of the service sector long dependent on female labour. Women were leaving low-paid service jobs for more lucrative employment in war industries."²⁴

The National Selective Service (Civilian) regulations of 1942 exempted from Government control "part time subsidiary employment".²⁵ By 1943 with the continued demand for labour, hospitals, laundries, light manufacturing and, later, war industries began to employ part time workers. The Government ~~fostered this development by encouraging employers to consider~~ the "new type of recruit". The campaign was mainly directed to housewives with appeals such as "It is possible for many women to streamline their housekeeping at home to do the housekeeping in the community for standard wages."²⁶ "Housewives shifts" were established at hours which fitted with child-care - the evenings. This model was adopted by business in the post war era, when some companies introduced housewives and mothers shifts. The trend toward part time work was seen as necessary service to Canada's war effort, and a number of Government provisions supported women's work, most significantly

the provision of Day Nurseries, but also changes in income tax regulations, so that married couples would not be penalised if the wife worked for pay.

It appears that much of the motivation for women working was economic need, though various opinions have been expressed on the extent to which the women themselves viewed their work as patriotic service. Unmentioned but possible is the motive that women liked to work, as well as to have their own source of income.

At the end of the war Government provisions assisting working women were withdrawn. The increase of working women from 638,000 in 1939 to approximately 1,077,000 in 1944 was regarded as a temporary phenomenon. Pierson commented that "In so far as women accepted jobs previously held only by men, they were generally regarded as replacing men temporarily."²⁷ The belief that women had a right to work had advanced little, and National Selective Service encouraged women to return home or return to the more traditional areas of female employment.

While attitudes changed little, two things had occurred which were to shortly re-emerge as features of the post-war period: married women in the work force, and part time work for married women.

POST WORLD WAR II: THE EXPANSION OF MARRIED WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE AND THE INCREASE OF PART TIME WORK.

World War II was followed by a period of rapid economic growth and, while initially women were again encouraged to

return home after the war, by the fifties opportunities in the labour force were such that women were in demand. The increase in light industry and large business organisations increased the demand for clerical services, and the post war baby boom was followed by expansion in teaching.

Two trends in the post war period are interlocking ones. First the dramatic increase of married women in the labour force, and second and related, the increase of women between the ages of 35 and 55 years. It has become an increasing social practice for women to return to the labour force after the early years of child rearing. A third change has been the slow but persistent trend toward part time work.

Married women in the labour force:

TABLE 2:2

Marital status of Women in the Labour Force, Canada 1931-61

Marital status	1931	1941	1951	1961
Single	80.7%	79.9%	62.1%	42.3%
Married	10.0%	12.7%	30.0%	49.8%*
Other	9.2%	7.4%	7.9%	7.9%

*Separated women were included in this figure.
Married women living with their husbands 44.9%

Source: Women at Work in Canada²⁸

Prior to World War II very few married women worked outside the home. After the war, by 1951 the proportion of married women had more than doubled since 1941 to comprise 30% of the female labour force. By this time close to one

quarter of the total labour force were women.²⁹ (See Table 2:2)

A picture of the working lives and attitudes of married working women in the fifties can be gleaned from a study published in 1958.³⁰ Working women had more education than those not working. 80% worked full time, 14.2% worked regularly on a part time basis and the others (5.8%) worked casually or seasonally.³¹ Respondents expressed considerable interest in shorter working hours, but most considered that it would not pay them to do so. This was related to the dominance of economic reasons for working: 46.9% mentioned no other reasons for working. Others mentioned in addition to this, personal fulfillment, interest in the job, and not enough to do at home. The three leading occupations represented in the sample were clerical work (37.2% of sample) manufacturing (22.7%) and service (16.9% of sample).³² Their earnings were typically low with the greatest number between \$1,000 - 1,999. Women with earnings over \$4,000 showed the greatest attachment to their jobs, as did part time workers and older women. Women generally did their own housework and child care arrangements included relatives, friends and the other spouse. There was little evidence of the use of day care centres. Nearly half (44.1%) had no dependent children, more than a quarter (28.8%) had one child, and a similar proportion (27.1%) had two or more children.³³

Several conclusions emerged from the study.

One is the high degree of attachment to the labour force demonstrated by the women, including those working part

time.

Second, however, the women clearly put their family first and were mainly working to improve their families circumstances. Most of the women under 35 years looked at their jobs as temporary (in contrast with their actual attachment to the work force) and this appeared to be related to their concern for their children, and their expressed views that mothers with young children should probably be at home. Nearly half the married working women did not have dependent children, and for them they found no difficulties in working.

Third, married working women were very busy and almost all retained the overall responsibility for home work in the domestic sphere in addition to their work for pay.

Finally, the economic motive was a major reason for women in this sample working in the paid labour force.

The social climate for married women working outside the home in the fifties may best be summarized by the observation of the author of the 1958 study that "the popular prejudice against married women working has lessened considerably in recent years, but there is no doubt that public opinion continues to hold that if a woman has children she should stay home with them unless necessity drives her to work."³⁴

In 1961 approximately one in five married women in Canada were working outside the home.³⁵ The female labour force (approximately 1,764,000 women) was composed of 42.3% single women, 44.9% of married women living with their husbands, and 12.8% of widowed, separated and divorced women.³⁶ One

study noted that, in contrast to our image of the married woman working as a mother of dependent children and living with her husband, only 22.6% (approximately 388,000 women) of the total female labour force were in that position. The author commented that

Even though participation rates were low, the working mothers from families with both husband and wife present numbered about 400,000 in 1961, and there were about 800,000 children in these families. These numbers guarantee that the situation of working mothers and their children will continue to attract public attention. 37

By 1970 close to one third of all married women in Canada were working for pay outside the home.³⁸ In 1974, 39.4% of all married women between the ages of 20 and 64 years were in the labour force. Over half (57.1%) of the female labour force were married women.³⁹

Commentators vary in the causes they attribute to the increasing participation of married women in the paid labour force.

Skoulas (1964) suggested a "consumer choice" model which described families as making a choice about the woman's allocation of time between paid work, leisure and unpaid family work.⁴⁰ This however leaves unexplained the factors involved in such a choice by families, or women themselves.

Various demographic and social factors have been identified as contributors. Dymond (1964) considered female participation to be a "function of employment opportunities."⁴¹ Allingham (1967) noted that the declining birth rate and subsequent decline in family size has reduced the number of years

for which women are involved in child bearing. Improved and more accessible contraception is an important factor here. At the same time "economic and technological change has made less viable the full time role of household manager".⁴² Shorter working hours have reduced the gap between the time children are at school and the typical weekly hours of work. Labour force participation has been correlated with younger married women, those with higher education and those with lower family incomes. Urban residents have also been found to be more likely to work outside the home, and Gunderson (1976) linked this to additional white collar employment opportunities and more conducive social attitudes.⁴³

Armstrong and Armstrong (1975) reviewed the evidence on reasons for the labour force participation of married women and strongly asserted that economic need is the major factor. They argued that the increasing disparity in income distribution has required that married women work to supplement family income "thus helping the family maintain its financial status in spite of the increasing income disparity for individuals in general".⁴⁴ The increase of divorced and separated women who are heads of families is another example of women working for economic reasons. Gunderson (1976) also found that economic necessity was the most compelling reason for working, but suggested that the decision to work varied with four factors; economic reward; the presence of competing non-paid alternatives, such as young children in the home and place of residence; social attitudes to working women; and the

availability of services to substitute for the home product.⁴⁵

Studies indicate that the division of labour within the household varies little whether women are working full time or not. The trends which Gunderson identified are remarkably similar to those documented in the 1958 study of Married Women Working for Pay, in spite of the popular belief that roles of men and women have changed drastically.⁴⁶

The re-entry of women to the labour force after child rearing

The great majority of Canadian women over 20 years of age are married, and their participation in the labour force is marked by discontinuity.⁴⁷ As we have seen, married women have typically not worked outside the home, although since the fifties their presence has been increasing. Women typically withdraw from the labour force during the years of child bearing and child rearing and some re-enter later, usually when their children have grown up. The peak age for women's participation in the labour force remains between 20 and 24 years, but more than 40% of women between 25 and 55 were in the labour force at the time of the 1971 census. Changes in the patterns of different age groups of women are shown in the Figure 2:1.

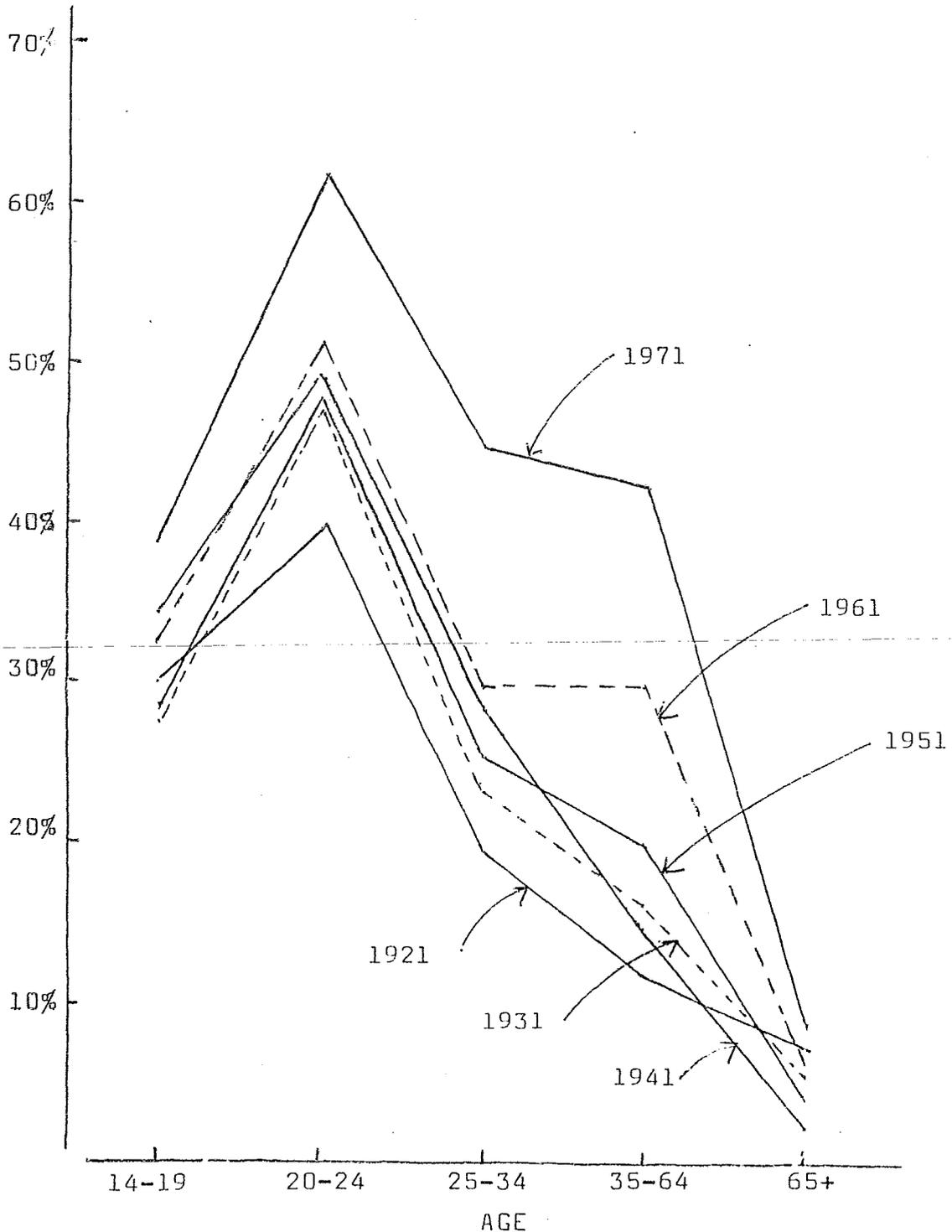
The second new feature in the post war period, therefore, is the increasing presence of women in their thirties and forties in the paid labour force.

Occupational Segregation:

The trend of women employed in traditional "women's work", and in the white collar clerical and sales jobs has

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF
WOMEN BY AGE, 1921-1971
selected years.
 (percentages)

Source: Gunderson (1976) "Work Patterns"
 in Cook, G. (ed.) Opportunity for Choice, p. 97.



continued in the last twenty five years. According to 1971 census data the ten leading occupations of women are: secretaries/stenographers; sales clerks; book-keepers/accountant clerks; elementary teachers; waitresses; tellers and cashiers; farm workers; nurses (graduate); typists; and general office clerks.⁴⁸ Little change has occurred in the post war period in the occupational segregation of men and women in the labour force, although the number of women working has increased.

Women's participation in domestic and personal service has declined - or at least official records of this show a decline. World War II saw the end of domestic live-in help on any wide scale. It is likely however that many women supplement government pensions or husbands wages with house-cleaning or babysitting, but their work is unrecorded in official statistics.

The majority of working women (35% in 1973) are in clerical occupations, ~~most of which are substantially female dominated occupations.~~

The percentage of women workers in professional occupations in the seventies (17.4% in 1973) is lower than that during the twenties and thirties, and is mainly in the female dominated professions: teaching and nursing.⁴⁹ Other female dominated professions are librarians (82% were women in 1961), dieticians (100% female in 1951 and 97% female in 1961) and social welfare workers (63% in 1951 and 53% in 1961).⁵⁰ Women have been little represented in the traditional professions - law, medicine and the clergy, and the situation is similar

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING
WOMEN BY LEADING OCCUPATIONAL
GROUPS 1901 - 1961

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Clerical	5.3	9.4	18.7	17.7	18.3	27.5	28.6
Personal Service	42.0	37.1	25.8	33.8	34.2	21.0	22.1
Professional	14.7	12.7	19.1	17.8	15.7	14.4	15.5
Commercial & Financial	2.4	6.8	8.5	8.3	8.8	10.5	10.2
Manufacturing & Mechanical	29.6	26.3	17.8	12.7	15.4	14.6	9.9
Other	6.0	7.8	10.1	9.6	7.7	11.9	13.6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

notes "other" includes armed forces

1901 - 10 yrs. of age and over, 1911-61 - 15 yrs. of age and over

1941 - does not include those in active service.

Source: 1961 Census bulletin quoted Women at Work in Canada, p. 28.

TABLE 2:4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKINGWOMEN 1963 & 1973 by OCCUPATION

	1963 %	1973 %
Managerial	3.6	4.2
Professional & Technical	15.1	17.4
Clerical	30.2	34.0
Sales	9.0	8.3
Service & Recn.	22.6	20.6
Communication	1.8	1.2
Farmers & Farm Workers	3.7	2.2
Craft, Production & Related Workers	12.8	11.1
Labourers & Unskilled Workers	0.9	0.7
Other	*	0.4

Source: Canada: Labour Women's Bureau
Special Tables. Feb. 1975.

* = figures too small to be reliable.

in the newer professions of engineering, architecture and accounting.⁵¹

Post war statistics show a sharp increase of women in agriculture. This area of work has been difficult to assess accurately as frequently women's work on farms has been categorised as housewife or unpaid family helper. It is presumed by commentators that the apparent increase of women as agricultural labourers after World War II is largely a phenomenon of different enumeration and recording.⁵²

Sales has been another area of female concentration, as has service and recreational occupations.

The proportion of women in managerial positions has increased during the post war period.⁵³

Gunderson (1976) studied occupational segregation in an attempt to assess the impact of equal opportunities legislation and found that it had changed little during the sixties. He noted a small increase in the range of female participation across the labour force by computing variance between 1901 and 1971.⁵⁴ Armstrong & Armstrong (1975) reported the same findings.⁵⁵

Women's Wages:

Throughout the history of women's participation in the paid labour force women's wages have been less than men, as are their overall earnings. Leo Johnson has described the beginnings of this differential in the nineteenth century supported by the beliefs at that time about men and women: "They argued that

women were not by nature equal, nor did they have equal economic responsibilities. To pay women at the same rate as men, they believed was both unjust and demeaning to working men."⁵⁶ A writer in 1965 commented wryly that the lower earnings did not keep women out of the work place, maybe because "as is sometimes said, things go better in the family and in business organisations when women are earning less than men."⁵⁷ In spite of a persistent campaign for "equal pay for work of equal value" (adopted as a Convention at a I.L.O. conference in 1919 and again reiterated in 1951) the differential between men's and women's wages has persisted.⁵⁸

It is this wage differential, plus the concentration of women in low-skill and low-paying occupations, and low levels of occupational hierarchies, which make women one of the social groups over represented below the poverty line. In 1972 46% of Canada's female workers were self-supporting - ~~either single, divorced, separated or widowed.~~⁵⁹

The growth of the Temporary Help industry.

"Women at your Beck and Call"⁶⁰

The temporary help industry which has recently been described as "the fastest growing service industry", began in the States in the late forties and later spread to Canada. By 1971 Toronto was a big centre for temporary help and more than 100 agencies were listed in the Metro telephone directory.⁶¹ By 1973 an estimated "8000 people (were) out on temporary help jobs on any given day" in Toronto.

Temporary help is big business. Business Week (Aug. 3rd. 1974) described Manpower Inc., Kelly Services and Olsten Temporary Services as "the big three", and referred to 2,000 "smaller, mostly local companies". Manpower Inc. began in 1948 in the U.S.A. when its founders, Elmer Winter and Aaron Scheinfeld, called in a former secretary, by this time married with children, to help with a brief to Senate which they had two days to write. By 1966, Manpower Inc. was a multi-national corporation with an operating staff of 270,000 persons and an annual profit of two and a half million dollars. Kelly Services, which began as Kelly Girl in 1946 as an office help supply, had developed a range of departments by 1966. It included an industrial division, "to supply everything from porters to bulldozer operators", a technical division "to supply data operators, chemists, engineers" and a marketing division to supply "door to door salesmen or women polltakers, ~~pretty girls to man booths at conventions and other services.~~"⁶³

Some of the smaller services are Gal Friday, Design Service and Dot personnel which are both owned by Dictaphone Inc., Office Overload (a division of Drake International Co. and linked with Industrial Overload) was Canada's largest temporary help agency in 1973, and had 36 offices in 21 cities.⁶⁴

As Forbes magazine stated, "the temporary help agencies obviously must be filling a need of the nation's business community, otherwise they wouldn't be enjoying their present boom."⁶⁵ Their benefits to business have been paraded in the business periodicals: "temporaries set the pace for regular

help"; "savings in use of temporary help"; "providing the people to accomplish today's work, today"; "What is your real salary cost? - advantages of temporary over permanent office employees".⁶⁶ The development of the industry suggests that some part time workers are "qualified", not by their scarce skills, but by their availability, relative cheapness and flexibility. In his history of the temporary help industry, Scott (1974) has described three stages in the use of temporary help. The original purpose was to cope with emergencies, illness and vacations and sudden upsurges of work. According to Scott, "the second generation of temporary help came about when cost conscious personnel administrators and financially oriented corporate officers used temporary business services to avoid overstaffing."⁶⁷ In this second phase, the economic advantages and flexibility of part time workers and temporary help was recognised. By 1974 Scott claimed that "Contracting for temporary services on a planned and systematic basis has become standard practice in many firms."⁶⁸

Both business and government have linked temporary help employees and part time workers. In 1969 the Ontario Department of Labour stated its view on temporary help agencies, saying, "The Employment Agencies Act does not apply to temporary help firms which hire workers and then offer their services to companies seeking part time employees."⁶⁹ Business Week (1974) quoted Winter as describing his organisation as "supplying part time office, factory and professional help".⁷⁰ Other

articles on temporary help also refer repeatedly to them as involved in part time work.

Women are reported to be the major employees of temporary help services. The Financial Post (September 22nd 1962) noted that the industry "was first devoted exclusively to women in office skills". By 1962 the typical worker was "married and usually has two children" and works either to "supplement the family income" or "merely because their children are in school all day, and they seek the personal satisfaction and diversion of part time work".⁷¹ By 1973 it was more usual to find older "mature women" whose children had grown up. The Financial Post commented that "Ironically, while these women could not get full time positions with companies which trot out the excuses of possible health problems and difficulties regarding pension plans, these firms are eager to hire them on a temporary basis. They feel these women are more reliable and have a greater sense of responsibility than younger ones".⁷²

Predictions about the temporary help industry suggest that it is likely to continue to grow. Unions have expressed concern about temporary help employees being unorganisable, and have identified the "vital areas for temporary help" as "hourly wages, working conditions, safety conditions, benefits and the possibility of secure full-time employment".⁷³ The industry, however, continues to grow, employing large numbers of women in a full and part time capacity.

Equal Rights for Women?

The post war period, and particularly the sixties, saw

the second suffragette movement of the century: the Women's liberation movement. It has challenged the dominance of men in the public sphere and the isolation of women at home in the private realm of the family. It has raised women's consciousness and expectations in many areas of individual rights and hopes for equal opportunity. Opportunities in the work place and in education, equal pay and non-traditional work opportunities, have been some of the demands, and there have been some successes. The movement has probably contributed to a more favourable social climate for those women working outside the home. As this chapter has documented there has been rapidly increasing participation of women, and particularly married women in the paid work force, but popular belief exceeds the reality in the extent to which this has been on equal terms. It appears that division of labour in the home has changed more in the minds of middle class professionals and commentators ~~than studies find to be the case in the population as a whole.~~ At present it still seems that women who work outside the home are doing two jobs. One low or middle income breadwinner is unlikely to be able to support a family and it is now accepted that a second income is necessary, at least during some years of family life. The increasing numbers of self-supporting women suggest an alternative way of life for women, and at least middle class professionals talk of dual careers and childless marriages as another alternative, all of which have women working for pay as an important component.

Summary:

The majority of Canadian married women provide goods and services within the home, although nearly half of the labour force is comprised of women. Their participation in the work force however continues on the whole to be marginal - in low paying, low skill jobs. Their work is discontinuous: the majority of married women withdraw from the labour force during at least the early years of child rearing. Within the work force women tend to be segregated into certain occupational sectors, only fractionally less than they were in 1901, and these are occupations which are an extension of women's work in the home, and the lower rungs of administrative and business hierarchies, as typists, stenographers and clerks. Their wages are less and their overall earnings are less than those of men.

During the twentieth century women have increasingly participated in the labour force, however the experience of both the first and the second world war shows that women are recruited to the labour force in greater numbers as the demands of the labour market require. Women appear to be a reserve supply of labour. They also move in and out of the labour force as economic circumstances require that families have a second income earner, as long as jobs are available. Their low wages suggest, in addition, that they are a cheap labour supply.

Their labour force participation has been in the context

of the growth of the service industry, including the temporary help industry, and the development of the retail trade and the personal service professions.

Footnotes - Chapter 2

1. Dorothy Smith (1973) in Stephenson, op. cit., p. 5.
2. See for example, Alice Clark, The Working Life of Women in the 17th Century, N.Y.: Harcourt Brace & Howe, 1920. Clark noted that "In the seventeenth century the idea is seldom encountered that a man supports his wife; husband and wife were then mutually dependent and together supported their children." (p. 12) She is referring to the period of economic history characterised by family or home industry, where father, mother, children and apprentices worked together in the home.
3. Smith, op. cit.
4. The entry of single women into the paid work force outside the home probably occurred gradually throughout the nineteenth century. A census of the population of Kingston, Ontario, in 1861, indicated that there were 7091 women and girls. 1200 of these were attending school, and some women were identified as being involved in full-time work: 75 dressmakers and tailoresses, 30 milliners, and 22 seamstresses, who did plain household sewing, 538 women were full time servants, at least one tenth of the adult female population of Kingston. Corrective Collective, Never Done. Three Centuries of Women's Work in Canada. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974, p. 74.

By the 1860's women were very active as elementary school teachers, and soon to dominate that area of work. In Ontario in 1877, there were 3,020 male teachers and 3,448 female teachers. By 1889 the ratio had shifted in favour of women who numbered 5,193 in comparison with 2,774 males. In 1886 University of Toronto was opened to women, and in the 1860's the first woman physician had opened a practice, although medical training for women was not available until later in Canada. The first two women were employed as secretarial staff in the Ontario Public Service in 1893. "Saga of the Working Woman", Topical Quarterly, November 1970.

At the time of the 1891 census women comprised 12.5% of the paid labour force. Their occupations were mainly those associated with the traditional tasks for which women were responsible in the home: servant or "domestic", dressmaker, teacher, farmer, seamstress, housekeeper, but also saleswoman. A thesis written in 1892 by Mrs. Jean Thompson Scott on Female Labour in Ontario noted that single women had been increasingly present in the paid work force since at least the 1870's. She commented that many worked from economic necessity and even of those girls whose families were able to support them until marriage, some

- worked for a while at least so they could "partially support themselves or at least supply themselves with pin money." Canada: Labour Women's Bureau. Women at Work in Canada, 1964, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965, p. 1. It is probable that working class women frequently worked outside the home as opportunity permitted, but with the dearth of working class history the records of this are scarce.
5. Bernard Blishen et al. Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives. Toronto: MacMillan 1968, 3rd. edition, p. 28.
 6. Boyd, Eichler and Hofley (1976) noted that the crude birthrate per 1000 population has declined from "45 in 1851 to a low of 20 in 1937" during the depression years. They explained that "From the late 1930's until after World War II it rose reaching 28.9 in 1947. Between 1948 and 1959 the rate remained stable around 27 or 28. It then began to decline again, falling to a low of 15.5 births per 1000 population in 1973." Monica Boyd, Margrit Eichler and John R. Hofley. "Family: Functions, Formation and Fertility" in Gail Cook (ed.) Opportunity for Choice op. cit., p. 30. See also Camu, Weeks et al "The People" in Blishen ibid.
 7. See Porter op. cit., Chapter 5 and 6. Kasahara. "A Profile of Canada's Metropolitan Centres" in Blishen et al, ibid.
 8. In 1871, 51% of Canadian workers were in agriculture, 13% were in manufacturing and handicrafts, 18% were construction workers and unskilled workers, and 18% were service workers. In 1911, 39% of the labour force was employed in primary industry, by 1955 this had declined to 21%. The actual percentage of the labour force employed in secondary industry increased little during these years - from 31% to 33%. Porter, op. cit., pp. 136, 149.
 9. In 1975 in Ontario there were 1,480,000 women working: a labour force participation rate of 48.4% which equalled 38.4% of the total labour force. Source: Ontario Dept. of Labour, Memorandum 22 July 1976, using 1976 Statistics Canada categories.
 10. Clement, op. cit., p. 139.
 11. Marchak (1973) in Stephenson op. cit., p. 202.
 12. Figures from 1901-1961 are from Women at Work in Canada 1964, op. cit., p. 10. Figures for 1964-1974 are from Canada: Labour Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures, 1975 Edition, Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975.

p. 3. "The Labour Force" is defined as "that portion of the (urban non-institutional) population 14 years of age and over who, at the time of the survey, were employed or unemployed". "The participation rate" is that percentage of the specified population who are in the Labour force. Facts and Figures 1975, p. 52.

13. Minister of Finance, quoted in Ceta Ramkhalawansingh. "Women during the Great War" in Canadian Women's Educational Press, Women at Work Ontario 1850-1930, Toronto: Women's Press, 1974, p. 271.
14. Ibid., p. 274.
15. In 1914 84% of women still worked in traditional "woman's work": nurses, cooks, dressmakers, secretaries, waitresses and domestic service. The latter was estimated to comprise 40% of the female work force. At this time working women were still predominantly single except for "the unfortunates" - widows, separated women, or wives of unemployed men. In 1917, the year of conscription, at least 35,000 women were employed in munitions plants in Montreal and Ontario. Enid Price surveyed stores, banks, offices, factories, and also 7,526 women (22% of whom were married women) who were employed in 8 plants. Gradually an increasing number of the 650 government inspectors of the plants were women. Price found that approximately half of the industries studied had been using female labour extensively before the war, and employers expressed their satisfaction with women workers, both because they were good workers and because they were cheaper to employ.
In spite of this move into heavier and wartime industries, the largest number of women continued to be employed in domestic service. In 1916 domestic workers comprised one-third of the female work force in Ontario - approximately 54,000 women. Women's participation in clerical and banking jobs increased during this period, and by 1916 half of the secondary school teachers as well as elementary teachers were women. Ibid., pp. 261-279.
16. The wages in munitions factories varied from 50-80% of men's wages. The lowest recorded women's wages were in warehouses and were 20% of men's wages. In clothing factories women earned amounts equivalent to 60% of men's salaries. Clerical workers saw an increase from 10-60% of men's clerical wages. An order in Council in 1918 suggested equal pay for women in response to their war effort but the recommendation did not come to fruition. Ibid., p. 279.
17. Ibid., p. 288.

18. Kathleen Archibald. "Men, women and persons" Canadian Public Administration 16: 14-24 (Spring) 1973, p.
19. Ceta Ramkhalawansingh, "Women During the Great War" Women at Work, op. cit., p. 302.
20. At a Women's War conference held in 1918 in Toronto where concern was voiced about labour and welfare conditions, the unemployment of women was also raised as a problem. The Women's groups urged the government to maintain and increase women's role in the labour force. Their response was to continue to encourage women to make way for men in the work place, although they later acted on one of the Conference demands, suffrage for women.
In the years after the war some protective labour legislation for women was passed in some of the provinces. For example, in 1918 in B.C. and Manitoba, women's minimum wage acts were passed and in 1921 B.C. passed maternity protection and nightwork protection legislation for women. Far from equalising women's experience and treatment in the work place, this legislation was based on the assumptions that women comprised a labour force which was separate and different from the male work force, and that women have to be protected from men's work.
Ibid., p. 299.
21. Catherine MacLeod. "Women in Production: The Toronto Dressmaker's Strike of 1931", in Women at Work, Ontario 1850-1930, op. cit.
22. Pierson, op. cit.
23. Ibid., p. 3.
24. Ibid., p. 6.
25. Ibid., p. 7. "Part time subsidiary employment" was defined as "work which lasted 24 hours or less per week, either in or outside 'normal' working hours."
26. The first campaign for part time employment, in Toronto in July 1943, attracted 1518 workers in essential services (875 full time and 643 part time) and an additional 599 part time workers in war industries. The Toronto campaign was used as a model for others similar in many major cities across the country.
27. Ibid., p. 32.
28. Women at Work in Canada, op. cit., p. 21.
29. In 1951 23.6% of the total work force were women.

30. Canada: Labour: Married Women Working for Pay in Eight Canadian Cities, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1958. The sample comprised 5,967 married women in 8 cities. 88% of the sample were living with their husbands, and of the divorced, separated or widowed women only those with dependent children were interviewed.
31. Ibid., p. 14.
32. Ibid., p. 18.
33. Married Women Working for Pay, op. cit., p. 52.
34. Ibid., p. 73.
35. Eastham and Neville, op. cit., p. 4.
36. Women at Work in Canada, op. cit., p. 20.
37. Ibid., p. 22.
38. Eastham, op. cit., p. 4.
39. Women in the Labour Force, Facts and Figures, 1975, op.cit., p. 33.
40. Skoulas quoted in Armstrong and Armstrong (op. cit.).
41. Dymond quoted in Armstrong and Armstrong (op. cit.).
42. John Allingham (1967) "Women Who Work: Part 1" Canada: D.B.S. Special Labour Force Studies. No. 5. September, 1967.
43. Gunderson, op. cit., p. 99.
44. Armstrong and Armstrong, op. cit.
45. Gunderson, op. cit., p. 94-5.
46. Ibid., p. 96.
47. 1961 census showed that 86% of women over 20 are or have been married, and 89.5% of women over 25 years of age. Women at Work in Canada, p. 19. Sources for material on age/sex, Ostry, The Female Worker in Canada, p. 10. Women at Work in Canada, op. cit., pp. 17-19. Facts and Figures, 1975, Gunderson, op. cit., p. 97.
48. Gunderson, op. cit., pp. 114-5.

49. In 1961 71% of teachers, and 97% of nurses were women. The numbers of women in both these professions showed a dramatic increase after World War II. Between 1941 and 1951 there was an 18% increase of female teachers, but between 1951 and 1961 they increased by 63%.
The nursing profession increased in size by 30% in the forties, and 64% in the fifties. This increase reflects the total population increase as well as the development of medical services financially available on a wider scale - it was a period of great expansion of Canadian health services. Women at Work in Canada, op. cit., pp. 35-37.
50. Ibid., pp. 34-5.
51. In 1951 3% of lawyers were women; 7% of doctors were women and 7% of chemists. This shows an increase in female participation from 1% of lawyers, 2% of doctors and 4% of chemists in 1931. By 1971 12% of doctors were women, and 3% of dentists were female.
Women are more equally represented in some other countries. For example, in USSR 3/4 of doctors and 1/3 lawyers are women. In France, 20% of managers and high level executives, also 20% of lawyers, and 21.9% of dentists are women. 24.6% of doctors in 1971 in Britain were women. Sources: Gunderson, op. cit., p. 112.
and Canada: Labour Women's Bureau '71
"The Underemployed, underpaid Third of the Labour Force".
52. Gunderson, op. cit., p. 117 and Women at Work in Canada, 1964, op. cit., pp. 38-9.
53. ~~The 1961 census showed 10.3% of working women were in~~ "proprietary and managerial" occupational groups. They numbered 57,661 nearly two-thirds of whom were self-employed. The majority (more than one-third) were in the retail trade, with another large group (more than one-fifth) in personal service occupations. Other areas were post mistresses, office managers and health and welfare services. Women at Work in Canada, ibid., pp. 40-41.
54. Ibid., p. 116.
55. Armstrong and Armstrong, p.
56. Leo Johnson, "The Political Economy of Ontario Women in the Nineteenth Century" in Women at Work, Toronto: Women's Press, 1974, p. 29.
57. Women at Work in Canada, op. cit., p. 50. In 1962 Average male income = \$4,138 average female income \$2,118 Medium male income = \$4,009, medium female income = \$2,118, p. 52.

58. Canada; Labour Women in Labour Force, Fact and Figures, 1975, p. 55 and ff.
59. Ontario Federation of Labour: Facts and Figures, May 1974, p. 56.
60. "Women at Your Beck and Call" Forbes July 15th, 1967, p.
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CHAPTER 3

THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF PART TIME WORK IN CANADA

Introduction

Part time employment has been steadily increasing since the early fifties. (See Table 3:1) The sixties was the period of most rapid increase and the percentage of part time workers doubled between 1958 and 1970. In the seventies the proportion of part to full time workers has levelled off to approximately 12-13%. These figures are slightly inflated due to the other workers included in statistics before the new definition was introduced in January 1976. Using the new definition of "less than 30 hours a week", the percentage of part time workers was 10.5% (1,031,000 persons in a total labour force of 9,855,000) in June, 1976.¹ Managers interviewed in several studies indicated that they expected the trend toward part time work to continue.²

Various studies and key persons have noted that the demand for part time employment exceeds the supply in skilled occupations. Most part time openings are in low-skill and low-paying occupations, and for these recruitment is easy and workers plentiful.

Part time workers:

Approximately two-thirds of the part time workforce have consistently been women (See Table 3:2). The percentage of women has changed little, from 63.5% in 1953 to 68.4% in

TABLE 3:1

Full time and part time employment 1953-1975

	Total Labour Force 000's	Full Time 000's	%	Part Time 000's	%
1953	5,235	5,038	96.2	197	3.8%
1954	5,243	5,035	96.0	208	4.0%
1955	5,364	5,139	95.8	225	4.2%
1956	5,585	5,342	95.6	243	4.4%
1957	5,731	5,442	95.0	289	5.0%
1958	5,705	5,356	93.9	349	6.1%
1959	5,870	5,503	93.7	367	6.3%
1960	5,965	5,565	93.3	400	6.7%
1961	6,054	5,578	92.1	476	7.9%
1962	6,225	5,728	92.0	497	8.0%
1963	6,374	5,842	91.7	532	8.3%
1964	6,609	6,012	91.0	597	9.0%
1965	6,862	6,205	90.4	657	9.6%
1966	7,153	6,475	90.5	678	9.5%
1967	7,379	6,634	89.9	745	10.1%
1968	7,537	6,708	89.0	829	11.0%
1969	7,780	6,880	88.4	900	11.6%
1970	7,879	6,908	87.7	971	12.3%
1971	8,079	7,067	87.5	1,012	12.5%
1972	8,329	7,291	87.5	1,038	12.5%
1973	8,759	7,675	87.6	1,084	12.4%
1974	9,138	7,972	87.2	1,166	12.8%
1975	9,308	8,072	86.7	1,236	13.3%

Source: Calculations from figures 1953-1975 published in
The Labour Force, Dec. 1975, p. 68.

TABLE 3:2

Part time employment by Sex 1953-1975

	Male 000s	% %	Female 000s	% %
1953	72	36.5	125	63.5
1954	74	35.6	134	64.4
1955	80	35.6	145	64.4
1956	79	32.5	164	67.5
1957	98	33.9	191	66.1
1958	121	34.7	228	65.3
1959	125	34.1	242	65.9
1960	134	33.5	266	66.5
1961	161	33.6	316	66.4
1962	170	34.2	327	65.8
1963	176	33.1	356	66.9
1964	197	33.0	400	67.0
1965	210	32.1	446	67.9
1966	212	31.3	466	68.7
1967	239	32.1	505	67.8
1968	267	32.2	562	67.8
1969	293	32.6	607	67.4
1970	332	34.2	639	65.8
1971	345	34.1	667	65.9
1972	343	33.0	695	67.0
1973	348	32.1	736	67.9
1974	368	31.6	797	68.4
1975	390	31.6	845	68.4

Calculations from figures 1953-1975 The Labour Force, Dec. 1975, p. 68.

1974 and 1975, although the actual numbers of part time workers have increased six fold. In 1976, with women comprising more than one third of the total labour force (36.6% of 3,604,000 women), 79.5% worked full time and 20.5% worked less than 30 hours a week. The majority of women part timers workers are married.

There has been an increase of young people, probably many of whom are students, working part time. (See Table 3:3 and Table 3:4)

Age

Tables 3:3 and 3:4 show the concentration of part time men workers in the young age group - 66.4% in 1973 and 75.5% in 1976. It is likely that most of the men working part time, between the ages of 25-54 are either mature students or multiple job-holders.³ Recent years have shown an increase of persons past retirement age working part time. 8.6% of male part timers were over 65 years in 1973, and 9.2% in 1976.⁴

In 1973 more than half (56.1%) of the women who worked part time were aged between 25 and 54 years, i.e. their adult years. The decrease in percentage in this age group in 1976 to 39.8% probably reflects the changed definition to less than 30 hours and the consequent exclusion of teachers. It may also reflect an increase of student women as is shown for men. It is possible that high unemployment among non-student young people may also lead to their working part time.

TABLE 3:3

Percentage of Part time workers by age and sex - 1973

	Men %	Women %
14 - 24	66.4	31.9
25 - 44	12.4	39.0
45 - 54	4.9	17.1
55 - 64	7.8	9.5
65+	<u>8.6</u>	<u>2.4</u>
	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Canada Labour The Labour Force, January 1974.

TABLE 3:4

Percentage of Part time workers by age and sex - 1976

	Men %	Women %	Both Sexes
14 - 24	75.5	35.4	46.8
25 - 44	5.4	38.1	28.8
45 - 54	3.1	15.3	11.0
55 - 64	6.5	9.2	8.4
65+	9.2	1.9	4.0

actual n = 284
 accurate n = 294
 = 100.0%

n = 73.7 = 100.0% n = 10.31 =
 100.0%

Source: Figures presented in The Labour Force, June 1976.

N.B. The figures for men are incomplete and distribution misses 10,000 men noted in total male part time figures.

TABLE 3:5

Distribution of men and women part time workers in different age groups as a percentage of total labour force.

	Men	Women	Totals
15 - 24	21.6	25.3	46.9
25 - 44	1.7	27.4	29.1
45 - 54	-	11.2	11.2
55 - 64	1.9	6.7	8.6
65 +	2.7	1.5	4.2

n = 1,031,000

n = 100.0%

Source: Same as Table 3:4

Table 3:5 shows that nearly half of the part time workforce in 1976 is under the age of 25. Men are scarcely represented after that, while women continue in the part time labour force throughout their lives.

Marital status:

The highest participation rate is by married women, followed by single men and women, and the least represented group in the part time labour force is married men.

In 1976, 50% of the part time workforce were married, 45% single and 4.4% were listed as "other". Nearly two-thirds (61.7%) of the women were married, and nearly one-third (32.2%)

were single. 6.1% were widowed, divorced and permanently separated.⁵

Occupational distribution:

The great majority of part time workers are to be found in unskilled jobs in the trade and service occupations, which have expanded dramatically since World War II, and where peaks in demand make them an asset to employers and ensure a steady number of part time jobs.

Clerical work, also subject to fluctuations in demand, is another occupation of part time workers. Some of it is organised by the increasing number of private temporary help agencies.

There is some part time work in skilled and professional occupations, usually for married women whose skills are in demand, and for tasks which can be readily identified as compatible with shorter or flexible hours of work, such as nursing and teaching. Agriculture offers some openings, probably of a seasonal nature and typically filled by men.

Part time work is concentrated in the female-dominated occupations.⁶

An analysis of 1976 statistics shows a similar occupational distribution to the findings of the various studies. The percentage of part time employment was highest in the service industries and agriculture. Trade, where 19.4% of all workers are part time, and community/business and personal service, where 16.8% of all workers are part time, show the

highest concentration. (See Table 3:6)

When the labour force was categorised according to occupational groups (as distinct from industries) service (22.8%), sales (17.5%) and clerical (14.3%) have the greatest concentration of part time workers. (See Table 3:7) The representation of part time employees in service occupations was more than double the percentage of part time workers in the labour force as a whole. Primary occupations (farming, farm labourers etc.) show 11.5% of their workforce to be part time, and 7.1% are classed as managerial, which includes professionals, persons in health and related occupations, science, teaching, religion and the arts.⁷

Table 3:8 shows the distribution of part time workers across the various occupations. More than two-thirds of part time workers are in service, clerical and sales. 14.7% are categorised as managerial but for reasons explained above this category is inflated far beyond that expected in "managerial" occupations.

Bossen (1975) interviewed 42 employers in the service industry (trade, transportation, finance, insurance and real estate, community, business and personal service occupations) and in manufacturing, both public and private sectors. Occupational groups represented fell into two distinct skill categories. First were those skills required beyond "normal" hours because of the continuous nature of the operation, for example, health services, hotels and motels. Second, other occupations were found to be seasonal and temporary, for example,

TABLE 3:6

Full time and Part time employment by Industry, June 1976

	Total 000's	F/T 000's		P/T 000's		
Agriculture	495	423		72		100%
Goods producing	2,972	2,885	(97.1%)	87	(2.9%)	
Forestry	113	111	(98.2%)	-		
Mining	152	151	(99.3%)	-		
Manufacturing	2,000	1,945	(97.3%)	55	(2.7%)	
Construction	707	678	(95.9%)	29	(4.1%)	
Services	6,387	5,516	(86.4%)	872	(13.6%)	100%
Transport	850	812	(95.5%)	39	(4.5%)	
Trade	1,680	1,354	(80.6%)	326	(19.4%)	
Finance	509	474	(93.1%)	36	(7.0%)	
Community/ Bus./Personal	2,620	2,179	(83.2%)	440	(16.8%)	
Public Admin.	728	697	(95.7%)	31	(4.3%)	
All industries	9,855	8,824	(89.5%)	1,031	(10.5%)	100%

Source: Calculations from Canada: Statistics
Canada. The Labour Force. June 1976,
p. 21.

TABLE 3:7

Full time and Part time employment by Occupations

Occupation	Total		Full Time		Part time	
	000s	%	000s	%	000s	%
All occupations	9,855	100%	8,824	89.5%	1,031	10.5%
Managerial	2,140	100%	1,988	92.9%	152	7.1%
Clerical	1,732	100%	1,484	85.7%	248	14.3%
Sales	1,054	100%	870	82.5%	184	17.5%
Service	1,166	100%	900	77.2%	266	22.8%
Primary	680	100%	602	88.5%	79	11.5%
Processing	1,566	100%	1,530	97.7%	35	12.3%
Construction	739	100%	721	97.5%	19	2.5%
Transportation	394	100%	378	95.9%	16	4.1%
Materials handling and other crafts	384	100%	351	91.4%	33	8.6%

Source: Canada: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, June 1976, p. 21.

TABLE 3:8

Distribution of Part time Workers across Occupations

All part time occupations n = 1,031,000 = 100%

Managerial	152,000	14.7%
Clerical	248,000	24.1%
Sales	184,000	17.8%
Service	266,000	25.8%
Primary	79,000	7.7%
Processing	35,000	3.4%
Construction	19,000	1.8%
Transport	16,000	1.6%
Material handling and crafts	33,000	3.2%

Source: Canada: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, June 1976.

parks maintenance, recreational services and building projects.

Bossen described the typical occupational patterns. Women were in office jobs, food and housekeeping services, health services and sales, those areas traditionally defined as "women's work" within the family, and occupied also by full time working women. Women under forty were more likely to be in offices, and older women were more likely to be in stores and hospitals. Male moonlighters worked in skilled trades and doing heavy cleaning work in plants and institutions. Self-employed professionals sometimes worked part time or on a temporary contractual basis for an employer: for example, psychologists and health professionals were found in health and correctional facilities. Students were found in summer seasonal work, in stores on evenings and weekends, and in stores and the post office at Christmas. Some worked regularly throughout their student days with the same employer; some replaced married women during the summer months, presumably benefitting the women with school age children at home.

Geographical location of the workplace emerged as a significant factor in the utilisation of part time workers in Bossen's study. In the urban core there was a demand for tellers, sales and clerical workers. Suburban shopping plazas provided another centre for part time employment, and one manufacturer interviewed had deliberately located plants in suburban areas to recruit housewives to sewing machine work during the hours their children were in school.⁸

Service Occupations:

Service occupations include housekeepers, waitresses, dishwashers, cleaning and laundry workers, front desk clerks, in hotels, motels, laundries and hospitals, and special care nursing homes.⁹

1961 census data showed that these were the major occupations of part time women workers (using the definition of "less than thirty hours").¹⁰ In the 1972 Saskatchewan sample of men and women, more than one quarter (29.1%) worked in hotels and motels, and 4.3% worked in hospitals and special care nursing homes.¹¹ The Use of Regular Part time employees showed that 80.9% of hospitals, 38.5% of laundries, cleaners and pressers, and 61.4% of hospitals used regular part time employees.¹²

The Retail Trade:

Between 1941 and 1961, the number of persons employed in the retail trade increased by 87%, and the number of women increased by 163%. According to the Federal Women's Bureau, "By 1967, two thirds of the employees in department stores were women, and more than one in three of food store workers were women."¹³ A large number of these were part time workers. Bossen (1971) found that in the 38 department chain stores she sampled, there were more part time workers (25,035) than full time workers (22,978). Nearly four-fifths of the part time workers were women and more of them worked intermittently than regularly. Women, both full time and part time, were employed

in sales and clerical occupations, and men outnumbered women in non-office, non-selling jobs and in managerial positions. Part time women were typically employed as saleswomen, cashiers and markers, and doing routine clerical and machine operator tasks.¹⁴

Professional and technical occupations:

In Chapter 2 it was shown that in 1973 the percentage of women working in professional occupations (17.4%) was lower than in the twenties and thirties, and they were mainly in the female dominated occupations. Part time workers in the professions are partly the result of shortages in these occupations.

A survey of nurses in 1966 showed that 25% of the membership of the Canadian Nurses Association worked part time.¹⁵ The Manitoba study sample included professional workers in provincial government and a public library. Bossen (1975) found key punch operators in data service centres and telephone services, and many professionals employed part time in the three levels of government, (presumably in the unclassified service). Health professionals, social workers, teachers, recreation and art instructors, and librarians were among those she listed.¹⁶

Part time work in Management and Supervisory positions:

Hallaire (1968) and Bossen (1975) found that part time employment in management or in positions of responsibility are very rare.¹⁷ Some isolated examples from the States have been reported, and isolated instances are known in Canada. Overall

the doors to management are closed to part time employees.

Part time work in the Public Sector:

At all three levels, employment by government has expanded dramatically during this century. In the Federal Civil Service, part time employees are not permanent civil servants, but hold either term appointments or appointments of indeterminate length. The Public Service Staff Relations Act does not define part time employees, but the term "employee" excludes "persons not ordinarily required to work more than one-third the normal period for persons doing similar work." Such employees are not subject to collective bargaining. Part time workers are also excluded from the Public Service Superannuation Act.¹⁸ In 1973 approximately 3% of the Federal Civil Service employees worked part time, and the majority of these were in the postal services.¹⁹

The first part time employment pilot project.

In 1967 the Public Service Commission and the Treasury Board initiated a part time programme to recruit "highly skilled" married women with school age children into the Federal public service. People interested in part time employment found this to be an exciting step: no other government service had taken such a decisive step toward promoting part time work. There was a large response from potential employees: 230 initial inquiries which, after screening, became 78 serious applications. The programme was however to be limited to 30 women graduates in three areas of staff shortage: economists,

librarians and statisticians. Only 17 women were qualified to fit the project. The women were to work 20-30 hours a week during the school year and have summers free. Placements were more difficult than anticipated, in part because of staffing cuts in October 1967 followed by a complete freeze on hiring in March 1968. Job pairing was not introduced so that departments were reluctant to fill continuing full-time positions with part time workers. Only 5 women were finally placed. The programme was authorised to continue until 1970, but in fact lay dormant, and was not actively used or publicised. In 1970 the programme was discontinued.²⁰

Archibald gave a detailed account of the fate of this programme, pointing to two features: first the impact of the economic freeze, and second, to the general reluctance of departments to use the programme. She concluded that

"All the problems faced by the part time employment programme for 'highly qualified' married women sum up to this: systems of manpower utilisation in the public service are designed for the continuing, full time employee. Any other type of employee is seen as a special case, a nuisance, and often as a second class citizen." 21

Ironically the history of this programme is almost exactly parallel to the fate of a similar project, eight years later, in the Ontario Civil Service.

The seventies: flexitime but not part time.

The major change in the area of working hours during the seventies in the civil service has been the introduction of "flexitime" in 1974. By 1976, 39 departments in Ottawa and

5,000 employees in regional offices were working either fully flexible or fixed flexible hours (usually the latter). Pilot projects were introduced in some departments in 1972 and 1973, but the decisive factor was the difficulties the Ottawa Regional Transit system was finding in peak hours of public transportation. The promptness of government action was astounding - following an announcement in January 1974, all departments were asked to introduce flexitime by March of the same year.²²

Flexitime does not deal with shorter working hours but this innovation may have indirectly deflected interest from part time work. It is much easier to institute, deals still with full time workers, and yet is often thought to speak to some of the same concerns about working hours as is part time employment.

The Ontario Civil Service and part time work

A civil servant in Ontario is defined as a full time employee, but part time workers can be employed under the "unclassified" service, without permanency.²³

The greatest area of activity related to part time employment is with the programme "Go Temp", which has taken over the function of private employment agencies in recruiting temporary and part time help, almost exclusively clerical, for the government services. In spite of repeated phone calls and correspondence it was not possible to obtain information about the size and conditions of this work force. Bossen (1975)

reported some details about this service. "There is one rate of pay for each occupational class. Employment is full time but temporary, but part time arrangements may be worked out between supervisors and employees.We were told that the productivity of temporary workers is often better than that of regular workers.The opinion was voiced that a staffing program of this kind can only work in the absence of union rules and restrictions."²⁴

In April 1974, after the Ontario Green paper on Equal opportunity, the Women Crown Employees office was established with one officer and a mandate to implement the recommendations of the Green paper in the Civil service! Later that year a Task Force on Part time Employment was established by the Civil Service Commission at the encouragement of the Women Crown Employees office. The committee included several personnel directors, Women's Bureau personnel and the Women Crown Employees office. The committee included several personnel directors, Women's Bureau personnel, and the Women Crown Employees officer. It was given impetus by public lobbying on part time work from the National Council of Women, and by May 1975 had prepared a careful interim report dealing with advantages and disadvantages of part time work and a clarification of different types of part time employment in the unclassified service. Progress was rapid. Then T.E.I.G.A. (Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs) put forward a request for a woman to work part time. In January 1976 the Civil Service Commission approved a pilot project, as part of

its "further exploration", to allow full time civil servants to work part time with full pro-rata wages and benefits and retention of permanency. Regulations under the Public Service Act were amended with a discretionary regulation to enable positions to be redefined for part time workers. Three persons (all women) moved to part time work. Then came the economic cutbacks. A freeze was put on the complement of full time employees which meant that a full time position could not be expanded for two part time workers. A position could be redefined, but in an already frozen hiring situation, departments were unlikely to reduce their complement of man-hours.

By the Fall of 1976 the pilot project still consisted of three women. The Interim Committee on Part time Employment had not met for over a year, although they had not disbanded nor produced a final report. One senior official (male) associated with the Taskforce, who was helpful but concerned that I not explore part time work too far, questioned that anyone would want to work part time in these days of economic restraint. A sample of three in the pilot project was thought unlikely to be persuasive of policy change, and so the programme, and further action, was in effect on the shelf. This had been a hopeful project, even though only open to present civil servants, not to new applicants, but again government had moved slowly on the expansion of part time work.²⁵

There had however been some other activity in the area of part time employment. An International Women's Year Project in the Ministry of Government Services hired 4 highly qualified

women, aged between 30 - 35, married and with children on a permanent, unclassified part-time basis with pro rata wages and benefits of 12% above the normal salary for vacation, statutory holidays and OHIP. In Fall, 1976, three of the women were still employed: two part time and one full time.²⁶

Conversations have indicated that there is little interest in moving part timers to permanent status, nor to employing part timers on a wide scale.²⁷

Part time work schedules:

After World War II, working hours were typically a five or five and a half day week. During the fifties the six-day operation in the retail trade became general, and during the sixties and seventies commercial enterprises increased their evening opening hours. At the same time, average working hours for full time workers have been reduced in the post war period. In non-office industries between 1945 and 1953, 45, 47 or 48 hours was frequently typical. The forty hour week became more common during the period between 1954 and 1965.²⁸ The two contradictory trends have left a gap between hours of opening in some businesses and the standard working hours for full-time workers. The increased use of part time workers has helped to fill this gap.

Studies have inquired into the work schedules of part time employees and have used the I.L.O. definition of part time work as "regular, voluntary employment of hours distinctly shorter than normal" in trying to clarify the extent of workers

in this category as opposed to those who work intermittently.

Regular part time workers:

In spite of the fact that the O.E.C.D. and I.L.O. definition of part time employee conjures up a view of part time workers employed on a regular basis, in Canada only a minority are in this category.

In the retail trade "regular part time employee" referred to one of two patterns: a five day week with shorter hours each day, or 20-40 hours weekly following a regular pattern of days, for example, Thursday through Saturday.²⁹ For research purposes, the Department of Labour (1972) defined "regular part time employees" as those employed on a year around basis, where persons worked "distinctly less hours than in the normal work week but more than 15 hours a week."³⁰ "Regular" part time is synonymous with the concept "Permanent part time", described in Chapter 1.

The 1972 study of regular part time workers in Canadian industry showed that 11.5% of employees (140,265) in the establishments using the practice of part time employment, were part time. This represents only 13.5% of the number of persons (1,038,000) recorded as working part time in Canada in 1972.³¹ Various factors were suggested as affecting the differential use of regular part time workers. The major one identified was type of industry.³² The practice also varied according to the socio-economic structure of the province, manpower availability and degree of unionisation.³³ The use

of regular part timers increased with the size of the workplace.³⁴

Intermittent part time workers

The great majority of part time workers are in this category. Non-regular staff in the retail trade might work part time intermittently throughout the year or full-time for part of the year, according to seasonal demand. Synonyms for "non-regular" part time employees are "occasional", "casual" or "intermittent" part time employees, described also as "call-in" staff used "as and when required". Their widespread use suggests the conception of "part-time" as part year work suggested in the introductory chapter.

In the retail trade a high proportion of part time employees are "call in" staff.³⁵ The use of part time employees in the postal services and via private temporary help agencies by the Federal Government, and through "Go Temp" in Ontario (described earlier) is further evidence of the greater number of intermittent part time employees. Bossen (1975) confirmed other findings that the casual/temporary part timers greatly outnumbered regular part time workers across the range of occupations she explored.

One study suggested that there may be much more regularity in the work schedules than was contracted for, although there were many more part time workers listed as available than were used at any one time.³⁶ Another study found that one third of the respondents did not record "usual

hours of work" and the authors suggested that this may be the result of a fluctuating timetable which made it difficult to give a precise description of their timetable. There was similar difficulty in answering how many days a week they usually worked.³⁷ Bossen (1975) noted the difficulty in obtaining information about non-regular part time employees because of the limited record keeping at Company head offices.³⁸

Choice of hours of work:

Hours of work are usually chosen by the employer, sometimes they result from negotiation between both parties, and the availability of willing part time workers makes it unlikely that employer wishes will be thwarted, and less frequently the employee can choose his or her own working hours. Studies based on employer interviews differ from those reporting employee experience. Employers claim that they try to satisfy workers, employees mainly report employer choice or at the most negotiation of hours.³⁹ Clearly the limits to hours worked are set by the hours of the workplace operation.

A hierarchical labour force:

One of the major findings of Bossen's study Part time Employment in the Canadian Economy (1975) was that part time work constituted a labour market separate to the full time labour market. She concluded that the requirements of employers are different for each. Employers looked for continuity and consistency in their full time workers, while part time workers were used to fill gaps caused by peak demands, illness and

vacations of full time staff, and when special or seasonal requirements demanded what is in effect an additional pool of labour. Bossen claimed that the supply of workers was different, and there was little movement between the two markets. She did not attribute any causal relation between the requirements and the supply, rather presented them as discrete facts. It seems likely that the requirements determine the supply.⁴⁰

She described a common pattern of the evolution of part time workers in industry. As a result of a tight labour market, need to control costs, and peaks in demand not filled by full time workers, part time employees are hired. She noted that in 1975 the insurance companies were in this phase, on the initiative of employers, and government was under some pressure from potential employees to make openings for part time workers. Part time work "grows like Topsy", with little attention being given to working conditions and particularly fringe benefits. The financial and personal service sector were at this stage in 1975. Finally part time work is regularised, sometimes with the prompting of unions. Fringe benefits and working conditions are clarified and improved. In Bossen's opinion some unionised public utilities and the retail trade were at this stage in 1975.⁴¹

Bossen fails to make explicit that in this third phase there is a distinction made between regular and casual/temporary employees, and that the latter, which greatly outnumber the regulars, do not experience any improvement in their working conditions.

In Ontario the new labour force survey has shown the different labour market experience of full time and part time workers to be true during periods of unemployment as well as employment. The Ontario Budget (1976) commented that

The new survey increases the emphasis on females, young people and part time workersThese groups participate in the labour market in quite an opposite way to the behaviour of workers generally.....
On the basis of the 1975 experience at least, these groups continued to receive Unemployment Insurance benefits as employment conditions improved during the year, leaving the bulk of employment gains to males, older workers, and workers permanently attached to the labour Force. 42

Not only is the labour force split between full time and part time workers, but the part timers are also hierarchically divided. The Minority, the regulars, approach some semblance of the status and conditions of full time workers, but the vast majority merge with casual, temporary and seasonal labourers, in a pool of "call in" labour, used "as and when required".

Wages of Part time Workers

The Canada Labour (Standards) Code and Provincial Employment Standards Legislation provide minimum wage rates for most Canadian workers. Part time workers are implicitly included although the Industrial Relations Board or equivalent body in four provinces (Alberta, British Columbia, New Brunswick and Saskatchewan) are empowered to determine different rates for part time employees. In Ontario students "who are under 18 who work during school holidays and who work not more than

28 hours per week during the school year" can be paid a lower student rate. Therefore, part time student workers under 18 can also be paid less.⁴³

From the limited evidence which is available, it appears that wages of part time employees are concentrated close to the minimum wage. Their earnings are low, partly because part time work opportunities are typically found in the low-skill, female dominated, low-paying sectors of the labour market, and partly because opportunities for promotion are minimal.⁴⁴ There is insufficient evidence to assess the extent to which part time workers are actually hired on a pro rata basis, and at what rate they receive pay increases.

The Canadian Department of Labour has no record of wages of part time workers.⁴⁵ The 1971 census showed that "For both males and females, full-time, year-round workers earned four to seven times as much income as part time, part-year workers." And "~~females are more likely to be part-time~~ and part-year workers".⁴⁶

Persons working less than 50 weeks and mostly part time earned less than the year around part time workers. Women consistently earned less than men with the exception of the year round part timers, which showed women earning slightly more than men.

Of those workers who worked less than 50 weeks the following proportions of workers earned less than \$2,000:⁴⁷

<u>Mostly full time</u>		<u>Mostly part time</u>	
male	female	male	female
32.7%	56.7%	71.3%	84.2%

Of those workers who worked 50-52 weeks (year round)
the following proportion of workers earned less than \$2,000:

<u>Mostly full time</u>		<u>Mostly part time</u>	
male	female	male	female
4.7%	6.3%	52.5%	51.9%

TABLE 3:9

MEDIAN EARNINGS BY WEEKS WORKED AND SEX

Median earnings	Total	50-52 weeks year round		less than 50 weeks			
		Total	mostly F/T	mostly P/T	Total	mostly F/T	mostly P/T
All earners	\$5,002	6,738	7,065	1,906	1,602	2,536	718
Male earnings	\$6,619	7,842	7,982	1,816	2,433	3,300	918
Female earnings	\$2,891	4,482	4,828	1,935	1,016	1,707	592

Source: Statistics Canada: Earnings and Work Experience of the 1971 labour force
No. 13-554, 1973, pp. 31-32.

The studies of part time employment have also shown that part time workers earnings are concentrated close to the minimum wage. The extent to which starting wage rates for part time workers are lower than full timers appears to vary. Increments are both slower and with a lower ceiling than for full time workers.⁴⁸

Where part time employees are unionised, pro rata wages are suggested in policy guidelines, however evidence for the extent of this in practice is not available. In the pilot project of the Ontario Civil service (which involved three people:) pro rata wages were recommended.⁴⁹

Fringe benefits or non-wage payments:

In addition to the minimum standards set by legislation, a range of fringe benefits are frequently offered by employers: sometimes in the form of improvements to the statutory minimum benefits, sometimes additional perquisites. The latter include a range of items from uniform allowances and store discounts, to group pension, disability or dental plans, travel allowances, training assistance and employer provided child care. The system of benefits has come to be known as the occupational welfare system, and is reported to be one of the fastest growing segments of labour costs.⁵⁰ A study entitled "Employee Benefit costs in Canada", and published in 1976, suggested that such benefits accounted for 31% of payroll costs. Vacations were the most costly item, welfare payments (group life and disability plans, hospital-medical-surgical insurance and survivor benefits) were second, and pension plans third most costly.⁵¹

These benefits are usually not available to part time workers. Even unionised "regular" part time employees usually do not qualify for welfare benefits until they have at least three years work experience with the Company, if at all.

According to the Financial Post (1973) "Fringe benefits have increased in cost 300% over the last 15 years, and salaries 50% over the last 10 years, so it is economical to hire temporary staff."⁵²

No comprehensive and detailed Canadian material is available on fringe benefits for part time employees. One study in rural Saskatchewan focussed on a comparison of non-wage benefits for full and part time workers in 304 establishments and found that "all of the nine selected benefits were... provided to a significantly greater proportion of the full time employees than to part time employees."⁵³ Several studies on part time employment have contributed some information and the pattern which emerges is sufficiently similar to indicate that part time workers are widely excluded from fringe benefits.⁵⁴

In 1975, Bossen also prepared a study on Sex Discrimination in Fringe Benefits for the Federal Advisory Council on the Status of women. She demonstrated that women have lower wages and fewer benefits while they are working; their incomes peak close to retirement, and later than men's; and then, because of earlier retirement and a longer life expectancy, their pension rates are lower.⁵⁵ Women who have worked as a part time employee for much of their working lives are of course much more heavily penalised.

Reasons for working part time:

The revised labour force survey (January 1976) included questions about the reasons for working part time. The

TABLE 3:10
REASONS FOR WORKING PART TIME & SEX

	<u>JUNE 1976</u>				
	Male 000's	Female 000's		Total 000's	
Personal/family	-	126	17.1%	126	12.2%
School	152	141	19.1%	293	28.4%
Could find only part time work	54	96	13%	150	14.5%
Did not want full time work	56	343	46.5%	399	38.7%
Other	27	31	4.2%	58	5.6%
Total	289*	737	100.0%	1,031	100.0%

* This list of figures was inaccurate in the publication as the total male part timers was 294,000. For this reason the percentages for men were not calculated.

Source: Statistics Canada The Labour Force
June 1976

TABLE 3:11
REASONS FOR WORKING PART TIME & MARITAL STATUS

	Married		Single		Other	
	000's	%	000's	%	000's	%
Personal/family	(113)	11%	-	-	-	-
School	-	-	(283)	27.4%	-	-
Could find only part time	(49)	4.8%	(91)	8.8%	-	-
Did not want full time	(307)	29.8%	(66)	6.4%	(23)	2.2%
Other	(35)	3.4%	(11)	1.1%	-	-
Total						100.0%

Source: The Labour Force, June 1976

questions were in the form of a multiple choice and, as the categories are not mutually exclusive, the answers are not totally explanatory. (One category is "did not want to work full time.")⁵⁶

In June 1976, 17.1% of women (and no men) gave "personal/family responsibilities" as reason for part time work, and an additional 46.5% said they "did not want to work full time". This accounts for close to two-thirds of the women part time workers. The majority of men gave "attending school" as their reason for working part time. The figures on marital status showed that married persons mostly did not want full time work or worked part time for personal and family reasons, and the majority of single persons were also attending school. (See Tables 3:10 and 3:11) The majority of persons who "could only find part time work" were in the 15-24 year old age group, although some women (36,000) between 25-54 were in this category.⁵⁷

The reasons given for working part time correspond with earlier figures and patterns described. Women typically work part time because they have family responsibilities or "do not want to work full time" (reason unspecified) and students (single, young people) are "also attending school".

Labour legislation and part time workers:

Provincial labour legislation has established minimum conditions concerning the contract of employment between management and workers. Legislation relates to minimum working

age, working hours, overtime conditions, statutory holidays and vacations, notice of termination, and more recently maternity leave. Workmen's Compensation legislation also covers all employees. In addition, some federal legislation offers protection for workers. The Canada Labour (Standards) Code enacted in 1965 established basic labour standards for all workers within federal jurisdiction. The Unemployment Insurance legislation provides for unemployment insurance and maternity leave benefits, and the Canada Pension plan, to which both employer and employee contribute, is another compulsory social insurance plan for all workers.

Implicitly part time employees are covered by this labour legislation. There are however some exceptions. For example, the minimum insurable earnings under the Unemployment Insurance Act are \$40 per week in 1976 which excludes some part time workers from both unemployment insurance and maternity benefits.⁵⁸

Studies have demonstrated that part timers do not always receive all benefits. In part their occasional status and work schedules mean that legislation does not clearly cover them, for example, statutory holidays, notice of termination and severance pay. Employer accountability is limited by the absence of adequate record keeping of the many casual or occasional part time workers. Some provinces legislate separate conditions for part time employees.⁵⁹

Summary:

Part time work has been increasing since the early fifties and in 1976 accounted for 10.5% of the labour force. Approximately two-thirds of part time workers are women, and their participation continues through their adult years. Men who work part time are typically students, male moonlighters or persons retired from the full time workforce. In 1976 nearly half of the part time labour force was under 25 years, an indication of the growing incidence of part time work among students, and a smaller number who were unable to find full time work. The majority of male part timers work part time because they are attending school. The majority of women either "do not want to work full time" (reasons unspecified) or because of their personal and family responsibilities.

Part time work is concentrated in the trade and service sectors. There is some part time work in professional and technical occupations, clerical occupations, and the public service. Part time workers are almost entirely absent from supervisory positions or management. It is concentrated in the female dominated sections of the labour force.

The great majority (probably more than 85%) of part time workers are employed on an intermittent basis: on-call throughout the year, and sometimes working full time on a temporary basis according to seasonal demand. Regular part time workers, the minority, typically have one of two patterns of work: either five days a week for a shorter number of hours,

or the same days regularly each week. A picture of a hierarchical labour force emerged. Part time workers constitute a separate labour market from full time workers. Part timers are also divided between the "regulars" and those employed on a "call in" basis, "as and when required."

Wages of part time workers are concentrated close to the minimum wage. Their earnings are low, partly because work opportunities are typically in the low-skill, low-paying, female dominated sectors of the labour market, and partly because opportunities for promotion are minimal. Fringe benefits, one of the increasingly important components of labour costs, are almost entirely unavailable to part time workers, even unionised part timers. Theoretically, minimum labour standards apply to all workers, but sometimes their occasional status and work schedules means that legislation does not clearly protect them.

Footnotes - Chapter 3

1. Canada, Statistics Canada The Labour Force. June 1976 op. cit., p. 21.
2. In 1969, management and union representatives interviewed for the study Part time employment in the Retail Trade (op. cit.) suggested that as stores stayed open longer hours, part time work would increase. At that time part time workers were employed in some food chain stores in a ratio of 3:1 in stores which had extensive evening hours. 30 of the 38 managers of department stores interviewed by Bossen in 1971 envisaged that part time work would increase. Bossen, Marianne (1971a) Patterns of Manpower Utilization in Canadian Department Stores. Studies of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women no. 3 Ottawa: Information Canada 1971. Bossen (1975) reported that part time work opportunities were likely to increase as part of general economic development. Little increase was thought likely in the manufacturing industries. With certain special policy changes an increase of part time work would be possible in public administration. Special projects at the municipal level may continue to use part-time workers (Bossen, op. cit., pp. 95-104).
3. See Trends in Working Time op. cit., pp. 27-30 for a discussion of multiple job holding.
4. Canada: Statistics Canada. "Full-time and part-time employment by age and sex" special article. The Labour Force, January 1974.
5. The Labour Force, June 1976, op. cit.
6. See Chapter 2 for the leading occupations for women in 1971.
7. The Labour Force, June 1976, op. cit., p. 21.
8. Bossen (1975) op. cit., p. 27ff.
9. See for example Bossen, pp. 47-48.
10. In 1966, the Federal Department of Labour Women's Bureau studied women working "less than 35 hours a week" using 1961 census data. In 1961, 316,000 women comprised 66.4% of the part time workforce. The five major areas of employment were Professional and technical (59,208), clerical (59,150 women), housekeepers, cooks, waitresses and related workers (54,651 women) sales (44,447) and other service

occupations (25,483). The high number of women in the professional and technical category was presumably inflated by teachers, who may not in fact have been "part time" workers. By imposing the recent definition of "less than 30 hours a week" on the 1961 hours of work statistics, the order of major occupations changes. Housekeepers (etc.) are the largest group with 45,192 women, clerical has 44,010 women, sales is third with 38,622 women, and the professional category is substantially smaller with 36,290 women. Other service occupations employed 21,585 women for less than 30 hours a week.

Using 1961 census data, when women working part time were calculated as a percentage of the female workforce in that category, occupational groups were distributed in the following order: sales (33.4% of the female workforce), service occupations (32.6%), farm workers (24.1%), professional and technical (22.5%) and housekeepers etc. (20%). Canada: Women's Bureau. Women and Part-time Work in Canada. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. XIX October, 1966.

11. Saskatchewan: Labour. Survey of Part-time employment. Summer 1973.
55.9% of the part timers were employed in department stores, 29.1% in hotels and motels, 10.7% in drug stores and 4.3% in hospitals and special care nursing homes. There were no men in the latter type of workplace, and half of the men part timers were employed in hotels and motels, while more than half the women part timers were in department stores. Two thirds of the sample said that they had no other occupational skills. One third of the respondents had another occupational skill, but one third of these (approximately 33 workers) said that "neither part time nor full time work was available for them in that vocation." p. 9.
12. Canada: Labour, Economics and Research Branch. Use of Regular Part-time Employees in Canadian Industry. Special Study No. 2. 1972, p. 26.
In this study "Regular was defined as employment on a year around basis, where persons worked "distinctly less hours than in the normal work week but more than 15 hours a week." 7,240 establishments (32.0% of those which replied) employed regular part time workers. The total number of employees in these companies using part time work was 1,222,769 and 140,265 persons (11.5%) were part time workers. The material was not broken down by sex, but as in other studies, trade and service emerged as the two industries where part time workers were used.
13. Part time Employment in the Retail Trade op. cit., p. 10.

14. Bossen (1971) op. cit., see Chapter 5 pp. 59-61. For notes on sample see pp. 15, 18.
15. Part time Employment in the Retail Trade, p. 7.
16. Bossen (1975) op. cit., See table pp. 47-48.
17. Hallaire (op. cit.) p. and Bossen p. 34. See An Introduction to Alternative Work Schedules, op. cit., and Carol S. Greenwald, and Judith Liss. "Part-time Workers Can Bring Higher Productivity". Harvard Business Review. September-October 1973, for isolated examples. There are some examples of social workers at supervisory level in Ontario Children's Aid Societies. Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport op. cit., p. 456-60 discussed the opposition they found to part time work at senior levels. They noted that the objections could be reduced to 4 arguments.
1. The amount of time necessary to keep up with the field work.
 2. Day-to-day decision making and impossibility of delegation.
 3. Emergencies which arise out of normal working hours.
 4. Job pairing doubles time spent in information sharing.
- Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport considered these to be powerful arguments but suggested that part-time work highlights what are typical problems of work, and management. "Amongst these (problems) the most prominent are ill-defined areas of responsibility, little spare time for professional contacts, inadequate clerical help and above all work pressure" (p. 458). Emergencies may require overtime hours even for full time workers. Weekends typically break day-to-day decision making. They noted that many professional task (e.g. scientific research) can be scheduled at different hours - hours which fit with family life.
18. See Report on Part time work situation 1973 (restricted) op. cit., Chapter 3.
19. Kathie Graham, "Part-time employment: another alternative to the traditional work week." Canadian Personnel and Industrial Relations Journal 8 (1) 35-38 January 1974, p. 3. For more recent figures see Interaction Bulletin April 1976 which reported that -
- "In September, 1975 - the most recent date for which statistics are available - there were 5,159 indeterminate part-time employees in the public service.

24. Bossen (1975) op. cit., p. 67.
My attempts to obtain information about "Go Temp", by letter and telephone were not successful. One official actively discouraged my interest in part time work and also suggested that there was no interest in part time work during 'these times of inflation'.
25. The material in this section was compiled as a result of personal discussions with officials involved in the Task Force.
26. Correspondence from Ministry of Government Services.
27. Telephone conversations with officials.
28. Canada: Labour: Economic and Research Branch.
Hours of Work in Canada. An Historical Series. Ottawa: February 1971. pp. 1, 23, 45.
29. Part time Employment in the Retail Trade, op. cit., p. 28.
30. Use of regular part time employees. op. cit., p. 10.
31. The Use of Regular Part Time Employees (see also footnote 11), used the mail survey of wages and working conditions 1972. 22,291 establishments employing 3,138,718 persons provided data. All major industries were covered and firms with over 20 employees were included. 140,265 persons were reported to be "regular" part time workers i.e. working more than 15 hours a week but substantially less than normal. This number of persons represents 13.5% of the 1,038,000 persons recorded as working part time in Canada in 1972 (See Table 3:1).
32. Within trade 1.9% of part time workers in wholesale operations were regular part timers, but 28.9% of retail trade employees were in this category. In the service industries, regular part time workers accounted for 14.7% of workers in those establishments which employed part time workers: 13.8% of hotel and restaurant employees (in those institutions which use the practice of part time employment, that is, two thirds - 61.4%), and 8.6% of hospital workers. In other industries, part timers accounted for between 1.1% and 3.9% of total employees. Ibid., Table 20, p. 28.
33. The percentage of establishments in each province which employ regular part timers varied from 22.5% in Quebec to 45% in the Yukon and Northwest Territories. In New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland 28-29% of industries employed part time workers, approximately 36% in Ontario and Alberta, and 39% in Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan. ibid., p. 8.

34. This was also found in the Manitoba study.
35. Part time in the Retail Trade (1969) showed that non-regular part time employees comprised 49% of the total number of employees, compared with the 2% who were regular part timers, in one department chain. In the other chain store studied, they comprised 27% compared with 10% of total employees who were regular part time employees. In the food chain stores studied the number of part time workers coincided with open evening hours. They were employed, often in a ratio of 3:1 in stores with extensive evening hours. (p. 40) There was no "typical" schedule, although Thursday and Friday evenings and Saturdays were in fact the major times.

In the 38 department stores studied by Bossen (1971) the majority of workers were part time, and three-fifths of these were categorised as non-regular part timers, that is "persons who usually work part of the year on a full time basis, or intermittently through all or part of the year on a part time basis." These workers were "on call" and used "as and when required".

Bossen (1971) op. cit., p. 77.

	Regular part time	Non-regular part time	total
men	1,352	3,889	5,241
women	7,965	11,829	19,794
total	9,317	15,718	25,035

Source: Table 3, p. 17 Bossen (1971)

36. Part time Employment in the Retail Trade, op. cit., p. 28.
37. Saskatchewan study, op. cit., pp. 5 and 6.
38. Bossen (1975) op. cit., p. 28.
39. The study of Part time Employment in the Retail Trade found that both department stores said they tried to adopt work schedules which suited the preferences of women involved. In the Saskatchewan study (op. cit.), employers most often set the hours of work, but in department stores and hospitals and special nursing homes there was more negotiation around hours. (p.8) The Winnipeg study (op. cit.) found that nearly half of the employees hours were set by employers, just over one third had been negotiated and 14.7% had been chosen by the employee. (p.6).
40. Bossen (1975) op. cit., pp. 92-93.

41. Ibid., p. 94-5.
42. Ontario: Ontario Budget 1976. Budget Paper D. The Ontario Labour Market, 1975, p. 14.
43. Ontario Federation of Labour. Stewards Legislative Handbook. 11th edition 1975. Don Mills: Thistle Printing 1975, p. 17.
44. A comparative study of income trends by the Department of Labour showed that in 1974 the average weekly wage in Canadian industry was \$149.19. The data included full time and part time earnings. Weekly earnings varied from \$209.90 in construction, \$190.29 in mining, and \$168.09 in some parts of the manufacturing industry to \$117.58 in trade and \$107.32 in service. Trade and service were the lowest paid industries, and also the industries with the highest concentration of women and part time workers. It is difficult to know the extent to which these factors lowered the average in these industries, and to what extent the figures simply reflect that they are low paying sectors. Canadian Labour Income: Recent Trends op. cit., p. 17.
45. Correspondence from Department of Labour.
46. Globe and Mail December 28th, 1976. Quoting Statistics Canada: Catalogue 13-554, Earnings and Work Experience of the 1971 Labour Force, 1973.
47. Statistics Canada, Earnings and Work Experience of the 1971 Labour Force, 13-554. 1973, pp. 31-32.
48. In response to a three choice answer on wages, 28 of the 38 department store managers in Bossen's Study of Patterns of Manpower Utilisation in Canadian Department Stores (1971) claimed that wage rates were proportional for full time and part time workers. op. cit., p. 59. The Winnipeg study (1976), on the other hand, did not include any department store workers and 9.5% of its sample were professional women. They found that 50% of the part time workers studied earned less than \$3.00 an hour (\$2.30 was the minimum wage at the time, and \$2.05 for workers under 18). 13.2% of the sample earned \$2.30 or less. One quarter of their sample earned over \$4,000. Nearly three quarters of the sample found their wages to be satisfactory: 15-19 year olds found it more so and workers aged between 40 and 65 years were less satisfied. (Manitoba Study op. cit. p. 11)
- Bossen Part time Employment in the Canadian Economy (1975) interviewed employers in 42 organisations and found that "The most common method of establishing a pay rate

for part time work is a salary proportional to that for full time work in the same occupational class, according to time worked, or the same hourly rate as that for full time workers." (p. 69) In four instances initial pay rates were lower than for full time workers on the basis that they assumed less overall responsibility in the workplace. Pay was sometimes established at a higher rate in three cases to compensate for the absence of fringe benefits. Regular part timers did obtain pay increases, but not at the rate of full time workers at least in the private sector. Overtime pay mostly commenced after full time day or week work, and less frequently at the completion of the typical part time hours worked.

Bossen gave a less than thorough and critical presentation of part time workers pay rates. Elsewhere she reported that employers see part time workers as advantageous because they keep salary costs down and have lower starting rates. (p. 52) There is little mention of exploration of salary increases and promotion. She notes however that part time workers are predominantly present in what she calls the external labour market, where possibilities for promotion and pay increases are limited anyway. (p. 13) In her conclusion she claims that pro rata pay is less of a problem (theoretically?) than fringe benefits. If however this is coupled with her comments about a separate, residual, complementary labour force, and her statement that "We do not believe that career advancement - in the form of training and promotion to management positions - is compatible with part time work" it is clear that part time workers may be doomed to low wages. (p. 106)

49. Correspondence from Ontario Civil Service Commission.
50. Note the following titles from Business Periodicals Index, "Survey shows 13% cost rise in staff benefits" (Globe and Mail June 3, 1976, p. B34; "Employee benefit costs increasing" (Globe and Mail October 7, 1976, p. B1); "New Study: fringe benefits headed higher" (Banking 67:16 May, 1975).
51. Clayton Sinclair, "Fringe Benefits gobbling up 31% of payroll." Financial Times 65 (8) July 26, 1976, p. 18.
52. Goldenberg, op. cit., June 16th 1973.
53. Saskatchewan, Labour, Research and Planning Division. A Comparative Study of the Provision of Selected Non-wage benefits to part-time and full-time employees in Rural Saskatchewan. April to June 1974. p. ix.
54. Part time Employment in Retail Trade, op. cit., p. 36-37, p. 48-49; Saskatchewan (1972) op. cit., p. 7., and Table 6; Manitoba Study, op. cit., p. 11.

In the Manitoba study (1976) op. cit., benefits were slightly higher than in the Saskatchewan study, probably because of the high percentage of female public servants in the study, and the absence of department store employees. (p. 11)

BENEFIT	% receiving benefit
Sick leave	25.3%
Staff discounts	31.8%
Profit sharing	2.5%
Medical/hospital premiums	-
Insurance	20.5%
Maternity leave	32.8%
Pension plan	19.8%

The authors noted that nearly 38% of respondents were not happy with the benefits they received, and 41% said that they would like to contribute to a pension plan, although 80% were not included in such a plan. (p. 11)

Bossen (1975) op. cit., questioned employers about the provisions over and above the statutory minimum which were paid to regular part time employees. Group life insurance and pension plans were found rarely to admit part time employees. (pp. 69-74) The findings suggested that part timers hired through temporary employment agencies have lower wages and fewer fringe benefits than those employed by large corporations and government.

55. Marianne Bossen (1975a) Sex Discrimination in Fringe Benefits (xeroxed) February 1975.
56. The categories are Personal/family responsibilities, attending school, did not want to work full time, could find only part time work, other.
57. The Labour Force, op. cit., June 1976.
58. Correspondence from Unemployment Insurance Commission.
59. Bossen (1975) Part time Employment op. cit., p. 23-24.

However, 80 per cent were in the Postal Operations Group. This consists of mail handlers and their supervisors, postal clerks and their supervisors, couriers, despatchers, letter carriers and their supervisors, and coders.

The remaining 1,825 part-time employees account for less than half of one per cent of the total public service.

They were found in all categories, except the Senior Executive. The largest group, 459, belonged to the General Services Group in the Operational Category, while there were only 19 in the entire Administrative and Foreign Service Category, and six in the Technical.

The majority of the part-time employees, 83 per cent, worked between 26 and 34 hours per week.

All age groups were represented, although the largest number, 936 or 18 per cent, were from ages 20 to 24. The next largest group, 653 or 13 per cent, were from 50 to 54 years of age.

In 1975, 58 per cent of the indeterminate part-time employees were female; 42 per cent were male. This compares with an overall public service made up of 33 per cent females and 67 per cent males." (p.7)

20. Kathleen Archibald, Sex and the Public Service.

A Report to the Public Service Commission of Canada. Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1970, p. 111-113 and correspondence with copy of detailed description of projects and key dates, for example,

"May 19, 1967. Proposal.

July 12, 1968. T.B. Minute broadened scope of plan by increasing number to 50 and extending occupational coverage to any position in the Scientific and Professional, Administrative and Foreign Service and Technical Categories. Never used.

Late 1968. Review of efficacy of program. No overt complaints but little enthusiasm and no cooperation in continuing the programme.

February 7, 1969 - agreed that there was no need for a feasibility study or to expend further resources on the project.

February 6, 1970. Submission to T.B. for renewal of authority. Not renewed....there are now other available means of hiring part-time employees."

21. Archibald, ibid., p. 112.

22. Interaction, op. cit., p. 2.

23. Ontario Task Force on Part Time Employment. Interim Report 1975 op. cit., pp. 1-2.

PART II

The following chapters examine the recent discussion in business, the trade union movement and government. In each chapter the extent, form and forum of discussion will be considered. Assumptions about work, women and "women's work" and the perceived advantages and disadvantages of part time work will be examined.

CHAPTER 4

THE DISCUSSION OF PART TIME WORK IN BUSINESS.

Introduction.

Cost saving, efficient and flexible manpower utilisation, and shortage of labour for certain jobs have been factors which have motivated the use of part time workers by business. In 1964 at a Women's Bureau consultation on the Employment of Women with Family responsibilities the business representative on a panel on part time employment stated that "The Company had no special problems with this segment of its personnel". In the same year the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store union applied for bargaining rights for 135 regular part timers of Dominion stores. It was predicted to be the beginning of an attempt to unionise the 3,000 part time employees in Dominion stores in Ontario. (Canadian Labour 9:45) Subsequently some progress in this direction has been made. Simpson-Sears (employer of the business representative on the panel in 1964)----- still remains entirely unorganised, and continues to be a major employer of part time workers. To such employers, part time workers are an asset.

The discussion in business reflects the trends previously identified in the use of part time employees. First, the increase of part time work in low-skill, routine jobs subject to fluctuations in demand, particularly in the service and trade sectors. Much of the discussion of this part time workforce is in terms of "the use of temporary help". Part time and temporary employees are descriptive terms used interchangeably.

Some discussion relates specifically to the growing use of private temporary help agencies, such as Dot Personnel, Office Overload and Kelly Services, for providing company manpower requirements. Other discussion refers to directly employed part timers on a flexible "call in" basis.

The second trend identified earlier was the use of part time employees in some areas of skilled labour shortage, for example, teaching, nursing, and computer operations. Both of these trends are reflected in the discussion of the advantages of part time workers.

The third trend is the reluctance of business and government to introduce part time employment on a secure employment basis in a range of occupations, and the related absence of part time employees in positions of responsibility or management. This trend concurs with the negative attitudes of employers to part time work which are described in the literature. The reluctance in business to offer secure and regular part time employment appears to be the result of several factors.

The growth of private "temporary help services" has provided companies with a loophole to avoid the cost of pro rata wages and fringe benefits for the extra employees which serve their peak loads and fluctuating demands for service. Unionisation of "temporary help" is virtually impossible so the employer retains maximum control and flexibility. "Call-in" part time or temporary help therefore serves the interests of the Company, with the minimum constraints. Winter (1974) has

attributed the increasing use of part time workers to the effect of inflationary pressures on profit margins. The same pressures apparently foster reluctance to employ regular part-timers with secure conditions of employment.

Beyond the cost saving and convenience of keeping part timers on a flexible, unregulated basis of employment, the idea that work must be full time work if it is serious and productive has been slow to change. Fears about costs and difficulties in administration and supervision have been expressed. Some evidence suggests that negative attitudes to part time employment were correlated with negative attitudes to working women in general. One writer identified what he termed the myths regarding the lack of availability, reliability and ability of part time workers. He suggested that these contributed to employers reluctance to use part time workers systematically.

Part time workers are seen as temporary workers, and ~~peripheral and supplementary employees.~~ They are useful: "housewives" and "mothers" have dormant skills, are available while their children are at school, and are reliable and productive workers; retired persons provide a pool of experience; and college students are a willing and available source of labour. Part time workers are seen as unsuited to career advancement, and it is a minority (and predominantly female) voice which expressed interest in permanent part time work on a regular and secure basis.

Sources:

The sources used to examine the attitudes and discussion of business were

- a. Articles in business periodicals, listed under "part time employment".

The articles listed in the Business Periodicals Index volumes 3-17 (1960-1975), the Canadian Business Periodicals Index volumes 1 and 2 (1975 and 1976) and the Canadian Periodicals Index (1960-1974) were examined. (See Appendix I)

- b. Studies of part time employment reporting employer attitudes.

Jane Schwartz (1964) published a study of "employer attitudes on opportunities for the College trained Woman".¹ Hallaire (1968) reported international employer attitudes, and Bossen (1975) described her study as "primarily a requirement study based on information received from large employers in the private and public sectors."² A "Survey of attitudes towards part time permanent work in the Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs" (Ontario) sponsored by the Women's Advisory Committee, was also consulted.³ Nollen and Eddy (1976) presented findings of a study including employers reasons for and against using part time employees to a Conference on Alternative Work Schedules in New York state in August 1976, and their findings have also been included.⁴

Elsewhere I have commented on the paucity of material on part time employees views and experiences, and of the absence of research on the trade union views. The major studies on part time employment have explored employers attitudes most

fully (for example, Hallaire and Bossen).

c. Material or views presented by business as Government sponsored consultations on alternative work schedules.

Examples of these are the Conference on Alternative Work Schedules sponsored by the Temporary Commission on Management and Productivity in the Public Sector in New York State in August 1976, and the various consultations sponsored by the Canadian Federal Women's Bureau.

d. The reports of the Ontario Labour Relations Board and collective agreements in industry.

In contrast to those writers who have assumed that collective agreements represent union views, I have found them also to reflect Companies' attitudes to part time workers and to contain clauses for the protection of managements interests. The examination of the OLRB reports also revealed Companies attitudes to part time workers.

The extent of the discussion:

As with the other sectors examined, the impression of the extent of discussion is only partial in that issues are discussed at Conferences, not only in periodicals. However in an attempt to document ideology this study has emphasised written expressions of opinion. Because of the extensive use of employers attitudes and opinions in previous studies, no interviews were held with businessmen to supplement these sources.

On the assumption that business operates in an era of

multi-national corporations, and given Miliband's assertion that business has a "basic ideological consensus, which is of fundamental importance in the representation and impact of business"⁵ North American Business periodicals were examined in addition to Canadian periodicals. It is probable that the listings are incomplete, however they are likely to approximate the extent of published material in periodicals.

A total of 69 articles on "part time employment" was found to be listed - an average (median) of four per year. In the Business Periodicals Index the category "temporary employee" was listed as a synonym for part time employment from 1959 (vol. 2). Between 1960-1975 a total of 108 articles on temporary employees were listed: nearly three times the number of part time employment. From 1971-2 the category "supplementary employee" was added as a synonym. This category contained 11 articles between 1971-5 on moonlighting and second (part time) jobs. That "supplementary jobs" and "temporary employees" were listed as categories related to part time employment reveals the conception of part time work in business.

As a measure of the relative importance of topics in discussion, the following tables show the low priority of part time employment.

There were a total of 53 articles on part-time, temporary and supplementary employment between 1971 and 1975, in contrast with 96 on fringe benefits - a concern because of the growing proportion of payroll costs spent on non-wage payments.

Number of articles catalogued in the Business Periodicals

Index 1971-75⁶

	P/T	Temp. empl.	Supplement. empl.	Fringe benefits/ non-wage payments
1971-2	1	-	2	30
1972-3	1	16	1	21
1973-4	5	6	2	23
1974-5	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>22</u>
	<u>10</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>96</u>

Comparison of number of articles listed in Business

Periodicals Index.⁷

1973-4

Part time employment	5
Temporary employees	6
Fringe benefits/non-wage payments	23
Women employment	55 (2 columns)
Stock market & stocks	approximately 225 (9 columns)
Wages, salaries & wage price policy	approximately 175 (7 columns)

The table above shows that in one year the Business Periodicals Index had 9 columns (approximately 225 articles) on stock market and stocks, and 7 columns (approximately 175 articles) on wage and price policies and salaries. Yet in 15 years there were only 38 articles on part time employment.

The Labour Gazette, Canadian Personnel and Industrial Relations Journal and the Financial Times are among the periodicals most widely read by Canadian businessmen. Twelve articles

are known to have been published in these periodicals between 1960 and 1976 - an average of less than one per year. Eleven of these were in the Labour Gazette: four of which were reports of parts of Hallaire's study, and one of which reported the Women's Bureau Bulletin review of 1966.

In contrast with the great increase of part time employment, and in comparison with other topics discussed in the periodicals, the attention given to part time employment has been minimal.

The articles on part time employment appeared to fall into three categories:

a. Those written by personnel managers, and other Company personnel, describing the advantages of part time and temporary employment.

The major theme was the usefulness of part timers and "temps" to business. (22 articles) Women were the most useful, but the uses of students and retired persons were also described.

b. Those reporting studies and pilot projects of part time employment.

Thirteen articles discussed part time work and women: pilot projects, and international or Canadian experience. Seven articles were reports of studies: five of them based on Hallaire's international study. Other articles were concerned with the demand for part time work; involuntary part time employment; part time employment in the public service; union activities; job satisfaction of part timers; and the "management

of peripheral employees".

c. Those written by professors of business administration and professional women suggesting the advantages of part time employment.

Some focussed on the benefits to business, others (the minority) were concerned with the advantages to men, women and families of permanent part time work.

"Part time workers" and "temporary employees" were terms frequently used inter-changeably, so some additional articles listed under "temporary employees" were also examined. Temporary employees were portrayed as having the same advantages as part time workers.

The extent to which discussion on part time work has occurred at Conferences is unknown, and similarly it has not been possible to obtain any accurate indication of the extent of discussion in the printed media. The Financial Times was not listed as having any articles, although it was included in the Indexes. Their Toronto office reported that they had no clipping file on the topic. The Toronto Star reported one article, and the Globe and Mail reported a file with some (un-specified) articles on part time employment.

The advantages of part time employment:

1. Cost saving

"How temporary help can cut your payroll costs".⁸

In the context of concern to maintain profits and

resist inflation in the face of rising labour costs and the cost of fringe benefits, cost saving has been the major advantage of part time employees. In 1974 Business Week quoted Elmer Winter, president of one of the multi-national million dollar profit Temporary help companies, as saying "Today's economy is helping to expand what has already been a burgeoning business - supplying part time office, factory and professional help".⁹ The article reports that "In industry after industry, inflationary pressure on profit margins is forcing companies to re-examine their total manpower needs. Many are replacing under-utilised full-timers with part time "temps" and paying only for the actual time worked."¹⁰

Direct cost saving is by lower wage rates and fewer, or no, fringe benefits. Bossen (1975) noted that lower starting rates keep wage costs down,¹¹ and Nollen (1976) quoted employers as finding part timers useful because they could pay lower wages.¹² Fringe benefits, assessed to be the fastest growing component of labour costs, are the major expense saved by using part timers. In 1976 fringe benefits were estimated to be "gobbling up 31% of payroll costs" so their absence provides substantial saving.

Costs of absenteeism and lay-offs, turnover and overtime are all said to be reduced by the use of part timers.

Absenteeism is less expensive because part time workers are paid only for the time worked. Werther (1976) that "Unlike full time personnel who can (and often do) miss work without a reduction in pay, part time help has a special interest in reporting to work: pay. Even when absent, at least the firms

costs are held down."¹³

Lay offs are cheaper and less likely to damage the morale of other workers. In direct employment of part timers, the company can cease to call-in a particular employee without any required notice of termination or pay in lieu. If employers are using a temporary help service, a Business Week journalist comments "You can send back a person who doesn't work out, and you don't have to give notice."¹⁴

Overtime costs, often involving double wage rates can be avoided by using part time staff. According to Winter, "Getting regular employees to work overtime doesn't work. As the hour gets later the worker wears out. Salary costs soar and so do errors."¹⁵ His observation is supported by the evidence on the productivity of part time workers.

Turnover costs can be reduced, both by an actual decrease in turnover among part timers (shown particularly in skilled occupations) and by retaining some of the benefits of previous experience and training if full time workers (married women or retired persons) move to part time schedules.¹⁶

The other frequently mentioned advantages to the use of part time employees - flexibility and efficiency in manpower utilisation, productivity, and for filling gaps caused by peak loads or shortages of qualified full time staff - all contribute to cost saving.

2. Flexibility and efficiency in manpower utilisation.

"Flexible personnel for flexible workloads".¹⁷

To prevent costly underutilisation of workers, employers attempt to balance the demand for work and the supply of workers as efficiently as possible. This aspect of part time employment has been applauded in articles such as "Part time help boosts staff flexibility" (Admin. Management 28: 38 Dec. 1967), "Temporary help: handling fluctuations in workloads and overloads" (Office Admin. 13: 65-7 June 1967), and "Engineering part timers - how they can help you" (Modern Power and Engineering 70: 5 May 1976).

According to Werther (1976) "The most useful aspect of part time personnel is the tremendous scheduling flexibility they offer to managers."¹⁸ Bossen (1975) also found this to be the most frequently mentioned advantage in her Canadian study.

Peak periods in demand for workers is the most obvious example: annual peaks, such as Christmas and summer sales, hotel and resort work, and seasonal work such as parks maintenance; weekly peaks such as in sales, banking and meat packing plants; and daily peaks, such as in transportation.¹⁹

Some jobs are considered to require less than a full time work commitment: for example, cleaning, certain clerical tasks and professional services in hospitals and correctional institutions, or activities such as market research.²⁰

Part time employees have been described as useful to fill monotonous jobs not attractive to full time workers.

Shell Canada reported the use of part timers for opening envelopes, a task for which they considered they could not employ full time workers.²¹

Underutilisation of full timers is prevented by matching the demand for work with the supply of workers. According to the Financial Post (Sept. 22 1962), with temporary workers "there are no worries about coffee breaks, lunch hours or absenteeism." Elmer Winter recommended that this can be planned:

When the workload is rising it usually increases by degrees: too much for one person, not enough for two. Many use temporary help to handle the job until the load calls for full time help. As the work expands they can easily drop the temporary employee and add permanent help. This saves payroll costs and fringe benefits." 22

In companies with continuous operations, part time employees can be used to fill weekend and evening hours, for example, in hospitals, hotels and motels, and department stores. They can also be used to prevent closing down plant operations, in "mini-shifts", as with other forms of shift work.²³

As Werther concluded one of his articles in 1975 "The case for part time manpower must certainly be viewed as a significant tool of effective management."²⁴

3. A solution to the shortage of qualified staff:

"Half a librarian is better than none."²⁵

Part time employees have been described as meeting business' need for skilled and qualified labour in areas of labour shortage, and as providing them with workers who are

cheaper and readily available, reliable and productive.

In 1960, the Labour Gazette observed that in North America "industry has made relatively little use of part time workers except in times of labour shortage."²⁶ Schwartz (1964) reported the use of part time employees to fill manpower shortages in social work and health services, but she found that even where widespread shortages existed the "part time" solution was unacceptable to some employers.²⁷ Hallaire (1968) observed that the major economic argument in favour of part time employment was that it provided a source of supplementary manpower and that it had developed "because the manpower shortage was impeding or paralysing growth."²⁸ He added that in all cases "part time employment was looked upon as scraping the barrel for manpower recruitment".²⁹

Married women have typically been the major source of labour in shortages. In 1967 the solution to the shortage of secretarial and clerical workers was reported to be "found among housewives who have had previous experience in this area and who have since left work".³⁰ Business Week (1969) reported a project in which Control Data Company developed "mini-shifts" for "morning shift mothers" and "afternoon shift mothers".³¹ Apparently sharing the Canadian Royal Commission's concern for the "alienation which housewives occasionally suffer", Control Data reported that "The plants serve a constructive social purpose but they also fill a crying need for workers." "Mature women" on a part time employment basis were found to be "An answer to the computer programme shortage" in 1970, and in

addition they demonstrated increased productivity and a reduced turnover rate in comparison with full time programmers.³²

A Canadian example is provided by the recruitment of married women on a part time basis to accommodate the shortage of economists, librarians and statisticians in the Federal Public Service in 1967. Bossen (1975) found that part time employees were used to meet shortages of sewing machine operators, nurses and clerical staff.³³ She referred also to the expanding use of temporary help services in government: both the use of private temporary help services, and in Ontario its own "Go-Temp" service, a model which was also under consideration in the Federal Public Service.³⁴

The usefulness of students and retired persons was also recorded. In 1969 The Office claimed that "College trainees make the best help in part time lower jobs" and in 1974, Industry Week reported that "The trend to early retirement is providing an experience pool of knowledgeable people".³⁵

In addition to the examples above, the development of the temporary help industry and other international and local projects suggests that sometimes part time workers are "qualified", not by their scarce skills, but by their availability and relative cheapness.

4. Increased productivity:

The "Answer to coffee breaks".³⁶

Part time workers have been described as the "least fatigued, least error prone workers."³⁷ Highly skilled part

timers, such as married women not otherwise available for full time work, add quality to the workplace.³⁸ Because of their shorter hours of work, the productivity of part time employees has been found to be greater than that of full time workers.³⁹ Schwartz, who also noted that positive attitudes in employers correlated with experience of part time employment, quoted one employer as saying "We have been so successful with part time workers we would not reject anyone solely for lack of full time availability."⁴⁰

Findings on the productivity of part time workers have only recently been available, and have not been widely reported. Werther noted that one of the barriers to a more widespread use of part time workers is the myth that part time workers lack ability and commitment. Bossen did not find productivity to be mentioned by the Canadian company representatives she interviewed, although she reported the productivity of temporary workers in the Ontario "Go Temp" service.

5. A minority view - the benefits of permanent part time employment.

"If Madame Curie were alive, but could work only from 9.30 to 3.15, would you hire her?" 41

A small number of articles stressed the benefits of permanent part time work to women and families. Carol Greenwald (1972, 1973) suggested the mutual benefits to business and families, particularly working mothers. Kathie Graham (1974) pointed to the advantages to women, and ultimately to men, and

suggested that the Government take the lead by way of pilot projects for part time work. Industry Week (1974) interviewed Ina Torton, director of Newtime, a division of Ribolow Employment Agency, N.Y., which specialises in permanent part time positions. She deplored the lack of opportunities for permanent part time employment and added that "It seems to be taking hold faster on the West coast than in the East, in academe, and in small companies, because they can see the (positive) results immediately without waiting for them to filter through layers of management."⁴² Robert Lazer (1975) proposed "Job sharing as a pattern for permanent part time work", and concluded that the impetus for this change would be likely to come from young people and those professional women interested in non-traditional family and alternative work roles.

These contributions emerged as a minority view, and most of the authors were women.

The disadvantages of part time employment.

While costs saving is the major reason for the use of part time workers, costs have also been cited as a barrier to the use of part timers. Fears about inefficiency of a larger staff, and the indirect costs of extra supervision, training and administration were mentioned.⁴³

On the whole part timers were seen as unsuitable for positions of responsibility or management. Two studies reported that negative attitudes were strongest among employers

who had not experienced the employment of part timers; and one found a correlation with negative attitudes to women working at all. Negative attitudes were held by employers seeking skilled and professional workers - for "occupations" rather than routine "jobs", and attitudes varied both within and between industries.

1. Costs

Fears about increased payroll and social security taxes (in the U.S.); fears about pressure to pay fringe benefits; and fears about increased costs of administration and training were all mentioned. Hallaire (1968) considered the administrative costs (even if pro rata wages and benefits were paid) to be less than was believed.⁴⁴

Kathie Graham (1974) suggested that economic disadvantages needed further study and recommended the use of a human resource accounting framework.⁴⁵ Nollen (1976) suggested that increased costs were "largely anticipated but not evident in practice."⁴⁶ He found that "personnel and administration expenses, record keeping, recruitment training and supervision do not present any significant costs to the employer."⁴⁷

2. Administrative difficulties

Administrative difficulties mentioned included concern about overall efficiency; problems of scheduling meetings and case conferences between full time and part time staff; the added burden of supervision and training because of extra staff;

additional record and book keeping; and discontinuity in jobs involving follow through with the public or where any administrative or supervisory responsibility was required.⁴⁸ Hallaire and Werther considered these difficulties to provide the most valid objections of managers to part timers. Nollen listed the employers reasons for not using part time workers as "fears": "fear of complication in work organisation and disruption of production schedules due to increased absenteeism, fewer solid working hours, additional shift changes, increased scheduling problems" and "fear of friction or lack of integration with full time employees."⁴⁹ As with costs he considered these objections to be more anticipated than real, largely because the most negative attitudes were held by employers without experience of part time employees.

3. Myths and fears about part time workers

Nollen found that some perceived disadvantages concerned the type of employees which would be attracted: "fear of lack of commitment and more frequent turnover of part time workers"; and "fear that requests for employment will be stimulated from unqualified people" and "professional standards will be weakened".⁵⁰ Werther described three myths about part time workers which discourage employers from using them: the first is that they are not readily available; second, the myth of unreliability - "The thought of part time workers often conjures up visions of unreliable teenagers" and third, the myth of ability - the conception of part timers as unskilled. Werther

does not entirely deny the truth of these claims - he suggests that "Often unskilled and unreliable, these part timers are relegated to menial jobs and equally menial wages". He then suggested that the behaviour of part timers stems from the source of part time manpower and the nature of part time jobs. This could be changed by drawing on retired persons and mature housewives, upgrading the jobs and providing better remuneration.⁵¹

4. "We do not believe that career advancement is compatible with part time work."

Part time employment is typically seen by employers, and commentators, as unsuited to management or supervisory positions. Schwartz (1964) found that "A number of employers stated emphatically that all administrative personnel should be full-time because of the need for continuous responsibility. In fact, some employers who have always employed part time personnel successfully made it clear that they exclude most supervisory and executive staff from part time arrangements."⁵² Bossen (1975) stated in her conclusion that "We do not believe that career advancement - in the form of training and promotion to management positions - is compatible with part time work," and to keep up with developments in one's area of work "takes more than a partial effort".⁵³ A survey of attitudes to part time employment in the Ontario Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental affairs (1975) found that of 203 management personnel responding, "29% thought their current job could be done on a part time basis while 38.4% thought it couldn't be

done. (32.5% didn't answer this question.)⁵⁴

Catalyst, an organisation committed "to expand career opportunities for college educated women" has reported women in senior and supervisory positions, (typically women who have moved to part time after the birth of a first child). Carol Greenwald has described the team management in her position as part time head of the National Business Condition Section at the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, in articles which she has written about part time work.⁵⁵

Isolated examples are known in Canada, for example, supervisory positions in social work agencies. They are however exceptions to the rule.

5. "An unbusiness like practice"

Employers expressed reluctance and fears about alternative work schedules, except in those industries where a residual labour force has clear advantages. The full time work week is held as the norm. Part time work on a continuous basis is a new concept, still regarded with suspicion where "serious work" or occupations are involved.

Both Schwartz (1964) and Nollen (1976) reported the correlation of negative views with lack of experience of part time workers. Schwartz reported that such employers "were against the idea in principle and... felt it was essentially unbusiness like practice." They made statements such as "A professional is a full-time person", and "Full time work must by definition on a full-time basis - thirty five hours are

short enough."⁵⁶ Twelve years later Nollen concluded that "as long as full time employees are available, employers are reluctant to risk the greater organisational complexities and possible higher costs that they fear may accompany a part time employment strategy.....Employers who have had experience with part time employees usually have more favourable attitudes than employers without experience."⁵⁷

The Canadian material presented earlier showed that opportunities for part time work in nursing and teaching have been plentiful during the shortage in those occupations, but that permanent part time work has been absent from the civil service. Bossen's predictions of future openings in various industries demonstrated that where fluctuations in demand were inevitable, particularly in the commercial service industry, the use of part timers was an attractive strategy. With the exception of labour shortages in manufacturing, and special projects in the community and health service areas, there was little enthusiasm for introducing permanent part time work.⁵⁸

Women and business: it's not their place, but sometimes they are useful.

Housewives and working mothers emerge as a class apart from full time workers. Gannon (1975) proposed a definition of "the peripheral worker" based on commitment to the workplace and organisation, which suggested that "the peripheral employees tend to view their work as secondary to other activities." "Thus" he concluded "a part time employee is by definition

peripheral; similarly a working wife who defines her primary role as that of a mother, even if she works full time, is also peripheral."⁵⁹

The demand for part time work has been related to the "Ten million Housewives (who) want to work" (Schonberger 1970) and "Working mothers: the need for more part time jobs" (Greenwald 1972). "Housewives" were seen as the solution to the shortage of secretarial and clerical workers (Admin. Management 1967), "Housewives working part time prove find frozen food clerks" (Quick Frozen Foods 1966) and morning and afternoon shift "mothers" ran the Control Data minishift project (Business Week 1969).⁶⁰

Werther (1976) elevated housewives to "homemakers" as part of the "relatively untapped reservoir of potential employees."⁶¹ But his view of homemakers is neither flattering nor imaginative: "Even typical homemakers possess a few skills that are useful - clerical along with cooking and cleaning skills (which can be employed in the Company cafeteria)".⁶²

The jobs of many men have made excessive inroads into the time and energy they have left for family life and parenting, yet this is not defined as a social issue or problem. There is no mention of husbands and fathers, no reference to the marital status of male workers. Similarly based on an assumption of traditional family roles, there is no differentiation of women's unpaid family work and paid work in the labour force. The happy combination of part time and temporary work with women's "family responsibilities" and "their children" was frequently

mentioned. The reader could easily assume the literature referred to female family heads or sole support female parents - but in fact these women seemed to have husbands and to be married!⁶³

The second theme which emerged was that women are useful, at certain times, and in certain jobs, in the labour market. The usefulness of women in areas of labour shortage, and because of their cheapness, flexibility and availability has already been described. Schwartz (1964) reported that "A number of employers who were dissatisfied with the performance of their full time clerical workers admitted they deliberately seek more intelligent employees by setting up part time jobs at hours convenient for mature housewives".⁶⁴ A description of the employees of temporary help services noted that in 1963 80% of the temporary workers were married and had several children. By 1973, "mature women" in their forties and fifties were increasingly typical and valued for their reliability and sense of responsibility. The reporter noted that "Ironically, while these women could not get full-time positions with companies which trot out the excuses of possible health problems and difficulties regarding pension plans, these firms are eager to hire them on a temporary basis."⁶⁵

The third theme in the literature was that attitudes to part time work (both positive and negative) were closely related to views and stereotypes of women. Schwartz (1964) found that negative attitudes to part time work were highly correlated with negative attitudes toward women working in

general. Employers questioned women's commitment, abilities, and their need for a job. Some suggested that women were incapable of the objectivity required for the business world: "Women don't make good executives"; "They don't have the drive for success that men have."; "There is tremendous resistance to women executives in industry, women are too emotional".⁶⁶ Schwartz reported that "Several executives in market research, investment and accounting firms said that a woman had to be twice as qualified as a man to advance in a responsible job."⁶⁷ Fears that women's home responsibilities would spill over into office time were also expressed. In the seventies similar attitudes were still found to women in business. Archibald (1973) spoke of discrimination against women in the public service: "There are some signs of overt prejudice (some people, men and women, come right out and say they do not think women are capable of holding responsible jobs) and more signs of covert prejudice (those who do not say it but act as if they believed it)."⁶⁸

Positive attitudes to part time work appear also to be related to stereotypes of women: women are seen as suitable and their social role perfectly adaptable to part time and temporary work. Part time work is much more frequently discussed in relation to women than it is to men, and more often than not it is linked with retired persons and students.

The Business View: the Usefulness of unregulated and flexible Workers.

The most striking feature of the discussion in business

was the extent to which "part time" and "temporary" employees were used as interchangeable terms. While the international definitions of part time employment (by the O.E.C.D. and the I.L.O. and sanctioned by national governments) describe part time employment as "Work which is voluntary, regular and of shorter than normal hours", the earlier material on part time employment shows that in Canada the vast majority of part time employees were not regularly employed. At most they were "regularly" employed on an intermittent and occasional basis, and sometimes temporarily working full time according to seasonal demand, yet without any change of status and remuneration as a full time worker. The discussion in business reflects the reality of part time work as a temporary and intermittent activity. Temporary and part time help - who can be paid only for the time worked, do not require costly fringe benefits, can be terminated without notice and laid off less painfully - is an attractive asset to business. They can "help cut your payroll costs", "handle fluctuations in workloads and overloads", are "an answer to coffee breaks" and "set the pace for regular help".

As I noted at the beginning of the chapter, much of the literature listed as about "part time employment" referred to temporary or occasional work. Even so there were three times as many articles in the business periodicals specifically listed as related to "temporary employees".

In contrast, part time work on a permanent basis was

discussed little, and where it was discussed it was not preferred. Regular part time work, on a continuous basis with pro rata wages and benefits presumably has the same disadvantages to business as the full time workers. To regularise part time work would defeat the very advantages and stated reasons for the use of part time employees.

The second theme of the discussion in business was their conception of part time employees as peripheral and supplementary. As I mentioned earlier Morse (1969) defined the peripheral labour force as consisting in "those individuals who have had work experience of any kind other than full time for a full year".⁶⁹ Gannon (1975) stated that "part time employees are by definition peripheral".⁷⁰ The Business periodicals listed four articles on moonlighting under "part time employment" and then from 1971 listed articles on moonlighting separately as "supplementary employment", a category which the Index related to part time employment. Women (frequently discussed as "housewives" and "mothers") students and retired persons, all primarily defined by social roles other than that conjured up by the word "worker" were the constantly mentioned sources of part time labour. In a society geared to production, where the full time male worker provides the norm for the labour force, each of these social groups is perceived to be peripheral and at least partially dependent. They were discussed as a separate category of workers, not integral to the labour force except in their residual capacity.

Part time workers are however useful to business as

has been fully described previously. They are useful while they are unregulated, cheaper, flexible and available in areas of labour demand or where there is difficulty obtaining full time workers. The growth of the temporary help industry to a multi-million dollar enterprise rests on this flexibility and convenience, and is used by government and private business alike. Unionisation of temporary help employees and occasional part time employees is impossible, so the employer retains maximum control and flexibility.

Collective agreements demonstrate the extent to which employers have been effective in maintaining control. "Management rights" clauses, such as the following, clarify that management has the "exclusive right to manage its business, direct and supervise its employees including the right to plan, direct and control the operations, hire, suspend or discharge for good or sufficient cause, establish and maintain reasonable rules and regulations covering the operation of the stores" subject to the grievance provisions. (Steinbergs page 4 article 3.01) The exclusion of (unionised) part timers from most fringe benefits (pension and health plans, full vacation pay etc.) keeps the cost of part time workers at a minimum.

Management control of work schedules and vacations are also ensured in some agreements. One stated that part timers will take their (unpaid) vacations between January and October (Hudson Bay, Marathon, page 11, article 15.01). Another stated that part time employees must work six weeks in July and August and three recognised holidays in addition to Christmas or New

Year. (Welland County Hospital, page 22, article 21.11 and page 29 article 27.09) These clauses also benefit full time workers.

Several agreements illustrate managements ensured right to employ part timers on an intermittent basis. For example:

It is agreed and recognised by both the Union and the Company that the business of the Company is subject to fluctuations according to the day of the week or month and time of day, resulting in business peaks. For this reason it is necessary to employ both regular (referred to as "full time employees") and part time employees.

Loblaws agreement, article 18.02 p. 68.

One hospital agreement defined regular part time nurses as those "who make a commitment to the Hospital to be available on a pre-determined basis as required and determined by the hospital". In this agreement schedules were to be posted one month in advance. (Queen Elizabeth Hospital, page 3, article 2.05)

Even in those minority of part time work places where part timers are unionised, management has been effective in maintaining a flexible, useful and unregulated part time labour force.

A fourth theme in the discussion of business is their silence and reluctance regarding permanent or regular part time work with secure conditions of employment. As I have already emphasised, part time work is suitable and advantageous for routine jobs but it would contradict the purpose of its use to regularise it. Similarly it is not seen as suitable for "career advancement" or promotion to positions of responsibility and management.

A minority view - expressed mainly by female voices and some male professors of business administration - is that permanent regular part time work would be mutually beneficial to women, men, families and to business. This view rests on the assumption that part time employment, while being for shorter than normal hours of work, could have all the attributes typically associated with full time work: adequate wages and benefits, job satisfaction, some security, productivity, a serious commitment to the job and attachment to the labour force. The supporters of the minority view have suggested job-sharing and job-pairing, they are interested in non-traditional roles within the family, and favour a formalised flexibility in the allocation of time between work and leisure, work and family work and leisure or some artistic or literary pursuit.

Summary:

In contrast to the extent of discussion on other topics, more directly related to costs and profits, and in contrast to its expanding use, business has been relatively silent on the topic of part time employment. Much of the discussion has been in terms of temporary help, and part time workers were seen as peripheral to the "serious" full time workforce.

Nevertheless they have proven useful in certain industries, in continuous operations, and in occupations with labour shortages. Cost saving, flexibility and efficiency in manpower utilisation, and a solution to labour shortage have

been the major reasons advanced for their use. The most substantial disadvantage voiced was a concern about administrative difficulties: an additional burden of training, supervision and record-keeping. Fears about part time workers, mostly based on lack of experience with them, were also voiced. Part time workers were seen as unsuited to positions of responsibility and management.

The attitudes to part time work were closely related to attitudes to working women in general. Working women were frequently described as "housewives" and "mothers" and seen as peripheral workers. Yet they were considered useful.

Permanent part time work was discussed only by a minority - professional women and male professors of business administration. Implicitly it appears that permanent part time work defeats the purposes for which part timers are attractive to business.

Footnotes - Chapter 4

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39. Nollen, op. cit., reported higher productivity and fewer accidents; the Catalyst study showed part time social workers to carry 84% of load carried by full time workers (Greenwald & Liss); Werther (1976) op. cit., p. 132; Jane Schwartz, op. cit., p. 28; Lazer, op. cit., p. 59.
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41. "Part timers in the Managerial Ranks" op. cit., p. 41.
42. Ibid., p. 44.
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CHAPTER 5

THE DISCUSSION OF PART TIME WORK IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

Introduction

In the context of the trade union movement's efforts to achieve adequate pay and working conditions for all workers; its demands for full employment; its belief in the right to work a five-day forty-hour week; and its hopes for a gradual reduction of the working week while maintaining adequate levels of income, part time employment has presented a problem. Part time work is seen as exploitative and part time workers are seen as cheap labour. The employment of part timers is viewed as a threat to the number of full-time jobs available. Part time employment of students is mentioned more often than that of married women in the discussion of it as a problem, in part because of the awareness that rising costs make a second family income more necessary. In spite of some common concerns about part time employment, there is diversity of opinion on the topic. Views vary according to whether trade union philosophy or "ideals" are being expressed, or whether what they called the "realistic" view of part time employment is under discussion.

There are few union policy statements about part time work, but on examination it appears that unions implicitly include part timers in their expectations about minimum employment standards, minimum wages and adequate working conditions. No studies are available of union attitudes to part time employment. Several studies on part time employment have noted

the "resistance" of the union movement to part time work, but with little attempt to explore fully the reasons for the resistance. Union views have not been a major focus, union leaders have not been used as a major source of information, and the presentation has typically been brief and unsympathetic. Hallaire (1968) provides the most detailed discussion of the union concerns about part time employment.

The concerns of the union movement have been little heard, and the increasing use of part time workers suggests that unions have little power to prevent this. Contrary to some criticisms (e.g. Eberts and Cook) of "union inactivity", it appears that unionisation of part time workers is a slowly increasing phenomenon.

Material on the discussion of part time employment in the trade unions has been collected from a variety of sources. Labour library sources were searched.¹ International studies which included Canada, and Canadian studies of part time work were consulted. Letters were sent to provincial federations of labour and the C.L.C. although the response rate was poor. With the co-operation of the Research Department of the Ontario Federation of Labour, conference proceedings and resolutions were examined, and interviews were arranged with some key union leaders and organisers. Collective agreements in relevant industries were examined. The examination of the practice of the Ontario Labour Relations Board was undertaken primarily because collective bargaining has been the main vehicle for trade union activity on the topic of part time employment. As

it provided material relevant to the practice and views of business and government, as well as the unions, the material was presented separately earlier.

The form and forum of discussion:

As with other matters of concern to the trade union movement, discussion and resolutions at union meetings and Conventions have been typical forums for discussion of part time work. In industries where part time workers are used extensively (service and trade), part timers raise issues regarding their working conditions "all the time" at union meetings according to one organiser. Within unions part timers must compete with the full time workers and their demands. Conventions have sometimes made submissions to Government about part time work. The Newfoundland Federation of Labour reported that

The Federation has continuously over the years presented resolutions to the Provincial Government regarding legislation to protect part time employees, especially in trying to have the minimum wage increased to a livable standard. 2

Saskatchewan Federation reports unsuccessful attempts to encourage Government to legislate a ratio of part time to full time employees to reduce the exploitation of part timers.³

The 1975 Convention of the Ontario federation passed a recommendation that the Employment Standards Act should

cover all those who labour including taxi drivers, salesmen, milk store operators and other dependent operators and contractors, agricultural workers, part time workers and all those now excluded. 4

Part time work has not been the topic of policy statements, although more recently there have been statements on the compressed work week and flexitime. In 1975 C.U.P.E. published a Standard Agreement which set out guidelines for collective bargaining and which stated that "This collective agreement is fully applicable to all part time, temporary or casual employees, unless otherwise specified."⁵ Note however that it is typical practice to include a section with the part time contract conditions in the agreement. Union research departments have not published research on part time work.

Collective bargaining has been the major vehicle for the expression of union views and concerns about part time employment: their protection by adequate working conditions or the protection of full time jobs from the excessive use of part time employees.

There has been a limited amount of public discussion ~~of the trade union view of part time work.~~ This observation is impressionistic as a thorough survey of media has not been attempted. However, part time work was a concern in the Postal workers strike of 1975, in addition to the major issue of automation. Occasionally union leaders have mentioned part time employment in public statements or speeches. For example, the Toronto Star (April 25th 1972) reported that "Part time jobs tend to exploit women" and the following article described Shirley Carr of C.U.P.E. as advocating the unionisation of part time workers.⁶

With few exceptions however, discussion by the trade unions has been within their own meetings and at the collective bargaining table.

Trade Union views on part time work; an examination of the existing literature.

Published material on trade union attitudes to part time employment is limited. What exists is presented briefly, with little examination of the reasons for their views. The material is therefore superficial and unsympathetic. Hallaire (1968) in his international study of the extent and problems of part time work provides the most detailed discussion of trade union views. Canadian studies suffer from a very limited treatment of the topic. Collective agreements have been a major source of inferring trade union attitudes in Canadian studies.⁷ Methodologically this is inadequate as collective agreements are the product of negotiation between unions and management, within a management oriented climate of labour relations. They are not a fair indicator of trade union wishes or views, although they probably indicate priorities.

The 1963 and 1973 surveys of part time employment published by the International Labour Organisation each gave a one page summary of trade union views. Both presented clearly the problems unions identified with regard to part time employment (which will be examined later in this chapter), and documented briefly the diversity of union opinion on the topic. The 1973 survey found some unions to be more favourable toward

part time work, as long as adequate working standards were maintained. (For example, unions in Austria and Australia)⁸

Hallaire (1968) examined arguments for and against part time employment advanced by unions and employers. His material on union views is mostly based on the French unions, with some reference to International organisations, Swedish, British and other European unions. He concluded his eleven page discussion of the disadvantages presented by unions by referring to the "misunderstandings and criticisms" of part time employment by unions, and by refuting the premises on which he believed the supposedly mistaken union views are based. His discussion is worth examining in detail.⁹

Hallaire recognised some validity in union claims that rates of pay are inadequate; that part time employees are a threat to full time workers; and that unless pro rata pay and benefits are provided, part time employees could be in competition to full time employees where underemployment exists. He refuted the union argument that part time employment risks delaying the general reduction of working hours, and states that in fact "part time employment is one of the essential prerequisites for such claims", by limiting overtime demands.¹⁰ Hallaire conceded that the use of part time workers may offset wage claims but states that "it may be a salutary remedy in the case of momentary manpower shortages in given sectors, and prevent, for example, exaggerated wage claims which are detrimental to steady growth."¹¹ On the basis of what appears to be an assumption that women's "maternal duties"¹² are and should be their first

priority, Hallaire disregarded the fear that part time work may hinder the overall occupational advancement of women. On the contrary he saw part time employment as a stimulant to vocational training prior to re entry into the full time labour force, and therefore as an asset to women. While he saw the risk of part time employment creating a separate category of workers, he suggested that it is the unions responsibility to prevent this by demanding pro rata conditions. This is to place overmuch responsibility for a bifurcated labour force on the unions, although it is a reasonable response to unions low priority for part time workers.

In spite of Hallaire's support for some of the unions concerns, he summarised his discussion by suggesting that the "misunderstandings or criticisms" of part time employment are based on three premises which he believed to be false. First, he asserted that the unions confuse part time employment and casual labour. He stated that "if part time labour is defined as permanent and stable, many of the criticisms....collapse".¹³

While this is undoubtedly true, and the unions would likely agree, it remains a rather theoretical point. The unions criticisms refer to part time employment as it presently exists. In Canada, where probably 80% of the part time labour force are not regularly employed with pro rata wages and benefits, the unions concerns remain pertinent. Hallaire's definition of part time employment reflects an ideal, it is not a description of part time employment as it is used in reality.

The second premise identified by Hallaire is "the fear of a possible extension of part time labour in sectors or regions where there is underemployment or unemployment".¹⁴ He predicted that this is unlikely, again presuming pro rata wages and benefits which means that part time work "costs the firm more and causes an additional organisational effort".¹⁵ He also presumed that part time employment only threatens full time jobs in areas of manpower shortage. The increasing concern about involuntary part time employment in the U.S.A., the expansion of part time employment in some sectors on the basis of cost saving, concurrent with rising unemployment rates, makes the refutation of this premise highly optimistic if not specious.

The third premise suggested by Hallaire is "a malthusian conception of economics on the part of trade union organisations, for whom the volume of jobs available in a country is a constant which is independent of the volume of applicants for employment."¹⁶ His certainty that "Actually in a growing economy, experience shows that the demand for labour continues to grow"¹⁷ is very debatable. Unemployment has continued to increase in spite of now near-permanent job creation projects, and arguments have been advanced to show that the actual labour market remains relatively constant.¹⁸

Taken together the three premises read like straw men all too easily knocked down. To define part time employment as regular and voluntary, and with pro-rated wages and benefits is to describe an ideal. This obscures and evades the actual situation of part time workers, to which union

criticisms are directed.

In the limited Canadian material on part time work, Part time Employment in the Retail Trade (1968) devoted two and a half pages to presenting a summary of the diversity of union views relying on the International material above, and an examination of collective agreements, Eberts and Cook (1976) in an otherwise exciting article spent two pages discussing their impressions from reading collective agreements. They point to the vicious circle in which "trade union inactivity" perpetuates the poor conditions of part time workers, on which basis union criticisms of part time work are based. As I have commented elsewhere the unions are attributed too much power to alter the split labour market and the poor conditions of part timers. According to Cook and Eberts "Lower rates of pay and fewer fringe benefits may be the lot of the part time employee because unions have been unwilling to bargain on his or her behalf."¹⁹ This takes no account of existing power relations within the marketplace, nor of the complexity of reasons for unions concerns about part time work.

Bossen (1975) has completed the most comprehensive study on part time employment in Canada, for the federal Department of Labour. She examined 12 collective agreements obtained from employers, and on the basis of this rather cursory examination listed eight "disadvantages of union control" for (in her view) both employers and employees. Because of the importance of her study in the otherwise meagre Canadian literature, and because it was written for the purpose of making

recommendations for federal labour policy, her points will be examined.

First she claimed that "part time workers are treated as second class employees (e.g. fewer fringe benefits, fewer or no seniority rights) a residual and potentially competing rather than an integral part of the workforce".²⁰ Bossen's first conclusion to her study was that part time and full time workers constitute two separate labour forces, yet she criticised the unions for the same fact. In her conclusion she did however see part time employees as integral to the work force: their integration is on management's terms, to accommodate peak periods of work, it is not integral in the sense of workers with equal status and benefits.

The second disadvantage Bossen identified is that "Overtime pay is a bonus for full time workers reducing part time opportunities for persons in need."²¹ This point fails to consider the possible economic necessity of overtime pay, and the unions concern for the practice of compulsory overtime alongside high unemployment, which the O.F.L. policy statements quoted earlier reflect.

Bossen's third perceived disadvantage rests on one case "where part time work for an undetermined period is a necessary condition to obtain full time employment".²² To generalise from one case is dangerous, although in this instance it appears that part time workers are being protected in the event of their wishing to move to full time work. She failed to consider the reasons for unions attempting to protect the

job security of their own members, including part time workers. It is highly likely that this clause was employer rather than union initiated, in that its major benefit is to move previously experienced and trained workers into new openings.

Bossen then claimed that the union's "refusal to accept part time workers in fluctuating activities where part time workers could take care of peak loads means the preservation of featherbedding."²³ The evidence of increased part time work in the service and trade sectors makes it doubtful that the unions have refused to "accept part time workers in fluctuating activities", even if they would prefer to protect full time positions. If unions are attempting to protect their own members before other workers, this must be seen in the context of high unemployment.

Bossen's fifth disadvantage was that union control "reduces flexibility in making staffing adjustments to fluctuating demands for products and services."²⁴ This may appear true from the perspective of management, but the unions have been singularly unsuccessful in reducing such flexibility, and the interviews with the union business agents suggested that they were not at all interested in thwarting managements convenience on this point. Her eighth disadvantage suggested that "it can reduce flexibility in work arrangements that could meet individual employee needs."²⁵ Union concern about employment of part timers "back to back" appears to be a stumbling block to the introduction of job-pairing or job-sharing. Beyond that, however, the call-in system which dominates part time

employment is almost entirely on employers terms. The Saskatchewan Federation of Labour noted that "The individual employee often is unable to schedule a private life because of the uncertainty of when and whether he or she will be shifted to work."²⁶ Week by week scheduling, typical in the retail trade, must make child care arrangements hazardous, and employees who decline to come in when called are likely to limit their future opportunities. It is far from clear that union control reduces flexibility for either employers or employees, as Bossen suggested though it may provide some minimal limitation on employer freedom.

Bossen indicated that job content restrictions can limit training opportunities for part time workers, and favour full time workers. Job content restrictions exist at the employers discretion before the issue is debated at the bargaining table. Separate seniority lists for full time and part time workers operate to the disadvantage of part timers. Union contract protections do favour full time workers, but separate seniority lists are in part the product of administrative practice, and the responsibility of management not only of union control.

Union control was also blamed for "condoning unequal treatment of part time workers by limiting fringe benefits".²⁷ Some unions have attempted to negotiate pro rata pay and fringe benefits, but in negotiations these have not been given priority. Union control cannot be blamed for limiting fringe benefits in a situation where non-unionised part timers ex-

perience fewer benefits, as is probably the case. It may be that unions are responsible for the little protection that part time workers experience.

Bossen's so-called disadvantages of union control for employers and employees are very management-oriented. Her criticisms overlook the unions concerns about protecting working conditions, job security and full time positions. She made the mistake of blaming unions for what is finally contracted at the bargaining table. Her method of inferring disadvantages of union control from collective agreements also suffers from the lack of comparison of conditions of unionised and non-unionised part timers.

Bossen listed two advantages of union control for employees: a measure of protection against inequities, and negotiated wages. Given the material available on the working arrangements and conditions of part timers, these are substantial advantages.

Union perspectives: the "problem" of part time work.

Concerns repeatedly mentioned are that part time employment is frequently exploitative and offers few benefits and little security to workers. It is viewed as a threat to full time jobs and as likely to undercut efforts to improve wages and to delay the general reduction of working hours. Concerns around women's work and the possibility of part time employment lowering the value of women's work in general have also been mentioned.

The reasons for concern, and the stated disadvantages, will be examined in the context of the general objectives expressed by organised labour.

1. Part time work as cheap labour and exploitation.

In discussions with Canadian union personnel this was the most frequently mentioned and emphasised reason for concern about part time employment. The first problem identified by one retail union leader was that unorganised department stores "can use part time employees to insulate themselves from collective bargaining and thus make less contribution to the community".²⁸ He said that such stores as Eatons, Simpsons and the Bay draw large profits from the community and pay little more than wages to their workers. Another retail leader summarised his concerns in this order: Part time employees are cheap employees; they are unorganisable; he recognised that ~~part time income can be supplementary or even primary income;~~ they should have "basic justice" and pro rata pay and benefits, but at the bargaining table if the union had to make a choice, they had to put full time workers first.

One Federation of Labour noted

An employees entitlement to fringe benefits is substantially reduced if not eliminated because most fringes, as holidays or U.I.C., are tied to the amount earned and the length of time worked. 29

They also commented on another problem in the lack of protection which part time workers face:

Part time employment makes discrimination on any grounds much easier when there is no set pattern to work. Who is to say that an individual employee was not called in because he or she stood up for their rights. Discrimination whether punitive or racial or whatever can almost never be proved. 30

Informal conversations with part time cashiers in super markets and department stores, as well as union personnel, confirms that this is a widespread view. Good behaviour is seen as highly related to number of hours scheduled, in spite of the supposedly protective seniority system.

Hallaire reported the French unions concern that workers had the same costs of transportation and clothing on lower wages, and that rates of pay were inadequate. Hallaire agreed that unless rates of direct and indirect pay (fringe benefits) are proportional to full time employees, experiments attempting to introduce part time work into skilled occupations have been a failure.³¹ Part time employment has been described as an insecure form of work. The I.L.O. (1973) observed that

It seems clear...that where a choice has to be made between workers whose employment is to be terminated, in particular in cases of lay-off for economic reasons, part time workers suffer. From Sweden, Switzerland and the United States it is indicated that they are the first to lose their jobs in the case of reduction of staff. 32

On the surface this appears to be contradictory to the concern that part time workers are a threat to full time jobs. However it is likely that the concerns are speaking to different stages in the cycle of supply and demand for labour. On an economic downswing the most dispensable workers are laid off. This is not to deny that some companies actually organise their manpower

around part time workers for cost saving purposes. For example, a shopping plaza opening in Burlington in mid 1975 had some department stores where nearly 90% of workers were part timers.

The union concern about exploitation and "cheap labour" is best understood in the context of their concerns for adequate employment standards and wages for all workers. At the O.F.L. Convention of 1964, a resolution was passed urging a higher minimum wage, and the inclusion of "vast numbers of people engaged in farming, domestic service, tourist operations, seasonal workers, certain categories of hotel and restaurant operations" who were not covered by the Minimum wage act. At the 1972 Convention, a Statement on employment standards and labour relations included the following

All who labour, whether in office, factory or field, regardless of skill or position, should have the right to join the union of their choice. All these workers should have the same access and rights to the provisions of the Labour Relations Act. All items in the employer-employee relationship, including pensions, should be the subject for collective bargaining. 33

In the Statement on employment standards passed at the 1975 Convention, the inclusion of part time workers and others presently unspecified into the Employment Standards Act was recommended.³⁴

The union personnel spoke of parity in wages and benefits as being the ideal in negotiations for part time employees. The extent to which they saw this as "unrealistic" varied. For example, some unions have pro rata wages and benefits.³⁵ Some do not attempt pro rata starting wages but focus on increments

and seniority protection, and inclusion of part time workers in the new dental plan (after three years employment) on the basis of their commitment to the workers who are "committed to the industry".³⁶ Saskatchewan reported that "Some unions have been successful in negotiating a premium for part time employees to cover their loss of fringes. That is not universal however."³⁷ The Quebec Federation of Labour wrote that

La FTQ a toujours deplore la surexploitation dont sont generalement victimes les travailleurs a temps partiel. Tentee a l'origine par une denonciation globale de ce phenomene du travail a temps partiel, la FTQ et ses syndicats principalement concernes ont par la suite compris l'importance et la valeur de cette formule d'insertion dans la main-d'oeuvre pour certaines categories de travailleurs; consequemment nous nous attachons maintenant a combattre les tentatives patronales pour sous-payer cette main-d'oeuvre et la traiter differement de la main-d'oeuvre a plein temps. 38

The FQT also reported that it was their policy to negotiate for equal working conditions, pro rata pay and equivalent fringe benefits.

Below are some examples of clauses from Ontario collective agreements which illustrate attempts to counteract the exploitation of part time workers. It must be remembered that unions vary considerably on the conditions which they obtain for part timers.

re: wages.

Some unions have obtained pro rata starting wages and increments but at a slower rate than fulltime workers (e.g. Retail International Union/Loblaws); some unions have not

attempted pro rata starting wages, but have put their efforts into protecting employees of 3 years standing by substantial increment scales (for example, Food and Allied Workers/Steinbergs); and some unions have been able to negotiate higher wages to compensate for the absence of fringe benefits (e.g. Welland County General Hospital/Ontario Nurses Association). Both integrated part time/full time employee agreements and part time agreements have specified wage schedules, and increment scales.

re: minimum call-in pay

Call-in minimum pay sometimes varies for students and non-students. Call-in pay for the latter is 3 hours (e.g. Retail, Wholesale and Dept. Store Union/Dominion stores - agreement covering 10,500 employees) and 4 hours (e.g. Food and Allied workers/Steinbergs - agreement covering 1,743 employees).

re: job security

Seniority clauses are designed to ensure that the more senior (and therefore the more expensive) employee is not scheduled for shorter hours of work.

Clauses protecting number of hours have the same intent. For example:

In stores which are open on Saturday evenings a part time employee who is scheduled to work will be scheduled for sixteen (16) hours minimum subject to his having one year's seniority. In stores not open Saturday nights the minimum will be fourteen (14) hours.

(Steinbergs, p. 35, article 5.02)

Schedules posted with one weeks notice, and clauses ensuring workers must be paid for hours posted, and increments and some gradual fringe benefits after 3 years "service" are other attempts at some minimal job security.

re: fringe benefits

Statutory minimums appear to be typical for part time employees. Regular part timers of several years standing have some other benefits, including participation in a dental plan in some of the retail and food industry agreements, as of the 1976 agreements.

Part of the concern about part time workers as cheap labour is the expressed fear that part timers may undercut efforts to improve wages. As part time workers are sometimes recruited in areas of labour shortage, this is a potential problem. In France unions are opposed to part time employees because overtime, time in lieu, and hardship allowances are in the short term equivalent to wage increases.

Another expressed fear is that the introduction of a separate, residual part time labour force may delay the reduction of working hours for all workers. The shorter work week has been a continuing concern of organised labour in Ontario. At the Convention in 1962 they urged the Government to legislate a forty hour week, with future plans for a thirty hour week.³⁹ In 1965 they opposed the introduction of the "continental work week" including weekend work, and also urged a forty hour week for Federal employees. At the 1969 Convention concern to limit

overtime was expressed:

Whereas every workman in Canada should have a right to refuse working more hours of work set out in the Legislation, and
Whereas we still have no specific wording in the Act to give an employee the right to refuse overtime:

therefore be it resolved that the O.F.L. take steps to get the Government to amend the Act to:

- establish an eight hour day and a forty hour week
- to limit overtime to 100 hours per year for each employee
- that overtime be on a voluntary basis on the part of each employee, even though a collective bargaining agreement calls for premium rates for overtime. 40

In 1971 and again in 1972 there was a recommendation that the work week be officially shortened and that the 40 hour week be confirmed in legislation. A 1973 resolution on hours of work spoke to the problem of the "compressed work week"; and suggested that it was a distraction from the struggle for shorter hours:

Whereas more and more Canadian workers are being asked to work "compressed" work weeks, and

whereas management usually interprets the compressed work week to merely be a "short" work week, for example, a ten-hour day, four days a week, and

whereas on the surface this concept may appear inviting to some workers, but in reality, it is no step forward for the work force or for Canada, and

whereas we should all strive for reduced hours, rather than the same number of hours covering fewer days, as a means to create more jobs for unemployed Canadians:

therefore be it resolved that labour continue its drive for shorter hours and not be sidetracked by the management promoted "compressed" work week. 41

The 1975 Convention passed a lengthy statement on shorter working time which included the following excerpts:

We, the producers of the goods and services, besides demanding an equitable share in the wealth we produce, also desire to share in the increased leisure that is now made possible. Because of crowding, transportation problems, environmental and human considerations, there are increased pressures in all walks of life in our society to redesign and reduce the work period - either the work day, work week, work year or work career.

This manifests itself in schemes such as compressed work week, staggered hours, flexitime, continental work week and many others.

In periods of high unemployment the notion of reduced hours as a method of spreading out employment, even with reduced hours, must be accompanied by increased wages so as to maintain and improve take home pay so that we do not end up spreading poverty while we are spreading out available work.

At the same time we must place severe restrictions on overtime by legislation, by contract and by moral suasion, so that the increased leisure is not abused by the pressures resulting from inflation.

On the shorter work time, our position is:

1. We will explore, research and co-operate in any reasonable approach to reduce working time at the place of work,
2. Any reduction or rescheduling of the work day, work week, work year or work life must be negotiated by the workers affected,
3. Any proposal in line with the foregoing, but which lengthens the eight hour day (which was so bitterly fought for) must be rejected,
4. The O.F.L. will fight on the legislative front for a shorter time in the place of work and urges the unions to negotiate shorter work weeks, longer paid vacations, worker sabbaticals, and optional earlier retirement with adequate pensions. 42

I have quoted from this statement extensively for several reasons. Part time work as such is not mentioned, yet it appears to be applicable to part time work. It combines the unions hope for shorter working hours and increased leisure, with its concern about unemployment, overtime and adequate working conditions.

Hallaire reported union delegates at an ILO Commission opposing part time employment on the grounds that "The men's claim for a forty hour week should not be overcome by taking on half-time women".⁴³ He refuted this argument as false on two counts. First, he claimed that different workers want full time and part time work, and so the latter are no threat to the former. Second, he expressed the belief that "higher productivity and vocational training"⁴⁴ are keys to the reduction of working hours, and that the employment of part time workers have actually enabled the shortening of the work week for others. Canadian union personnel in the food and retail industry expressed a similar argument: that full time personnel could not handle the required hours, and that to employ full time workers to cover all necessary hours would increase employer costs and therefore costs to the consumer. The union organisers or business agents have considerably more sympathy for management's dilemmas than the leaders who express the unions' ideals, on this point. Part time workers are, in this view, an asset to full time workers in that they enable the latter to work a forty hour week.

2. The threat to full time jobs.

The period of increasing use of part time employees has coincided with rising rates of unemployment. Unemployment rose from 4.6% in 1957 to 7% in 1958, and was at 7% and 7.1% in 1961 and 1962.⁴⁵ At the same time the increase in the use of part time employees rose from 5% of the labour force in 1957 to

8% in 1962.⁴⁶

One union organiser suggested that some of the concern about protecting full time jobs had been a response to the increasing use of part timers alongside increasing unemployment during the sixties.⁴⁷

Their main concern is about what they call the use of part time employees "back to back", where there is actually sufficient work for the creation of a full time position.

Union leaders interviewed gave different emphases to the concern about full time jobs. One Retail union organiser commented that his union was not against part time employment, but wanted to prevent its excessive use and to keep the number of available full time jobs at a maximum.⁴⁸ Another said he was "absolutely not" in favour of part time work, and as an ideal he would attempt to abolish part time work to create full employment. However one of the business agents from his union considered they must be "more realistic" as part time workers were a "fact of life". Staffing was considered to be the major concern of one retail union. Inadequate staffing was seen to make excessive workloads and to give inadequate service to the public. Employment of more full time workers, but "even part time workers" would alleviate this situation, in the view of this union spokesman.

The expressed reason for the priority given to full time jobs was that full time workers were typically breadwinners, i.e. primary income earners, and were committed to the labour force. The union movement spokesmen indicated that their first

responsibility was to the continuing and long term workers. Part time employees were described as students whose needs were for pocket money, and as married women who were typically secondary family income earners. The latter were described by one as working for items such as a second car. In another union, more optimistic and more militant about parity in pay and benefits for part timers, the organiser commented that many of the older part time workers had been with the store for a very long time and were likely to continue, i.e. he saw them as "committed to the industry". Mention was made of the fact that some part time workers were primary income earners, and concern was also expressed that a second income seemed more and more necessary to cope with rising living costs.

One of the Western Federations of labour wrote that it was their opinion that:

In a lot of companies you find that an excessive number of part time employees are employed and this causes a displacement or prevents the hiring of full time employees. Companies use part time employees to their benefit because they do not have to cover part time employees on pension plans, sick pay or vacations other than pay designated by government legislation. Wages are usually paid on a minimum scale, therefore giving the Company the advantage of cheap labour. 49

A number of resolutions at the Conventions of the O.F.L. in 1961 and 1962 expressed the unions concerns about full employment. The resolutions combine concern about unemployment, at the same time as some workers have long hours beyond a forty hour week, and others are employed part time or on limited contracts.

Whereas in Ontario many persons are unemployed, and

whereas on many Government projects, as well as private projects, especially road building projects, workers are forced to work up to sixteen hours per day, and

whereas if each worker only worked an eight hour day, many jobs would be created, and

whereas this is contrary to the Hours of Work and vacations with Pay Act unless a permit be issued by the Minister of Labour,

Therefore be it resolved that we demand the Department of Labour rigidly enforce the Hours of Work section of the Act and that the Minister issue no further permits for excessive hours. 50

Another resolution in 1961 urged the provincial government to ensure "that all contracts proposed to be undertaken by the Departments of Ontario government include prepared wage schedules and a maximum work week."⁵¹ Another referred specifically to the employment by municipalities of part time fire department personnel, and it was resolved that "the Ontario Federation of Labour go on record as being in favour of having, wherever possible, full time fire personnel".⁵² A resolution passed at the 1962 Convention referred to "the aim of organised labour (being) to provide full employment", the fact that "it is increasingly more difficult to reduce the number of unemployed" and resolved that the O.F.L. "press for amendments to the appropriate legislation to establish and enforce immediately a 40 hour week".⁵³

Related to concern about the potential use of "back-to-back" part time employees being used where full time jobs could be provided is concern about student employment. The O.F.L. has persistently petitioned government without success to change

the provision for a lower minimum wage for students who are working less than 28 hours per week.

Beyond the threat of part time work to full time jobs, Hallaire reported three other ways in which it was seen to threaten full time workers. It was thought to mask unemployment as part time workers are recorded as fully employed.⁵⁴ Wherever underemployment exists, part time work was seen to compete with full time employment because of cost saving. Hallaire noted that unless competitive conditions exist this was true, but if pro rata pay and benefits exist, part time is the more costly form of employment.⁵⁵ A third additional concern was that part time employment might lead to demands for faster work rates from full time workers because the shorter hours of part time workers have been shown to enhance productivity. Hallaire considered this to be a substantial fear.

Clauses have been introduced into collective agreements to prevent the use of back-to-back part timers at the expense of creating full time positions, to maintain a ratio of full time workers, and to protect seniority of workers so that senior workers on higher wages will not be penalised by being scheduled for fewer hours of work to save employer costs. In the literature on part time work the introduction of ratios has been seen as "resistance" to part time employment. (e.g. Eberts and Cook) However it should be seen in the context of retail and food stores having often a much higher percentage of part time workers than full time workers.⁵⁶ The Saskatchewan Federation of Labour has developed a policy recommending that

a ratio of part to full time employees be established in legislation, to reduce the exploitation of part time employees. They are also in favour of a compulsory premium on wages to compensate for their loss of fringe benefits.⁵⁷

Examples of such clauses mentioned above are:

Part time help will not be used to the extent of replacing a full time employee in the operation of a store or prevent the hiring of a full time employee. The ratio of part time to full time shall be limited.

Ratio tables suggest 3:1 and 4:1 PT/FT

(Dominion article 12.01 p. 8)

Full time employees who are fully qualified on their present jobs will not be denied the opportunity to qualify for the next senior position due to the regular use of part time help doing the work.

(Dominion article 12.14 p. 8)

No reduction in the number of assured jobs in any division shall be made if there are part time employees working "back to back" in the seniority division.

(Loblaws, article 7b, p. 90)

Some agreements specify that the order of lay off shall be, first, probationary employees, second, part time employees and last, full time employees. (For example, Welland General Hospital, Hudson Bay, Marathon, Skyline Hotels). Other clauses also attempt to maintain the number of full time positions:

In view of its responsibilities to its full time employees, to whom an assurance of employment is extended (the terms of which are set out in Appendix C hereof) the Company agrees that they shall receive preference over part time employees in the matter of available employment and continuity of employment.

(Loblaws, article, 18.03 p. 68)

3. Part time employment as a barrier to unionisation.

One Federation of Labour wrote that the first of several problems they saw with part time employment at present was that "it tends to make unionisation virtually impossible".⁵⁸ They added that "Stores such as Simpsons have employment lists five or six times larger than their numbers of employees at any given time, and it becomes virtually impossible to ever obtain majority support." An Ontario Retail Union leader expressed a similar concern in his perception of part time employees as "almost unorganisable". Grace Hartman, president of CUPE, illustrated the difficulty by an example of the attempt to obtain certification of forty female part time employees at the Welland County Separate School Board. The Board responded to their attempt by "firing all the women and 'hiring' office overload", who then technically became the employer of the women, who actually continued to work in their former jobs. The size of the Office Overload employee list was such that unionisation was impossible.

In contrast with the verbal expression of opinion about the difficulties of organising part timers, a major textbook of Labour Relations Law does not mention this group in its section on "employees beyond the reach of collective bargaining."⁵⁹

Even where part timers are unionised, some difficulties of part time employees as union members were identified. One of the retail business agents noted that it was more difficult to police part time contracts. He found part timers to be less

concerned to protect their long term working conditions, and more likely to make deals with the employer - for example, working longer hours than the contract allowed with repayment by time off work in lieu. While talking with this organiser, a Loblaws manager phoned him to report that part time workers at another local Loblaws store were not being fairly treated, and were not being allocated hours of work according to seniority. A nice illustration of management and union co-operation!

Hallaire noted that where union membership was optional, part time workers showed a lower affiliation rate than full time workers.⁶⁰

4. The impact of part time work on the status of women in employment.

One of the retail union leaders interviewed suggested that employers at the bargaining table used their antagonism to equal pay for women as a point of argument against pro rata for part time workers. He implied that what he termed "an employer argument" was sometimes also persuasive of union membership. As the student component of the part time workforce seemed to be the uppermost concern for the six men in the three retail and food unions I interviewed (and these were clearly seen as fitting their conception of part time workers temporarily attached to the industry), little was said about women. They claimed, however, to be concerned with the status and conditions of all workers who demonstrated serious attachment to the industry. One commented that some of the part time women had been

with them a long time.

As I have mentioned previously, Shirley Carr of C.U.P.E. has been reported as expressing concern about the effect of part time work on women's employment status. The I.L.O. in 1964, and Hallaire have both reported this concern. According to Hallaire, the French unions were concerned about employers refusing training to part time women workers on the grounds that it was wasted effort and money.⁶¹ It was also feared that part time work helped to reinforce the idea that women constitute an additional supply of labour for peak periods.

Hallaire refuted this argument. He said that it appeared that the expansion of part time employment has not been a decisive factor in either lowering or increasing women's wages. He suggested that part time work may frustrate wage claims for equal pay, but that the wages offered to part time employees in "low grade unskilled jobs" are not of interest to full time workers. He reported Swedish unions to have found that part time work is beneficial to women "because it enables women to keep up their skill and avoid any devaluation of their worth if they start work again after a break of several years."⁶² He concluded his argument of what seems to be unrelated points with what appears to be an unjustified conclusion: "we may say that part time employment has not proved to be an obstacle to the occupational advancement of women and that it may even be a factor against the downgrading of female labour and an encouragement to take up vocational training."⁶³

5. Part time work avoids the problems a community faces in provision of adequate child care services and adequate welfare assistance to mothers.

None of the Ontario union men I have interviewed have mentioned this problem, but it was expressed by French unions and reported by Hallaire.⁶⁴

The stated advantages of part time work: co-operation with management?

In contrast to what has been seen as the traditional opposition of union to part time employment, some unions, and some members of unions support its continuation, and see it to have definite advantages.

It has already been mentioned that differences exist between union leaders who express the "ideal" view of part time work, and the organisers (called "business agents") who are working day by day with management and with part time employees, and who are most sympathetic to the use and "need" for part time workers. Both union leaders and organisers appeared to be very closely identified with their industry: they spoke of "we" in "our industry" and commented that "we couldn't do without part timers". (This was presented alongside the expressed priority given to full time workers.) One "business agent" argued that part timers were a necessary complement to the full time labour force because the employment of full time workers to cover all store opening hours would require excessive salary costs, and this would cause the cost of goods to rise. This view is indistinguishable to that of businessmen.

Two of the business agents had between them three student sons who worked part time in what they called "our industry". They saw it as a marvellous asset to students paying their way through school. The advantages in providing a supplementary family income for married women were also mentioned. One of the retail agreements embodied their acceptance of part time work in a clause in the collective agreement:

It is agreed and recognised by both the union and the Company that the business of the Company is subject to fluctuations according to the day of the week or month and the time of day, resulting in business peaks. For this reason it is necessary to employ both regular (referred to as "full time" employees") and part time employees.

(Loblaws/Union of Canadian Retail Employees
article 18.02 p. 68)

One of the Federation of Labour (Newfoundland) wrote that:

We recognise that part time employees are sometimes essential to the operations of some businesses. We do not ignore the fact of the use of part time employees during vacation periods or time of illness. 65

Advantages of part time work were also reported in the ILO (1973) survey: both Australian and Austrian unions report no objections to part time work as long as conditions are equal and the number of full time positions are not reduced.

The recent recognition of Women Workers.

What assumptions about women emerge from material examined about trade unions?

The seventies have seen greater participation of women

in the trade union movement. In 1963, 16.6% of unionised workers were women but by 1973 nearly one quarter (24.6%) were female. Their rate of unionisation is lower than that of men: 20.2% of women workers and 31.7% of men workers were unionised in 1973. The three industries with the highest percentage of women workers (Services, Finance and Trade) have the lowest rates of female unionisation: 20.9%, 0.9% and 6.9%.⁶⁶

With increasing numbers of women involved, trade union attitudes to women workers, at least in the written word, have shown some changes during the seventies. Geoffroy and Sainte Marie (1971) reported attitudes of union workers to women in industry from interviews in Quebec. Attitudes to women were very traditional: "The proper place of women.... is in the home".⁶⁷ Women were seen to take jobs on a temporary basis, while expecting to marry, awaiting the birth of their first child, or to save for a house or car. They were seen to take employment for economic reasons and to supplement the family income. Union workers preferred to see women employed and remain in "feminine occupations". In 1971, CUPE reported that on examination of collective agreements a number of clauses (such as denial of permanent status and first to be laid off) discriminated against married women. By the time of their review of the Status of Women in 1975 "all of the written forms of discrimination (had) been eliminated. However many unwritten, subtle, insidious forms of discrimination against married women" were believed to still exist in the workplace.⁶⁸

In 1976 the Quebec Federation of Labour wrote of

increasing efforts to organise women and obtain equal working conditions.⁶⁹ The Ontario Federation of 1975 passed a number of resolutions about equal pay for work of equal value, and equality between the sexes in the workplace.⁷⁰ At least in International Women's Year the idea of equality in the labour force was being considered.

CUPE commented on the status of part time women workers in both 1971 and '75. On the grounds that "Women need part time work opportunities as a means of easing themselves back into the work force" they proposed more part time work and work with equal working conditions.⁷¹ By 1975 they noticed that the majority of part timers were unorganised, but that conditions for the unionised were closer to pro rata. Increased opportunities were indirectly available as a result of reduction in night and weekend work for full time workers.

Women were not mentioned by the Ontario union men interviewed. ~~Students were mentioned more than women and the latter~~ were presumed to be providing additional family income. Those who demonstrated their long term attachment to the workforce were considered to need "basic justice" with other part timers. There was no evidence of particular concern about the status of part time women workers. In fact there was little evidence to suggest that union workers attitudes were any different to those reported by Geoffroy and Sainte Marie in 1971. Women and part time work did not appear to be an issue for the union movement.

The trade union view: Constraints and caution.

There are a number of constraints on unions in their development of policies and activities around part time employment. Less than one-third of Canadian workers were unionised in 1973: 27.8% or 2,580,112 workers.⁷² The social climate of the capitalist political economy is antagonistic to the rights of workers to make demands about working conditions and to organise. As Porter has commented "Trade unions therefore have the whole weight of institution and habit against them in a society which upholds individual freedom of enterprise."⁷³ Workers rights have been hard won, and according to Porter "When they were won, they were not so much rights as concessions on the part of ruling elites identified with the capitalist order."⁷⁴ Automation, the compressed work week and part time work have all been introduced by business and require consideration from the point of view of workers. The way in which their struggle to achieve the 8-hour workday has been eroded by both the compressed work week and the use of part timers in peak periods are examples of the external pressures which Miliband describes as making the unions very vulnerable.⁷⁵ Unions have difficulty holding past gains, let alone expanding unionisation and developing policy responses to new labour force issues. Furthermore, because the union movement does not represent the majority of workers, their impact as a pressure group is probably more limited than often imagined.

Canadian unionism is characterised by the extent of

continental or international unionism, and by its fragmentation into small local unions.⁷⁶ The OLRB practice of certifying separate full time and part time units adds to this fragmentation. A related difficulty for the union movement is their relative lack of resources in comparison with business, and also government: time, money, staff.⁷⁷

Part time workers are found in industries which are both little organised and hard to organise. Service and trade are dominant employers of women and part time workers, and the rate of unionisation is low in these sectors. Long lists of "call in" occasional part timers are not conducive to unionisation. The temporary help industry, where private firms, such as Office Overload and Kelly girl, employ workers and provide temporary full time and part time help to business are impossible to organise as workers have no contact with each other. Canadian unions have typically relied on collective bargaining, rather than political action, to secure their rights. In the case of part time workers, their usual channels of activity are more difficult.

Women's traditional social role of wife and mother, and their lesser participation in the union movement is likely to be related to the minimal attention paid to part time employment. Geoffroy and Sainte-Marie's findings that for union workers the woman's place was seen to be primarily in the home, have already been reported. Historically women and children were the first beneficiaries of protective legislation sponsored by governments. However the union movement, first the craft

and then the industrial unions, have been male dominated. The union movement's emphasis on protection for the primary family income earner made this inevitable. Unionisation has occurred in the male dominated industries, and occupational segregation in the labour force has contributed to the different rates of unionisation of men and women. While some women, and some women's unions (for example, the International Ladies Garment Workers) have been active, it is relatively recently that women have been widely identified as an important target group for organising efforts. The expansion of unionisation in the service sector includes many women workers. The consciousness that women are one of the unorganised groups in the labour force has grown with the wider social awareness about women's social position.

Women's lesser participation in the union movement is probably the product of several factors. Where married women have been in the labour force they have had dual jobs - home and paid work - and this has left little time to be active in union organisations and meetings. Other barriers which have been identified as related to their limited union participation are lack of encouragement from families and co-workers; lack of experience in competing with male colleagues; lack of female role models in leadership positions; and stereotyping of women as more suited to support jobs in unions.⁷⁸

Students are an increasing percentage of the part time labour force, and by definition they are not viewed primarily as workers. They are involved in a temporary and peripheral

way in the particular work situation where they are working part time. Given the union's concern to protect long term workers attached to the labour force, the high percentage of students further discourages union attention from part time workers. The OLRB practice of treating students working in the summer and part time workers alike reinforces the view of part time workers as peripheral and temporary workers less needy of protection.

One final barrier to the development of clear policies and views on part time employment in the trade unions is their diversity of views on the topic. Miliband has referred to this as "one important weakness which affects labour as a pressure group".⁷⁹ While labour is divided on many issues, business, in contrast, shares a much greater ideological consensus.

Summary:

~~To the union movement part time work is a "problem":~~
it was seen as cheap labour and exploitation; a threat to full time jobs; and a barrier to unionisation. European unions have noted that part time work can be a potential threat to the status of women in employment in general and a means of evading the provision of adequate community welfare services and benefits.

Some unions, and some union members supported the use of part timers in certain industries, and saw part time work as advantageous, both to students and to women as secondary family income earners. The status of women as part time workers was not viewed by the Canadian unions as a special problem above

and beyond the problems identified with part time work in general.

The unions operate within a number of constraints. In Canada the rate of unionisation is low, the union movement is fragmented and it has relatively limited resources and is weakened by being unable to represent all workers. Women workers have participated less than men and the recognition of them as a major part of the labour force has been relatively recent. Part time work is in industries which are difficult to organise, part timers themselves are difficult to organise, and in comparison with full time workers and breadwinners, part time workers (women and students) are not seen as having high priority. The diversity of opinion on part time work acts as a further barrier to united action on the topic.

These constraints, and the concern of the labour movement about unemployment, protection of full time positions and secure working conditions for primary family income earners, provide an explanation for the relatively little attention unions have paid to part time work, and the absence of clear and united policies on part time employment. Their limited power and defensive position within the labour market provides ready explanation for the limited progress that unions have made in protecting the working conditions of part timers.

Footnotes - Chapter 5

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75. Miliband, op. cit., p. 156.
76. Mel Watkins "The Trade Union Movement in Canada" in Robert Laxer (ed.) Canada Ltd., Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973, p. 178.
77. The time and resources apparently available to government to co-operate with research was remarkable, and in sharp contrast to the busy schedules and demands on the time of the union personnel I contacted.
78. Women's Bureau Fact Sheet on Unions, op. cit.
79. Miliband, op. cit., p. 156.

CHAPTER 6

THE DISCUSSION OF PART TIME WORK IN GOVERNMENT

Caught in the midst of conflicting interests government has been cautious, to say the least, on the topic of part time employment. Recently changes have occurred which assist the collection of statistical data, and some studies have been completed on the topic.

Discussion of part time work has evolved in the context of popular concern about the increasing participation and status of married women in the labour force. In spite of diversity of opinion, discussion on the topic in government expresses a concern to utilise (wo)manpower, particularly in areas of labour shortage, to cater to women's wish to work, and at the same time maintain the traditional role of men and women within the family. Implicitly part time employment is a compromise which can help to regulate the labour market, particularly in a period of rising unemployment. Where there has been interest, greater emphasis has been given to management's views of interest in part time work than to those of part time or potential part time workers.

Governments record in legislation, policies and employment for part time workers is very poor. There have been numerous policy recommendations, but conversations with Government officials betray its low priority and at times their positive antipathy toward it.

Discussion has been fostered by the establishment of Women's Bureaus in both Federal and Provincial departments of

Labour. Women's bureau personnel have kept up a steady plea for greater opportunities and better working conditions for part time workers. Individual women within the public service have also been active in promoting discussion and study of part time work, and some pilot projects. To the outside observer they appear to be rather lone voices in a largely unreceptive, or at least uncommitted sector.

In the language of bureaucracy, discussion of part time work within the various branches of government has been "referred to committee for further study".

The form and forum of discussion:

Discussion has been in the form of recommendations and since 1969 there have been several studies of part time employment. Government has been conspicuously backward in acting on its own recommendations: there has been no Federal and little provincial legislation specifically related to part time workers, few demonstration projects, and limited opportunities for part time employment in the public service. Western provincial governments have paid more attention to the topic, and to the experience of employees rather than employers. Finally in 1976 Statistics Canada has re-defined part time employment, and a beginning has been made in providing more substantial public data on the subject.

Part time work is far from being a public issue in the way day-care, education, abortion or even equal pay have become.

Most government discussion has been internal. There have however been times when concern about economic and labour policy has led to public recommendations and statements about part time employment. In a previous chapter the efforts of the National Selective Service Department to recruit women with family responsibilities into part time work to counter the labour shortage during World War II has been described.¹ In 1975, the Hon. Marc La Londe, Minister of Health and Welfare, recommended the expansion of part time work opportunities for single parents and handicapped persons, to a Conference of Federal and Provincial Ministers of Welfare.² His statement was made in the context of economic restraints which put pressure on social welfare programmes and a climate of opinion bent upon moving people into the work force to reduce their dependence on social assistance. In a similar climate in 1976, Ontario welfare assistance payments were tightened up to the extent that persons had to take part time or casual labour, not only full time employment, in order to prove their willingness to work.³

With the exception of such public statements and recommendations in published reports and the Royal Commission on the status of women, government discussion has been internal and limited.

Documents and studies published by Government have been a major source of material for this chapter. Correspondence and conversations with various branches of Federal government were received with considerable co-operation and generous

provision of information and documents. Departments contacted were Statistics Canada; Public Service Commission; Public Service - Equal Opportunities for women branch; Treasury Board Secretariat; Unemployment Insurance Commission; Health and Welfare Policy division; Canada Manpower and various branches of Canada Department of Labour. Letters were sent to all provincial departments of labour requesting information and nine of the ten replied with letters and copies of labour legislation. Correspondence and conversations were possible with the Ontario Women's Bureau, Women Crown Employees Office, the Civil Service Commission, the Labour Relations Board and several Ontario Ministries.

The evolution of interest and tentative discussion:

As noted earlier, in 1951 23.6% of women were in the Labour force, and the figure was to reach 39.7% by 1974.⁴ Discussion of part time work was within the context of concerns about married women in the labour force and their dual jobs of home and paid work. The Federal Women's Bureau provided a focus for studies and consultations on women in the workforce.

In 1958 a study by the Federal Department of Labour on Married Women Working for Pay found that a segment of their sample worked part time. In their conclusion they reported that "Working mothers have a widespread desire for shorter hours, particularly an earlier end to the working day, so they can get home 'to put supper on'. As to part time jobs, the general reaction was that "much as they would like to have more

time for other things, they could not make enough money by working part time to make the effort worthwhile."⁵ The study of Women at Work in Canada (1964) noted the increasing size of the part time labour force, and remarked that in light of a full load of housework added to full time work "paid employment on a part time basis must appear attractive to married women contemplating employment".⁶ Neither study explored part time work in more detail.

The percentage of the labour force working part time had almost doubled during the fifties, and was again to double by 1970. The sixties brought to light the rising unemployment rates of these years, the increased cost of living, and the existence of poverty in the midst of affluence and corporation profits.

In the sixties the Federal Women's Bureau instituted consultations on various aspects of women's employment. At a one-day conference on the Implications of traditional divisions between men's and women's work (1964) the dilemmas of career women with families was discussed. One solution proposed was that "A campaign is needed to bring the career of the 'domestic' back into social acceptance" to provide domestic help for career women!⁷ Another solution suggested was the increased participation of men in household tasks, recommended in order to reduce men's feeling of being cut off from their families. There was no mention of part time work.

However the following year, in response to proposed recommendations about the employment of women with family re-

sponsibilities from the International Labour Conference in Geneva in 1964, another consultation was called together. Part time work was one of the four urgent issues they identified - along with counselling and training for women re-entering the workforce, child-care services, and maternity leave benefits. The Bureau expressed the view that "For many women with family responsibilities, part time work in ranges of hours that fit in with family responsibilities may be a solution to the combining of home and work".⁸ The agenda included questions about needed study and research, future directions for social policy, and ways to "build a climate of opinion for conducive action".⁹ Representatives of management in a hospital, a family service agency and a large department chain store were invited to share their experiences with part time workers. In spite of some administrative difficulties all saw part time employees as an important and integral component of their workforce. Studies were recommended, to develop useful ground rules for the most effective use of part time workers, and to consider problems of facilitating the availability of part time workers, for example, in face of problems of transportation and child care during night shifts.

In March 1966, at the consultation on Changing Patterns of Women's Employment, part time work was raised in a series of questions during the discussion period and discussed in one of the discussion groups. One participant noted that the number of part time workers distorted and inflated the labour force participation of women. Much concern was expressed about the

difficulties of women combining home and work responsibilities, and the "deep rooted opposition to the employment of married women" was discussed.¹⁰ One group suggested that "Part time training should be available to women with young children who wish to prepare for future entry into the labour market"¹¹ and "Legislation which would permit women who work part time to do so without prejudice to full-time workers, and which would ensure them a minimum of social security" was advocated.¹² In the 'issues for the future' identified in conclusion by the chairman, part time work was mentioned by way of "Consideration of special arrangements for working hours for women in the perspective of a trend towards reduced hours for the entire labour force."¹³

Later in the same year the Federal Women's Bureau published a study and review of "Women and part time work" in their monthly bulletin. They observed that "Part time work is the compromise that makes it possible for (women) to combine home-making with work outside the home".¹⁴ In conclusion they noted the variety of working arrangements considered under the catchall phrase "part time work", and made a plea for regularising and improving the conditions of part timers, while protecting full time workers from unfair competition.

When a Royal Commission was established on the Status of Women in 1967, women's organisations across Canada were optimistic. Some hopes were disappointed, both by the absence of depth with which the Commission faced the complexity of women's social roles and status in its final report published

in 1970, and with the limited changes following in its wake. Sociologist Patricia Marchak has commented that the Commission's recommendations "pragmatically treat the symptoms but leave the nature of the disease for future diagnosis."¹⁵ She observed that the basic assumption underlying the Report was that women are socialised differently and given differential opportunities. This led to an emphasis on the "provision of equal opportunities and rewards" rather than a thorough re-evaluation of the status of women in their various social roles. According to Marchak,

Although they refer often to a changing world, they are mainly concerned with fitting women into the same occupationally-based status system which so many men already find too rigid. 16

The Commission's disregard of part time employment was symptomatic of this evasion. The Report included 3 of its 400 pages on part time work, and recommended a feasibility study to determine the possibility of greater use of part time employees. Two other recommendations referred to part time workers: one was concerned with part time work conditions in the Public Service, and one about part time workers in the retail trade.¹⁷ Marchak commented in her review that

The problem of part time status should have been evident to the Commissioners from the time they heard their first briefs. Yet no studies were commissioned on such obvious subjects as the effect of part time work of both spouses on marriage stability, children, family activity or leisure consumption. Nor was any study made of the effects of joint child care and the attitudes and problems of fathers who stay at home. Nothing was done to determine the productivity of part time workers, either alone or in schemes with two workers at the same job with each half-time. No attempt was made

to assess the financial implications of implementing extensive part time work for men.All in all, it would seem that the Commission did not take the problem of women's part time arrangements seriously, though they are fundamental to the whole status system. 18

The Commission's failure to examine the topic was perhaps because it was not a concern of any dominant group, but on the contrary might have caused business, particularly, some embarrassment. Furthermore, to examine the topic brings into question not only the occupational reward system, but the roles and responsibilities of men and women in the family, and the relative absence of community sponsored family support systems.

Some material on part time work was provided by the Commission's studies of Chartered banks, department stores, and trade union attitudes to women workers. Henripin, one of the Commissioners, published a separate statement on Part time work and was highly critical of their disregard for the topic. He noted that a large number of briefs had been received on the topic, particularly suggesting part time work for mothers of young children. Possible suggestions which he considered they omitted were that the Canadian Public Service take the lead in making part time work opportunities available; legislation at all levels of government allowing parents of young children to work part time; and financial and technical assistance to private firms who demonstrate their willingness to introduce flexible working hours. He recognised the dangers to women: that part time work may create new job ghettos but noted that "in the long run it might prove to be a milestone

for a true social reform which will give both men and women the opportunity to participate more fully, both in the family and the economy."¹⁹ His statement of the issue is the most progressive in any of the printed discussion of part time work:

We must face the issue squarely. There can be no equality of opportunity for women as long as the prime responsibility for the care of children continues to be generally and systematically left to them; any change in this area involves a complete reorganisation of the working world. Indeed either society must take complete charge of children - and this is not in keeping with Western ideas and feelings in the present day and age - or the methods of the working world will have to become far more flexible than they are at present in order to make it possible for both parents to share this responsibility on a reasonably equal basis. 20

In his "one year later report" on the Status of Women, Minister of Labour John Munro noted one change on part time work: a modification of Public Service Terms and Conditions of Employment regulations to ensure pro rata pay increases for part time employees.²¹

The seventies: studies not action:

The percentage of part time workers levelled off during the seventies, yet it has been the most prolific period for the discussion of part time work. At the same time, as discussion has become more specific and widespread, so it has become more cautious and conservative. It has been a period of studies and more refined recommendations, but still little action.

In 1969 the Federal Women's Bureau published its first study on Part time Employment in the Retail Trade and included

a number of proposals for further study and action. They suggested that attention be given to clarifying the various types of part time work, and that it be clearly defined. Improvements in ways and means of obtaining data on part time workers, for example, their wages, were considered important. Canada Manpower was noted to be in a strategic position to collate information about part time work, and to assist men and women with part time work opportunities. The authors suggested that the Federal legislation on equal pay for equal work be extended "to call for equal rates regardless of the number of hours worked for the employer, which would mean that part time employees would be entitled to proportionate payment for work performed".²² They urged the use of womanpower which would be made possible by more flexible and shorter hours of work, but followed the I.L.O. in adding a cautionary note that the situation should be carefully monitored "to ensure that part time employment does not create underemployment or a disadvantaged group of workers."²³

Study and discussion in the Public Service.

Interest in part time work grew as part of the concern about the employment status of women in the Federal Civil Service during the sixties. Archibald (1970) noted that restrictions on the employment of married women in the civil service had been lifted during the second world war, but were reintroduced in 1947, and not finally removed until 1955.²⁴ The Civil Service Act of 1961 opposed discrimination in hiring

on grounds of race, national origin, colour and religion, but failed to mention sex.²⁵ However the Royal Commission on Government Organisation in 1962 observed that the policy supposedly implicit in the Civil Service Act, was not fully implemented in practice.²⁶ In 1964 Canada gave its support to the 1958 I.L.O. convention about discrimination in employment, thus affirming the role of government in promoting equality in employment. Women in the Public Service, a study of the "employment and utilisation of women in the Federal government service" by Stanislaw Judek was published by the Department of Labour in 1967, in response to the Royal Commission observation. Judek referred to the complexity of women's place in the labour force as a result of their dual roles, and noted the waste in valuable human resources resulting from women being unable to work. He devoted 2 of his 140 pages to part time work, but noted that it "may fulfil a social as well as an economic need for individual and society."²⁷

While Judek's study was still on the drawing board, the 1967 Public Service Act specifically included sex in the forbidden grounds for discrimination in employment. In the same year the first pilot project recruiting "highly skilled" married women with school age children to work in three areas of labour shortage, was established.

"Sex in the Public Service."

In 1970 Kathleen Archibald's study Sex in the Public Service (commissioned by the Public Service Commission) appeared

and has become a classic document for persons concerned with the status of women in the civil service. Her statement on part time work has been upheld as a guide for later spokesmen. She documented in detail how "the various policy instruments - Acts, regulations, directives etc. - which shape the governments employment system have been formulated with the idea of a continuing, full time employee in mind."²⁸ Archibald reported that the Manpower Allocation and Control system, in effect since 1969, theoretically enables the use of part time and casual workers, but had a number of problems in practice. Among these were the implicit advantages to filling positions with full time workers because of the employee and cost recording system, and the absence of any definition of continuing part time workers. Because of these she saw no likelihood of the cessation of the practice of firing and rehiring casual employees on a six-month basis. In her recommendations Archibald made a strong case for the expansion of part time work in the Civil Service. She saw continuing part time employment as one of the major ways to reduce the pattern of women's discontinuous participation in the workforce, and to provide for both their paid work opportunities as well as their maternal and domestic responsibilities. Pay and benefits were recommended on a pro rata basis, and she suggested that departments be given incentives to use part time employees wherever possible.²⁹

Two other large studies were completed under the authorisation of the Federal department of Labour, and both have provided valuable data which was used extensively earlier

in the examination of the nature and extent of part time work. One examined the use of regular part time employees in Canadian industry, and was not computed according to sex. It suggested some socio-economic variables affecting the utilisation of regular part time workers. The second, Bossen's study released in October 1976, was an examination of management requirements and the utilisation of part time employees in the Canadian economy. (While prepared for the Department of Labour it was actually completed by a private manpower and social policy consulting firm: Marianne Bossen and Associates.) It requires detailed examination as she was given a mandate to prepare policy implications of the part time employment requirements.

In her conclusion Bossen predicted the expansion of part time work opportunities as a result of economic and population growth and demand for services; rising administrative costs in business; "a greater appreciation of the skills of trained married women in a relatively tight-labour market for office skills and a greater awareness of the cost of training and turnover."³⁰ She predicted that government sponsored special programmes will provide employment opportunities for part timers and that rising levels of affluence and "multi-income" families will maintain a plentiful supply of part time workers. Manufacturing did not seem to be a likely area of increased part time openings, whereas public administration did, if certain regulations and policies were changed - for example, definitions of permanent civil servants as full time workers, and treasury requirements regarding counting man-days

of work. Her recommendations kept closely to what seemed likely and to that which required the least change and upheaval.

Bossen listed implications for employers, employees, unions and government.

To employers she suggested that "personnel policy should treat regular part time and casual workers differently but equitably".³¹ She mentioned that the definition of regular part time may be too restrictive, which may leave too many part timers on casual status with few benefits, but given the great majority of non-regular or casual part timers she did not explore this sufficiently. In effect she recommended a hierarchy of employees. Manpower policies, according to Bossen, should be regularised "giving special attention to equitable working conditions, but balancing the needs and rights of full time workers in the enterprise."³²

Bossen cautioned employees that they must pay a price for greater choice in working hours. She also warned that career advancement in the form of training or promotion to management positions is not compatible with part time work. Furthermore part time work does not allow for professionals and technicians to keep up with their field of work. She said that "To keep up with this in one's own sphere takes more than a partial effort."³³ In these comments she flies freely into the realm of opinion as there is evidence to suggest that part time workers are highly productive, and their attachment to the labour force is strong.³⁴

To unions she suggested that they adjust to the reality

that part time work is here to stay, that part time workers should not be treated as a threat to full time employees, and that part timers "are entitled to equal consideration in light of their status as persons with rights and needs and their contribution to the enterprise".³⁵ These observations do not fit well with her acceptance of the split labour force and her recommendations to further develop a hierarchy of workers.

Bossen considered that government should take the lead in manpower policy in making a clear distinction between regular and casual part time work. She considered part time appropriate to many categories of persons, and that all should be equally considered. She noted the interest by business in using part time as a way of phasing out careers prior to retirement, and reminds government that this would require changes in pension plans. Finally she recommended a rethinking of unemployment insurance policy to remove the implicit assumption of a full time workforce.³⁶

Statistics Canada sponsored an International Women's Year publication, Opportunity for Choice edited by economist Gail Cook (1976). Some material on part time work was included in the article by Cook and Eberts entitled "Policies Affecting Work", and their recommendations were less cautious than those expressed by Bossen. Their conception of part time work was as an option giving some people the ability to reduce double workloads - working both at home and in the marketplace. They recommended pro rata working conditions - job security, pro rata pay and fringe benefits, and they urged the development

of government pilot projects.³⁷

In April 1976, Interaction, the newsletter of the Public Service Commission's office of equal opportunity, ran an issue on changing hours of work: flexitime and part time work. They presented a variety of employer and employee views on the subject, and quoted Irene Johnson, commissioner of the Public Service Commission as saying that the "public Service Commission has been actively urging part time employment in all occupational groups where such arrangements could be advantageous or feasible".³⁸ The newsletter also reported that while it was theoretically possible and legal to fill indeterminate positions with part time workers, there was no policy to promote this, nor any incentives to departments to do so.

One official commented

Granted line workers are not clamouring for part time workers, but there is limited recognition that part time employees can fit nicely into an organisation. As a result, slowly more people are being employed on a part time basis.³⁹

The Treasury Board has been studying part time work since 1972, and in 1976 they claimed a concern about part time employment, and were reviewing a policy to be previewed by all departments before being made public policy. One woman civil servant commented that "The latest initiatives seem to have made little progress. Hopefully the New Year will bring better tidings."⁴⁰

Provincial studies, from Manitoba and Saskatchewan interviewed employees and focussed on the working conditions and benefits of part time employment. The Saskatchewan studies

contained no recommendations, but the Manitoba study suggested changes in legislation to specify conditions for part timers, and improvements toward pro rata pay and benefits.

In Ontario there has been some discussion and research since the green paper Equal Opportunity for Women in Ontario was published in 1973. It affirmed the importance of part time work opportunities for men and women and added the view that "(part time work) is particularly well-suited to women in that it enables them to use their education and talents in the workforce without necessarily sacrificing their desire to have a family".⁴¹ Two other recommendations followed. First, that some consideration be given to the fact that the Employment Standards Act does not ensure the same wage rates for part time workers performing the same work as full timers "as it is considered that shorter hours of work constitute different working conditions."⁴² Second, it recommended the integration of presently separate bargaining units for part time and full time workers.

The pilot projects on part time work (referred to earlier) had incorporated the principle of pro rata pay and some fringe benefits, excluding a pension plan. Several ministries are engaged in surveys and studies of employer and employee attitudes to part time work, for example, a large study, initiated in 1974, is being undertaken by the Ontario Ministry of Labour, with the objectives of analysing

"trends in part time work, 1966 to 1975; identify characteristics of part time workers; and identify differences between part time and full time workers."⁴³

One of the officials involved with the research told me that the report will be published in 1977, and although there is interest in the topic, it is not high priority: "we have to be more realistic."

The Government Discussion: Constraints, Caution and Compromise:

The discussion has been analysed by using the indicators outlined in the introduction as guidelines: assumptions about work, assumptions about women, advantages and disadvantages and to whom these accrue.

There are some limits to such an analysis. Clearly the government has no one view: views expressed implicitly in discussion are changing views; assumptions implied from legislation, policies and structures differ from those implied from expressed views and stated opinions; and there are different streams of opinion discernible in different government documents and spokesmen. Noteworthy is the fact that women have written most of the material on part time employment, and, with the exception of Jacques Henripin, their conception of the possible with regard to part time work appears to have carried much of the Government discussion of the topic.

Government discussion and activity regarding part time work obviously exists amid some constraints. When considering "government" one is generalising about three levels of government - municipal, provincial and federal - and a vast network of services. Labour legislation is under provincial jurisdiction, although some federal legislation (for example,

Canada Labour (Standards) Code, Unemployment Insurance legislation, Canada Pension Plan) is work-related. Government discussion and action exists within the constraints of federal/provincial relations in many areas of social and labour legislation. The Federal Government can attempt to set standards (as it has done with the Canada Labour Code), and it can make recommendations to provinces on matters seen to be for the 'national good'. However unless the Federal government sets an example within its own jurisdiction, recommendations and proposals can resound with empty rhetoric.

Both federal and provincial levels of government are in the midst of cross currents of opinion on part time work: the traditional opposition of the trade union movement, the general recommendations of persons concerned with employment opportunities for women, and the needs of business for a residual labour supply for peak periods. Government theoretically has the possibility of taking a lead in manpower policy, but it is likely that differing views in the electorate also act as a constraint.

Government is in the official position of being accountable to the electorate and of balancing labour and social policies. Its burden of accountability may be responsible for the gap between its stated support for and recommendations about part time work, and its actual record of legislation and policies in support of part time workers. It is giving a little to each side of the debate. The matter of accountability may also explain why stated policy recommendations try to be in-

offensive to any interested parties - while in discussion with officials one gets a different view: a picture of inaction, low priority, and something better swept under the carpet. The working conditions of married women and students is not a very likely political campaign issue.

Government discussion can, however, be seen to be changing on the topic of part time work. There has been increased interest and willingness to study the issue as the part time workforce has grown to a substantial size. But the nature of the focus of concern frequently betrays political allegiance. In some Western provinces there have been studies of comparative benefits and employees experience, and industrial relations boards have made specific regulations about part time workers. The Federal government's efforts in research have been on the utilisation of manpower in industry, and the requirements of private enterprise and government employers for a part time labour force.

However of the three sectors studied, Government has been most active in research and discussion of the topic. Perhaps the most important step has been to clarify the statistical definition and to add questions to the labour force survey so that more accurate data on part time employment will become easily available.

Four themes, and one minority view, emerge in the discussion and studies of government on part time work.

"Continuing part time employment clearly offers the most practical and fruitful solution for mothers who would like to continue working but feel they cannot spend a full day away from home until their children are older. (For those mothers who have to work out of economic necessity, it is not usually a solution for they may need the full time income.)"

"While married women will most often take advantage of (part time work opportunities) there are others who need to work part time for instance, persons with physical disabilities."

Archibald, K.: Sex and the Public Service (1970).⁴⁸

"Women still carry the biggest share of the work load generated by the care of home and dependents. Current developments point in the direction of increasing availability of alternative ways to integrate home and work responsibilities: full time with child care, or flexitime, or part time (regular or intermittent), and perhaps the time will come when men will take advantage of work options and share new leisure and work patterns with their spouse."

Bossen (1975).⁴⁹ Part time work in the Canadian Economy

"Today, many women unwilling to make a choice between career and home, are attempting to combine the two. Regular part time work, not just in the traditional areas of sales and services but in all employment areas, is being seen by some people as one of the ways to make this possible."

Interaction (1976). 50

This solution has particular advantages for government in that it avoids putting additional pressure on government to provide community child care and other family support services. Alice Cook (1975) in her study of The Working Mother in nine countries has observed that "When a mother cannot arrange for child care, she seeks to solve the problem by working part time."⁵¹ She added that "teaching was often referred to, in my interviews, as the ideal work for mothers, mainly because the mothers and child's day are exactly matched."⁵²

1. Compromise: Women's work and the maintenance of traditional family roles.

Most of the government discussion of part time work has centred on it as a solution to "the problem of working women". It is discussed as a solution which enables the employment of women, with its economic and psychological advantages to them; it allows the use of womanpower when and where required by the demands of the labour market; yet it puts little pressure for change on the traditional family roles of women as wives and mothers.

The following examples illustrate my point:

"Part time work is the compromise that makes it possible for (women) to combine homemaking with work outside the home."

Women's Bureau Bulletin, 1966.⁴⁴

Advertisement for the Public service programme, 1967, in Ottawa

Citizen: "to enable married women to combine a professional career with the management of their homes" 45

"We also believe that part time work will help women to achieve equality of opportunity in employment. Women who need or want to supplement their income should have a chance to do so, a chance many can get only by working part time. Part time may also alleviate the feeling of alienation from society from which some housewives suffer."

Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970).⁴⁶

"Part time work can be an appropriate and satisfactory outlet for the skills and abilities of many men and women. It is particularly well-suited to women in that it enables them to use their education and talents in the workforce without necessarily sacrificing their desire to have a family."

Ontario Green Paper Equal Opportunity (1973).⁴⁷

Canadian "working mothers" and parents illustrate Cook's point.

Perhaps one of the reasons that shift work and flexi-time have been more popular than regular part time work is that they are ways in which parents can retain the responsibility for children out of school hours. Clearly they have other advantages - to business, and to the public transportation system to mention two. Shift work is, however, a solution which allows marriage partners to spend little time together - surely a short sighted view of marital harmony. As Henripin suggested, legislated opportunities for shorter hours of work for both parents of young children would be another solution. Flexible child care services, hot school lunch programmes, and adequate home help services, are other potential support services for working parents.

2. Work for women: and other marginal persons.

Discussion of part time work was at first tentative and in the context of, and only concerned with, women's work. Gradually discussion has included other social groups, but mainly groups perceived to be marginal or peripheral.

The 1958 study of Married Women working for Pay illustrated the social climate regarding working women in its description of the study as a response to "widespread public interest in the effect on Canadian homes when so many wives and mothers are employed."⁵³ The researcher also commented that:

Married women who work outside the home are aware that they are a minority group who do not have unqualified social approval, and they are likely to feel protective of their own situation when answering questions relating to their circumstances as working women. 54

The same study also observed that:

The popular prejudice against married women working has lessened considerably in recent years, but there is no doubt that public opinion continues to hold that if a woman has children she should stay home with them unless necessity drives her to work. 55

Discussion of women in the workplace crescendoed throughout the sixties, and with it part time work gained a little more attention. Concern about married women with children working outside the home continued to be expressed. It was not expressed as an issue for working parents, nor of men's responsibility in the home, nor women's right and responsibility to share in the labour force. There were however references to the heavy load the dual jobs caused women to bear. Part time work was referred to, during this period, as a solution for women.

By the 1970's new ideas were being discussed, or at least mentioned: husbands and wives sharing jobs, dual career families, shared responsibility and participation of men and women in the home and in the workplace. As one official said, the effects of what he termed "Women's Lib and all that" had a definite impact on discussion, if less on actual practices. The social climate in which women worked, and in which research on the topic flourished was more sympathetic than during the fifties.

During this period, too, was a recognition that part time work is a possibility for many social groups: students, men in the years leading toward retirement, as well as parents of young children, and the physically handicapped.⁵⁶ These groups tend to be peripheral and at least partially dependent. Part time work for various social groups has advantages to society in the face of high unemployment (in spite of the unmentioned danger that it may create underemployment). It may also be a solution which reduces the burden on Government social assistance programmes during this chronic unemployment.

The inclusion of other social groups in the discussion of part time work in government reflects international opinion as expressed by the O.E.C.D. and the I.L.O. It is possible that the discussion has been affected by the views of the women's movement about equal participation of women and men both at home and in the marketplace.

3. A mechanism to regulate the labour market?

There is some evidence to suggest that government has seen part time work as a way to regulate the labour market in relation to areas of labour shortage or high unemployment. The recruitment of women during the second world war, and pilot projects for part time workers in areas of skilled labour shortage in the public service are examples of this. Bossen's espousal of the advantages during pre-retirement years fits well with business interests and the pressure of a younger workforce to retire people earlier. The possible reduction of

dependence on social assistance by moving them into part time work is another example. Absence of legislation limiting the proportion of part time workers also allows several cheaper employees to be hired to fill what would otherwise be a full time job, but it does provide jobs.

Advantages to business have frequently been noted: flexibility, cost saving and availability of workers. The utilisation of skilled (wo)manpower was frequently mentioned as a rationale for expansion. Miliband's description of the support governments have given to business is relevant here. He stated that

Governments may be solely concerned with the better running of 'the economy'. But the description of the system as 'the economy' is part of the idiom of ideology, and obscures the real process. For what is being improved is a capitalist economy; and this ensures that whoever may or may not gain, capitalist interests are least likely to lose." 57

Bossen's failure to examine the implications of two separate workforces (in addition to her other conclusions) suggests that she is not concerned about part time workers remaining a somewhat residual workforce. She justified this by the claim (made without substance in her study of employer views) that "Most part time workers are not career-oriented either because of constraints on their time, or because of other interests."⁵⁸ This may be an over-generalisation.

There have been a number of recommendations in the government sponsored studies on part time work (for example, to integrate part time and full time bargaining units in Ontario

labour relations practice, to include part time workers in equal pay legislation and to regularise working conditions of part timers.) Some have been cautious, and none have been instituted in legislative changes. In spite of a good, if recent, beginning in changes in collection of statistical data, there is still no readily accessible documentation of part time workers' wages, which would be an adequate basis for assessing exploitation of equity. There are no programmes of incentive to the private sector to encourage part time employment with adequate remuneration, and regular working conditions. The relative caution and inaction of government in these areas could be seen as a collusion between government and business to perpetuate the existence of a residual labour force which has been shown to be so advantageous to and favoured by business.

4. Protection of working conditions - a conservative view.

A number of recommendations have been made concerning the working conditions of part timers in the government sponsored studies and papers.

Pro rata pay was most frequently mentioned, and in 3 instances there was a specific recommendation to incorporate part time workers explicitly in equal pay legislation.⁵⁹ Three studies recommended pro rata pay and fringe benefits.⁶⁰ The Royal Commission report (1970), concerned with overcoming "the alienation which housewives suffer" recommended further study and is a glaring example of the absence of recommendations

regarding the working conditions of part time employees.⁶¹ Bossen (1975) was content to recommend pro rata pay but claimed that "Fringe benefits present the most difficult aspect of compensation for part time work."⁶² She noted her impression that workers preferred to have cash in hand rather than postponed economic security, and her own belief that part timers must pay a price for the choice of shorter hours of work. She recommended the inclusion of regular part time workers in group life and disability pension plans, with optional entry for workers under 40. She warned of the incompatibility of part time work with training and promotion to senior levels. In reference to her finding that employers only gave 4% paid vacation (the statutory minimum) she commented that part time workers were often able to have extended vacations without pay to suit their personal plans, yet retain employment on return.

Recommendations to "regularise" part time work (such as in Archibald and Bossen) may be seen as indicating a concern for job security, and concern about adequate notice of termination and severance pay (for example, in Part time Employment in the Retail Trade and Bossen) may be viewed as a concern for at least minimal job tenure. Otherwise job security and job tenure have not been topics for discussion.

Bossen's discussion of employer provided child care was in the form of reporting negative findings, i.e. the strong reluctance on the part of employers. Henripin recommended increased community child care services, and some of the Women's

Bureau consultations recommended child care to facilitate greater availability of part time workers. Others, for example, Judek, have linked it to working women in general.

Medical plans were mentioned, but mainly reporting their absence.

Statutory minimum standards and fringe benefits, the most controversial issues in the differential treatment of part and full time workers, were mentioned little. The silence conceals inactivity of business and government alike - inactivity which perpetuates the hierarchical labour force, the temporary and insecure status of part time work. Fringe benefits constitute 30% of gross payroll costs in non-manufacturing industries and 32% in manufacturing. They are available to the more privileged full time workers, and many part time workers tend to be found in those occupations where fringe benefits are on a relatively small scale. Travel and entertainment allowances, medical and dental plans, may be available on a widescale for senior executives, but clerks cashiers, waitresses, and theatre attendants are unlikely to have such perquisites. The unionised workers in the retail and food industries are an exception in that they have recently obtained extensive benefits, including a dental plan.

Part time work has mostly been presumed to be a positive phenomenon when it has been discussed and recommended in the discussion of government, but there have been some cautionary notes expressed. Its proliferation in the low skill, low-paying occupations has been noted, as has the absence of openings

for continuous part time work in both public and private sectors.⁶³ The authors of Part time Employment in the Retail Trade (1969) and Henripin (1970) both raised the possibility than an expansion of part time work may create a class of disadvantaged workers. Recommendations for regularising working conditions and expanding part time work opportunities throughout the entire labour force (e.g. Archibald, Henripin) implicitly recognise the problem of part time workers being a residual labour supply.

5. A minority view - restructuring the labour market to benefit women, men and families.

As I reported earlier, Jacques Henripin, in his separate statement in the report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, suggested that continuous and secure part time work could be the basis of equality for men and women in the home and in the workplace. He stressed that equality could not be achieved without some basic restructuring of the working world. His view has been a lone voice in the discussion of government.

Summary:

Government has made the substantial contribution to understanding the situation of part time employees. Government sponsored studies provide the major Canadian source of data on the topic, and the new definitions and questions introduced into the monthly labour force survey in 1976 will allow greater clarity in the future.

The discussion of government tends to utilise the I.L.O. definition of part time work (regular, voluntary and of shorter hours than normal). A clear and rather ideal distinction is made between regular or permanent part time employment and casual, temporary, occasional or seasonal work.

Government operates within a number of constraints. The differing views and interests of business and unions, and the little articulated and general demands of women's organisations mean that part time work is potentially a controversial and political issue. Yet the concerned parties, with the exception of business (the pace setters in the use of part timers) have limited power.

Discussion is internal and remains slow. Bossen's study was released in October 1976, one full year after its initial date of publication. The Ontario study has been in progress for three years, and pilot projects have become dormant in the face of economic restraints.

The Federal and provincial women's bureaus have provided key centres for consultations, studies and discussion. The Office of Equal opportunity is committed to the idea of permanent part time work in the public service, and individual women have been active in stimulating discussion and interest in the topic.

The main theme which emerges in the discussion and studies of government is that part time work is a compromise solution to the utilisation of womanpower. It is a solution

to the "problem of working women" which places little pressure for change on traditional family roles, or on the government to provide additional community child care and family support services. Discussion originally focussed only on women, but has been broadened to include other, mainly marginal, social groups. Part time work appears to be seen as a mechanism to regulate the labour market. A final theme is a limited display of concern for better working conditions for part time employees.

Footnotes - Chapter 6

1. Pierson, op. cit.
2. Hon. Marc Lalonde to the Conference of Federal & Provincial Ministers of Welfare, February 1975.
3. Ontario: General Welfare Assistance Act amendments 1976.
4. See Table 2:1, page 1 and 12, Chapter 2.
5. Married women working for pay, op. cit., p. 75.
6. Women at Work in Canada 1964, op. cit., p. 23.
7. Canada, Labour, Women's Bureau. Report of Round Table Conference on the Implications of Traditional Divisions between men's work and women's work in our society. 1964, p. 35.
8. Canada, Labour, Women's Bureau. Report of a Consultation on the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities held February 17, 1965, p. ii.
9. Ibid., p. ii.
10. Canada, Labour, Women's Bureau. Changing Patterns in Women's Employment, Ottawa: 1966, p. 55.
11. Ibid., p. 54.
12. Ibid., p. 56.
13. Ibid., p. 59.
14. Women and Part Time Work. Womens Bureau Bulletin 1966, op. cit., p. 4.
15. Patricia Marchak, "A critical review of the Status of Women Report", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 9: 72-85, February 1972, p. 73.
16. Ibid., p. 74.
17. Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, op. cit., pp.102-105 and see also footnote 61.
18. Marchak (1972) op.cit., p. 79.
19. Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, op. cit., p. 427.
20. Ibid., p. 426.

21. Canada, Labour, Status of Women in Canada 1973. Ottawa Information, Canada, 1972, p. 21.
22. Part time Employment in the Retail Trade, op. cit., p. 60.
23. Ibid., p. 61.
24. Archibald (1970) op.cit., p. 17.
25. Ibid., p. 16.
26. Stanislaw Judek. Canada: Labour: Economics and Research Branch. Women in the Public Service. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967, p. xvii.
27. Ibid., p. 62.
28. Archibald (1970) p. 113.
29. Ibid.
30. Bossen (1975) op.cit., p.104.
31. Ibid., p. 105.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., p. 106.
34. Alice Cook (1975) op. cit., noted that higher productivity of part time workers had been demonstrated in Australia and Israel (pp. 36-9); Werther (1975, 1976) op. cit., Hallaire (1968) op. cit., Greenwald (1972) op. cit. and Greenwald and Liss (1973) op. cit., also reported this.
35. Bossen (1975) op. cit., p. 106.
36. Ibid., p. 108.
37. Cook and Eberts op. cit., p. 161.
38. Interaction, op. cit., p. 12.
39. Personal Correspondence, Office of Equal Opportunity.
40. Ibid.
41. Ontario: Secretariat for Social Development. Equal Opportunity for Women in Ontario. A Plan for Action. Ontario Secretariat, June 1973. p8
42. Ibid.

43. Canada: Labour: Industrial Relations Research in Canada, 1975. Ottawa: 1975.
44. Women's Bureau Bulletin (1966) op. cit., p. 4.
45. Correspondence on 1967 married womens pilot programme.
46. Royal Commission on the Status of Women pp. 104-5.
47. Opportunity for Women in Ontario, p. 8.
48. Archibald op. cit., p. 135.
49. Bossen (1975) op. cit., p. 109.
50. Interaction, op. cit., p. 6.
51. Alice Cook, op. cit., p. 37.
52. Ibid., p. 37.
53. Married women working for pay, op. cit., p. 10.
54. Ibid., p. 72.
55. Ibid., p. 73.
56. See for example Hallaire (1968) op. cit., and Archibald (1970) op. cit.
57. Miliband, op. cit., p. 78.
58. Bossen (1975) op. cit., p. 93.
59. Part time Employment in the Retail Trade, op. cit. Manitoba Study op. cit., and Equal Opportunity for Women in Ontario, op. cit.
60. Womens Bureau Bulletin 1966, op. cit., Archibald (1970) op. cit., Manitoba Study (1976) op. cit.
61. Two recommendations pertained to particular groups of employees. Recommendation 42 stated that "We recommend that (a) the federal Public Service Terms and Conditions of Employment Regulations be amended so that part-time employees will receive pay increases on the same basis as full-time employees, and (b) collective agreements for the federal Public Service contain this provision. (paragraph 442), and Recommendation 64 recommended "that retail stores review their practices to ensure that exploitation of part-time workers does not exist. (paragraph 523).

62. Bossen (1975) op. cit., p. 71.
63. Manitoba Study, op. cit., Archibald (1970) op. cit.

CHAPTER 7

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND PART TIME WORK IN ONTARIO

Introduction

The practice of the Ontario Labour Relations Board (O.L.R.B.) related to part time work was studied because the Board is one of the key provincial forums for the meeting of government, business and unions on labour relations.

Thirty reports of cases heard between 1969 and 1974 were catalogued in the OLRB library as concerned with part time employment. These cases were examined in detail, as were some other precedent setting decisions regarding part time employment, for example, the USARCO case with its statement on "community of interest". An interview was held with one of the alternative chairmen of the Board in order to further clarify Board practice.

Ontario Labour Relations Practice

The Ontario Labour Relations Act does not define part time work, nor does it specify guidelines for policy about part time workers.¹ Over the years certain practices have developed and certain precedents have been established regarding these employees.

In Board practice part time employees are those who "work regularly for not more than 24 hours a week".² In the event of any disagreement about whether an employee falls within this category, the matter is decided by reviewing the

persons hours of work during four of the seven weeks preceding application for certification.³ The figure of 24 hours was established early in the history of the Board when the "normal" full working week was 48 hours. The Board official interviewed commented that there had occasionally been discussion at the Board about the possible inappropriateness of 24 hours now that the work week was typically closer to 40 hours. He added that there had been no pressure to change it, and that it would probably require an amendment to the Act to change such a long standing practice.⁴

Casual and temporary employees are included in a bargaining unit according to whether they work full time or part time, not according to whether the work is regular or intermittent. A precedent setting decision (Sydenham District Hospital) clarified that more or less than 24 hours of work per week was the significant issue, and that no distinction would be made between those who worked irregularly or regularly less than 24 hours.⁵ Another important decision ruled that persons who occasionally work more than 24 hours are still included as part time employees, in that they do not work regularly more than 24 hours.⁶ This decision allows for the movement of part time (year around) workers into full time labour at peak periods of demand without their reclassification as full time workers.

Students who work during the summer vacation and persons who regularly work less than 24 hours a week are treated in labour relations according to the same principles.

In the "save and except" clause, if persons working less than 24 hours a week are excluded, so too are students working during summer vacations. Similarly if one category is included, so too is the other.⁷ This means that persons who work part of the year are given the same status as persons who work shorter hours throughout the year. More significant perhaps is the assumption of a "community of interest" between regular part time workers and students. Students are temporarily part time workers, in a period of transition, and not considered to have an on-going attachment to the workplace of their student employment. Their part year, or part time work, is peripheral to their central social status as "student". To link continuous part time employees with students implies a similar peripherality and temporary attachment in continuous part time workers.

The Ontario Board has developed the practice of certifying separate units for full and part time workers. This is unique in Canada. In other provinces practice ranges from inclusion of part timers with full time workers in British Columbia to the practice of exclusion, without separate certification in Prince Edward Island.⁸ There have been recommendations to integrate part timers into full time workers agreements in Ontario.⁹ The origin of the Ontario practice is not entirely clear. An official with the longest history of employment with the Board said that he believed this to have been decided in the early discussions between labour and management consultants in the establishments of the Board. It was thought likely to have been part of the trading-off of interests and

priorities which were part of the development of some initial labour relations Board practices. In the cases recorded during the last 15 years it has simply been referred to as a "long standing practice of the Board".

Practice wisdom has elaborated upon this decision to suggest that there was a different "community of interest" for full and part time employees.¹⁰ The USARCO case is renowned for its documentation of "community of interest" as one of the four factors to be taken into account in determining the appropriateness of bargaining units.¹¹ (The other three were centralisation of managerial authority, the economic factor of one bargaining unit, and source of work.) "Community of interest" was said to be determined by the nature of the work performed; "conditions of employment - similar working conditions and the same fringe benefits"; skills of employees; administration; geographic circumstances; and "functional coherence and interdependence" (of the group of employees).¹² The striking feature of such a list of criteria is the extent to which they are management oriented. The social or economic needs are not mentioned as criteria for establishing "community of interest". Rather their place in the work operation is paramount. The second criterion, conditions of employment - feeds into a vicious circle by separating those employees with superior working conditions and remuneration from those without. This implicitly reinforces the split labour force, a separate full time and part time labour force.

It is the practice of the Board to certify separate

units when either party request this. When there are no part time employees at the time of application for certification, the unit is described as including "all employees" ("save and except" certain categories of management.) Similarly, when the Company only employs one part time person (that is, insufficient to create a separate bargaining unit) the part time person is included in the full time unit. If there are two part timers it is sufficient to certify units separately, in spite of the meagre power base such a duo would have in negotiations.

Disputes on the certification of part time employees

The Ontario Labour Relations Board library houses reports of Board hearings and decisions. Approximately 200 of the 2000 or so annual hearings are reported, on the basis that they embody important and precedent setting decisions or "other interesting disputes".¹³ The reports between 1969 and 1974 (inclusive) have been catalogued, and 30 of these deal with issues pertaining to part time employment. These were examined. They included 28 separate cases; a range of companies (for example, MacDonaldis restaurants, Childrens Aid Society of Sault Ste Marie, Tradeswood Manor Nursing Home, Sprucedale Lumber, Dominion Glass) and consequently a range of unions (for example, United Steelworkers, United Rubber Workers, C.U.P.E., Service Employees, Hotel and Restaurant Employees).¹⁴ These cases cannot be said to be representative, as the number of cases including part time employment issues

is unknown, and only one tenth of the hearings are reported. However the Board personnel considered them to be a good cross section of cases other than the very routine, and therefore a sample of issues of dispute between labour and management.

Appendix IV shows a list of reasons for the hearings.

An examination of the cases of application for certification of all employees (full time and part time) shows that in 10 of the 12 applications the employer requested the exclusion of part time employees; in 1 case the applicant requested exclusion after the initial hearing when it was disclosed that the Company employed two part timers unknown to the union; and in 1 case the respondent and applicant agreed with exclusion of part time persons, after the initial request for one unit. Although no reason need be given for a request for exclusion of part timers, given the Boards long standing practice of certifying separate units, employers sometimes requested this to reduce the present or potential power base of the union. For example, in several cases they did not presently employ part timers or students, but announced that they intended to do so, and in two cases said they had recently advertised for some. In one case the employer attempted to obtain the exclusion of part time physiotherapists from a unit of all physiotherapists on the grounds that there were other part time workers in the hospital, and the part time physios should be classified with them, rather than with full time members of their own profession!¹⁵

In 6 of these 12 cases, the Board ruled the inclusion of part timers and students (that is, they certified a unit of all employees.) Reasons given were that there was presently only one part time employee, or there were none at present in spite of declared plans by employer. Part time employees and summer students were excluded in 5 instances, and 1 remained undecided as the employer requested a judicial review of the certification process.

In an additional 6 instances the employer requested a reconsideration of a previous Board decision to include part time workers in the full time unit. Reasons included the request to have students excluded; a revised listing of employees which included students; and otherwise employers relied on quoting the typical practice of the Board. All 6 were denied on the grounds that employee listings at the time of certification application were those considered and that the Board held to the similar treatment of part time employees and summer students.

Taken together, 16 of these 18 cases show the employer reinforcing the split labour force, by requesting separate certification in spite of the unions attempt to have one bargaining unit for all employees.

A number of issues emerge from this examination of Board practice which have significance for the social status of part time employees.

The definition of part time employees as persons "working less than 24 hours a week" gives the status of "full

time worker" to more employees, and broadens the conception of "full time worker", beyond that of the Canadian statistical definition of persons "working less than 30 hours a week". It would presumably be in the interests of part time workers to lower the figure further to half of the typical working week, that is, 20 hours, to increase the category of workers who experience the status and benefits of full time employees. It is relevant, however, that in spite of repeated submissions by unions to Government to have the 40 hour week legislated as a maximum week, this has not been successful, and 48 hours remains in the legislation the maximum working week.

In Board practice the critical distinction for the definition of part time employees is more or less than 24 hours a week, rather than a distinction between regular and intermittent workers. Regular and occasional or intermittent workers are similarly treated. This reinforces the conception of part time workers, regular or casual, as a like group, distinct from full time workers. Regular attachment to the labour force but for varying hours of work is not considered a criteria for "community of interest". It is likely that in fact it reinforces the conception of part time workers as casual labour. At least theoretically, however, it implies the possibility of similar protections and working conditions for intermittent workers with other part timers. This could be seen as improving the status of casual workers. The practice is in contrast to stores and companies who differentiate between regular part timers and occasional part time

workers. Bossen (1975) in her recommendations to the Department of Labour suggested that this distinction be further emphasised.¹⁶ The function of Bossen's suggestion may however be to protect the status of "the cream" of the part time labour force - a minority - and leave the great majority unprotected and their working conditions unregulated and beyond scrutiny.

Both these observations on the definition of "part time" illustrate the political and social nature of language in reinforcing and reifying the status and interests of particular social groups.

The practice of the Board in treating part time employees on the same basis as summer students demonstrates the way in which the assumption of common attributes perpetuates a particular set of ideas and beliefs (ideology). A common peripherality in and temporary attachment to the work place is attributed to students and other part time workers alike, whether or not this is true from the point of view of the workers. It is a management-oriented assumption, which perpetuates again the peripheral status of the part time worker.

The conception of a split labour force, a separate full time and part time work force, is reinforced by the Ontario practice of certifying separate bargaining units. The criteria used to determine the supposedly different "community of interest" between part and full time workers are management and work place oriented, and are not based on the social or economic needs of the workers, or their attachment to the work place and commitment to the job. The criteria

perpetuate the existence of employees working under different conditions, and specifically refer to the provision or not of fringe benefits as one relevant indicator. This practice appears to illustrate Miliband's observation that

Whenever government have felt it incumbent, as they have done more and more, to intervene directly in disputes between employers and wage-earners, the result of their intervention has tended to be disadvantageous to the latter, not the former. 17

That employers prefer the exclusion of part time employees from the bargaining units of full time workers is evidenced by the frequency with which they requested this in the hearings examined: 10 of the 12 applications for certification of all employees. Presumably the function of this from the employers perspective is that it reduces the unions power base, and increases the number of employees with whom the Company retains flexible and unregulated working arrangements. It appears from the reports examined that Companies go to considerable efforts to resist the unionisation of employees. One example is a lengthy dispute between the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union and MacDonalds Restaurant. It involved many hearings, two of which were reported in the sample of 30 reports examined. Four issues were used to limit and block unionisation. The original application was a request for certification of all employees. The employment situation was described as follows in one report:

The business pattern of MacDonalds is such that it 'fits the availability of people who are students better than any other segment of the working population'. At Windsor the employment

situation is typical. Of all MacDonald's operations about 75-80% of the employees are between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one with another group of short term workers who are a little older. These students and part time employees work six to nine months with a turnover of three to four times annually. 18

At the first hearing in March 1973 the Company suggested that all three restaurants in Windsor were the appropriate bargaining unit, rather than the one store filing application. This delayed, with the potential for entirely destroying, the possibility for unionisation. At the same time they had requested separate bargaining units. The Company also attempted to have excluded from a potential unit all the swing managers (who were apparently full time workers). The later result of this was that the union did not have sufficient membership for a full time unit. The claim for a unit for full time workers was therefore dismissed. The Company then attempted to invalidate the original request for certification, however the Board allowed the discussion of a part time employees unit to continue. The Company's response was to request an adjournment to allow a judicial review of the appropriateness of a part time unit. Eighteen months after the first hearing, in October 1974, the Board certified a part time unit at the one store from which application for certification of all employees had been made.

Another case (Weiner Electric Ltd. vs. United Steelworkers) illustrated a Company's efforts to resist unionisation, and also showed how trade-offs of requests and demands occurred. The company president attended the hearing to request adjournment

because he had been overseas at the time of application for certification. He also requested the exclusion of part timers. The Board denied his first request as his company had taken all the appropriate procedures. The report then stated

The only controversial point raised in reply was with respect to the bargaining unit and the Board is prepared to resolve that in favour of the proposal made by the respondent. This was a request to exclude from the unit persons regularly employed for not more than 24 hours per week and students. 19

The reader of the Labour Relations Board reports is left with an impression of a power struggle between unions and management, with the latter attempting to reduce the power base of unions, and retain unregulated working arrangements wherever possible. The practice of the Ontario Board colludes in perpetuating management convenience, and a bifurcated labour force. From the unions point of view the exclusion of part timers from bargaining units of full time workers reduces their power base, as well as limiting the number of workers covered by collective agreement. The unions however accept this readily in industries where there are a large number of part time employees because of the difficulty of organising and obtaining support of the required 55% of employees before making application for certification. In industries where fewer part time employees are used, the unions request certification for "all employees" in one unit.

Summary

In O.L.R.B. practice, part time employees are those who

"work regularly for not more than 24 hours a week". This broadens the category treated as "full time workers" beyond that provided for by the Canadian statistical definition of part time workers as those working "less than 30 hours a week." The critical distinction in Board practice is more or less than 24 hours: those who work regularly or intermittently less than 24 hours, and those who work occasionally, but not regularly, more than 24 hours, are included in the category "part time employees".

Part time employees and summer students are treated similarly in Board practice, and are assumed to have a greater "community of interest" than is shared by part time and full time workers. This reinforces the conception of part time workers as temporary and peripheral.

The practice of the Ontario Board in certifying separate agreements for part time and full time workers reinforces the split labour force, and a hierarchy of workers.

The reports of Board hearings illustrated the efforts made by employers to exclude as many workers as possible from unionisation. This, in addition to the practice of certifying separate agreements, adds to the fragmentation of Canadian unions and in effect reduces their power base in collective bargaining.

Footnotes - Chapter 7

1. See Government of Ontario. The Labour Relations Act. Thatcher 1975. This is also true of the Federal and other provincial labour relations acts.
2. Jeffrey Sack and Martin Levinson. Ontario Labour Relations Board Practice. Butterworth 1970. p. 71.
3. Sydenham District Hospital. 1967 OLRB report May 136.
4. Interview with alternative Chairman to Board 9 December, 1976.
5. Sydenham District Hospital, op. cit., p. 137.
6. Wander Co. 1966 OLRB August 341.
7. Chapples 1970 OLRB report July 530; Wander Co. ibid.
8. See Women's Bureau Bulletin 1966 op. cit., and letters from 3 Federations of Labour.
9. See for example Ontario Green Paper on Equal Opportunity for Women, op. cit., p. 8.
10. See for example MacDonalds 1973 OLRB report May 287.
11. USARCO 1967 OLRB report September 526.
12. Ibid., p. 529.
13. Discussion with librarian OLRB.
14. See Appendix 4 for complete list.
15. Niagara Repeal Health Unit 1974 OLRB report October 694.
16. Bossen (1975) op. cit., p. 105.
17. Miliband (1969) op. cit., p. 80.
18. MacDonalds 1974 OLRB report October 755.
19. Weiner OLRB report February 1225.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Introduction.

In our society part time work is conceptualised as having several features. Part time workers are seen as peripheral workers, temporarily attached to the workforce, and useful in times of labour shortage or to meet the fluctuating demands of the labour market. They are viewed as cheaper than full time employees. The social role of married women is seen to be well-suited to part time work, with the advantage of not placing undue stress on the traditional roles and responsibilities of housewife and mother. Part time work is increasingly seen to have advantages for other marginal persons, especially for students and for retired people, but also the physically handicapped and single parents with children, presently dependent on social assistance. At the same time it is seen as a way to maximise the productivity of these social groups.

Full time work continues to be the typical and most valued form of work, and alternative working arrangements have been slow to gain acceptance. A hierarchical and split labour force is commonly accepted as meeting both the demands of the labour market, and the needs of different persons who want to work.

A minority view has been present in the discussion by business and government. This view, mostly expressed by women, is concerned with permanent or continuous work for shorter than

normal hours. It rests on different assumptions about what is possible regarding the allocation of time between paid work, family work and other pursuits. Implicitly it is assumed to be a potential form of work in trade union discussion of shorter working hours, and adequate income and secure working conditions for all workers.

The dominant ideology reinforces the maintenance of a flexible and unregulated pool of labour, which serves the interest of business. Its perceived suitability for women reinforces the acceptability of sex-segregation in the labour force, and maintains traditional sex-roles within the family.

The Evolution of the Dominant Ideology.

The features of the dominant ideology, and its relationship to the extent and nature of part time work will be discussed first. The ideology of part time work has grown out of the use and practices surrounding this type of work.

I. Temporary, peripheral, useful and cheap.

The view of part timers as temporary reflects the fact that the great majority work intermittently throughout the year, and sometimes temporarily on a full-time basis according to demand. Even where there is some semblance of regularity, the work contract is unlikely to promise any permanency or long-term job security.

Part time workers have usually been persons whose primary social status is accorded them by some attribute other

than their paid part time work. They have typically been married women, students or persons in "retirement". This has led to their being viewed and treated as peripheral workers.

The conception of part time workers as useful arises directly from their employment in areas of labour shortage, their capacity to fill gaps in the ebb and flow of demand for labour and their availability for continuous business and service operations.

The conception of part time workers as cheap is also a direct reflection of the experience of part time workers. They are generally paid at close to the minimum wage. Their overall earnings are low, partly because work opportunities are typically in low-skill, female dominated, low-paying sectors of the labour market, and because opportunities for promotion are minimal. Even unionised part timers are almost entirely excluded from fringe benefits, which is a considerable cost-saving to employers.

The business literature is explicit about the fact that part time workers are useful for cost saving and as a source of flexible, unregulated labour which leads to "efficient manpower utilisation". In addition, part timers are useful in that they offer greater productivity than full time workers yet can be paid only for the time worked. It is widely accepted that they need not be paid fringe benefits (an estimated 31% of payroll costs) and can be terminated when no longer needed - without severance pay and with less damage to company morale than laying off full time workers. Discussion of permanent

part time work has received minimal attention and even less acceptance by business. Much of the discussion has been linked with "temporary help", and the increasing cost of fringe benefits is a concern for business. Part time work is seen as advantageous for routine jobs, but to regularise it would contradict much of the purpose of its use.

The trade union movement shares with business the view that part time workers are peripheral, temporary, cheap and useful to business. They deplore the implications of this for workers and for the value of work generally. They see cheap labour as a threat to the working conditions, remuneration and jobs of more highly paid labour. To many trade unionists, part time workers are seen as temporary workers, less committed therefore to improving long term working conditions in the particular industry, less organisable, and a supply of cheap, flexible labour. The views of unions and union members are varied, and, as Miliband suggested was typical, have less consensus than business. Some unions, both in Canada and elsewhere, accept the advantages of part time workers, both for business and full time employees. None consider that they should have less than "basic justice" - although the conception of this varies.

Government presents conflicting views of part time workers. In its role as employer, government apparently views part time employees as temporary and peripheral, and has made little effort to institute permanent part time work. They have become the major source of Canadian studies on the topic,

and the new questions in the labour force survey (January 1976) will provide more information about part time workers. Government has suggested that part time work is useful for certain social groups, and from some sections of government (particularly those concerned with the employment of women) there have been recommendations for expansion of part time work opportunities. Some government reports have recognised the second class status of this group of employees, but their reference to this has been oblique and without urgency. There have been some conservative recommendations for regularising the work of part timers, however their published discussion has been slow, internal and has neither faced nor clarified the potentially controversial issues involved.

At times Government has actively encouraged the use of part time workers to regulate the labour market, as, for example, during the second world war. Their action and inaction appears as a collusion with the interests of business in maintaining a supply of unregulated and flexible labour. It provides some support for Miliband's assertion that it is a capitalist economy which government is concerned to improve, and that regardless of who may benefit, business is least likely to lose.

Chapter 7 was concerned with collective bargaining in Ontario. Its practice determines labour relations for one-third of Canadians, although it is not typical for Canada. By treating part time employees and summer students alike, the Board attributes a common peripherality in and temporary

attachment to the workplace to students and adult women. The Boards' emphasis on "more or less than 24 hours a week" and its subsequent treatment of regular and casual part timers alike, distinct from full time workers, potentially allows for employment protection for casual and intermittent workers. It is however likely that this reinforces the temporary and peripheral conception of part time workers.

II. Part time Work for Women - and other marginal persons.

Part I of this study showed that women's participation in the labour force continues on the whole to be marginal. Their work is discontinuous and they are segregated into certain female-dominated occupations. The experience of part time workers, the majority of whom have been women, has been an extension of that for women in the workplace generally. Women part time workers have been a reserve supply of labour: cheap, flexible and available.

In the discussion by business, government and trade unions, in Part II, part time work is seen to be the perfectly matching link between the social roles of women as "housewives" and "mothers" and the working world. All three sectors concur with this view in only slightly varying ways. This is consistent with the theme of findings in the work of Myrdal and Klein, in the fifties, that part time work was a solution to the "widespread desire of married women to enter gainful employment in Britain," referred to in Chapter 1.

Chapter 4 noted that in the business literature housewives and mothers were treated as a class apart from full time workers. Part time work was seen as a happy and mutually agreeable accommodation to "their" family responsibilities and "their" children. Business has found married women to be useful, reliable, and to solve problems of staff turnover. Negative attitudes to part time work were found to correlate with negative attitudes to working women, and positive attitudes were associated with the view of its suitability for women.

Trade union priorities have been with the full time worker and breadwinner. Recent recognition of problems for women workers has included the awareness that families increasingly need a second income. Two Federations of Labour wrote expressing concern about the exploitation of part time women workers. In Ontario, women and part time work is not itself an issue, however unions have a longstanding concern about the temporary help industry.

Government recommendations about the expansion of part time work opportunities has been in the context of discussion in which part time work appears to be a compromise to the utilisation of womanpower which does not place undue stress on traditional family roles, or on the government to provide widespread additional community child care and family support services. It is projected as being good for married women - : "it enables them to use their education and talents in the workforce without necessarily sacrificing their desire to have a family"; and it "may also alleviate the feeling of alienation

from society from which some housewives suffer"; Government discussion has also broadened to include other persons - those presently marginal to the labour force, such as single parents on social assistance, the physically handicapped, and retired persons. Their participation in the part time labour force would reduce their dependence on government assistance, so may have cost-saving potential for Government as well as business.

III. Serious, responsible, 'real' work must be full-time.

The origin of the conception of part time workers as peripheral is that full time work is clearly the norm. Any form of alternative working hours has been slow to gain acceptance. Where there has been discussion, and in the case of unions, concern, it has focussed on flexitime and the compressed work week. Neither of these working arrangements reduce the weekly working hours and the latter circumvents the hard won victory of the eight-hour day. Part time and temporary workers have been seen as suitable to fill gaps in demand for labour, but in all three sectors there is reluctance to consider serious, regular work for shorter than normal hours. This view is related to the predominance of part time work opportunities in low-skill, low-paying areas of the labour market, and the absence of part timers in supervisory and managerial positions.

IV. A general acceptance of an hierarchical and split labour force.

In the introductory chapter, a split labour force was

described as one in which there were "at least two groups of workers whose price of labour differs for the same work, or would differ if they did the same work". The situation of part time workers documented in Chapter 3 shows this hierarchy in the Canadian labour market and it appears to be accepted as inevitable rather than challenged in discussion. Morse, for example, considered part time workers to be characteristic of all dynamic economies, particularly those with a large service sector. Bossen concluded that "There are two principal labour markets, one for full time workers, and one for part time workers. Both labour forces complement each other rather than compete for the same jobs".¹

Within the part time labour force there is also a hierarchy - with the minority of regular part timers having better conditions of work and benefits than the intermittent or casual part timers.

The Impact of the dominant ideology of Part time work.

So far the common features of the ideology of part time work have been described, and the practices which support and perpetuate this conception. In turn, ideology reinforces existing practices and interests, thus perpetuating the situation of part time work.

The discussion of part time workers as temporary and peripheral reinforces and perpetuates the temporary and peripheral nature of their jobs. One commentator suggested that as long as part timers are seen as suitable for and

"relegated to menial jobs and equally menial wages" they will be unlikely to act as if the jobs were important, and reliability and productivity will decline.² Chapter 4 reported what have been called myths about lack of reliability, availability and ability, and suggested that these perpetuated low status and limited opportunities for part time workers.

Discussion which sees cost-saving as one of the major benefits of part time workers legitimates and perpetuates the use of part time workers as cheaper labour.

To perpetuate part time work as suitable for women, and other marginal persons, does little to enhance their social status, or their self-image (as long as part time jobs remain what have been called 'lower' jobs). Yet it is portrayed in discussion by government and business as the ideal solution for married women. For its short term gains, many women are persuaded that it is "good" for them, in spite of lower wages, few benefits, and limited job security and possibilities of promotion. Second class employment status reinforces women's second class social status, and is seen to be consistent with it. The percolation of dominant ideas, through what Mills has called the "cultural apparatus" leads to a widespread acceptance that these ideas serve the interests of individuals.

The acceptance of the split labour force reinforces the status quo and allows the hierarchical labour market to continue relatively unchallenged. Both Morse and Bossen presumed its inevitability.

The practice of the O.L.R.B. in certifying separate

agreements for full time and part time workers reinforces the split labour force. Their assumption of a different "community of interest" between full and part time workers has been described in Chapter 7. One of their criterion for deciding a "different community of interest" is "conditions of employment - similar working conditions and the same fringe benefits". This further feeds into the vicious circle, by separating at the outset workers with different levels of remuneration. The assumption of a "community of interest" between summer students and part time workers, already mentioned, ensures that part time workers remain at an inferior employment status to full time workers.

The dominant ideology reflects the impact of powerful interests. The interests of business and employers are paramount, and the unequal status of women, and other 'marginal' persons, is implicit.

The Counter Ideology - or Minority view.

Two streams of opposition to the dominant ideology have emerged in the discussion. One is that concerned with the status of women. The second is the trade union view which is concerned with the status of workers generally. The views are held by different groups, but there are some overlapping concerns.

In his separate statement to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, Jacques Henripin stated that equality of men and women cannot be achieved without some major changes

in the working world. He claimed that

It is of prime importance that a large proportion of jobs should be available to men and women on a part time basis and with very flexible working hours, for these are the only conditions under which it will be possible for parents to share in bringing up their children. 3

This statement captures much of the minority view of what might be possible with regard to part time work. Throughout the discussion of part time work there was a stream of interest in permanent (or continuous) part time work, with flexible and shorter than normal hours of work, but working arrangements which were other than temporary, peripheral and cheap. This stream represents an interest in the realisation of the 'ideal' international definition.

The view rests on the assumption that part time work, while being for shorter than eight hours a day, or forty hours a week, can have all the attributes typically associated with full-time work. These attributes include job satisfaction, at least minimal job security, adequate (and pro rata) wages and benefits. It recognises that persons who work for shorter than normal hours can have commitment to their work, and an on-going attachment to the labour force. This view acknowledges the research findings which show part time workers to be highly productive workers. Proponents of permanent part time work have suggested that promotion and participation in supervisory and management positions is not impossible, and have pointed to those demonstrations of where it has proven feasible and effective.

The minority view is supported and proposed by

those interested in equality for men and women in the home and in the workplace. It is also consistent with interest in new patterns of working time, and worker choice in time allocation between studies, family or household responsibilities, leisure or retirement, and paid work. The 1972 O.E.C.D. conference on this topic favoured work patterns best suited to people's "physiological capabilities, intellectual capacity, family responsibilities and personal desires".⁴

Interest in permanent part time work was most frequently presented by women authors in the business and government literature. Archibald, Graham, Cook and Eberts (all women) proposed permanent part time work.⁵ Bossen (1975) concluded her study on a utopian note by saying that part time work has advantages to women, and ultimately to men, and "A better quality of life at home and in the workplace will free creative energies and do more for physical and material well-being of society than the fierce competition for money, place and power which has assumed grotesque proportions in our time."⁶

Sociologists concerned with the place of permanent part time work in the experience of women and social change included a number of women.⁷

This finding provides support for Dorothy Smith's claim that women have a different experience to contribute to ideology. The views of working women, only now beginning to be heard, bring a greater awareness of the difficulties of dual jobs, the value and necessity of flexible patterns of time allocation between paid work and child care and other

family responsibilities. (These views will not only be held by women, just as sexist ideas will not only be held by men. But it is likely that their origin is in the subjective experience of women.) That it is the minority ideology of part time work provides some support for Smith's assertion that women have been excluded from contributing to dominant ideology from their experience as subjects.

Interest in permanent part time work was clearly a minority point of view in the business literature. Its benefits to business were noted, particularly the link between shorter hours of work and greater productivity. It appears that the conception of permanent part time work is in contradiction to the use of part time workers for business, that is, cost-saving, unregulated and temporary labour.

Government has sanctioned the conception of permanent part time work in its research findings and policy recommendations. It has not been influential in the practice of government as employer. It is almost exclusively women who have drawn attention to the topic, through Women's Bureaus, women's advisors and special programmes.

The union movement has not made policy statements on specific types of part time work. Their goals of shorter working hours, adequate income and working conditions for all means that permanent part time work is theoretically not contradictory. In practice, with their concern about the "back to back" use of part timers where one or more full time positions could be created, it is probable that the union

movement (or at least parts of it) would be equally concerned with permanent part time work on any wide scale. In voicing concern about part time work, unions have been motivated by the actual situation of part time workers: the use of part time workers as unregulated and cheaper labour. If pro rata conditions were legislated, their concern would likely lessen. Some of their reluctance is likely to be related to the fact that at present part time work is feasible for privileged students and second family earners. Until both adults (husband and wife) can be expected to participate equally in the paid labour force, the union priorities are, on the whole, likely to remain with full time work for heads of families. Unless part time work undermines the supply of full time jobs which provide an adequate family income, there is nothing inherently exploitive about work for shorter than normal hours.

The Interplay of Practice and Ideology: A Sociological Perspective.

The reciprocal relationship between the use and conceptualisation of part time work has been discussed. This inter-relationship has implications for the three sociological issues identified in the introductory chapter; the problem of definition, the social function of part time work and the relationship between women, part time work and social change.

The Problem of Definition.

Some questions were posed in the first chapter in the

context of discussing the implications of this study for the sociology of knowledge. First, what are the origins of the different usages and meanings of "part time work", and second, whose interests are served by the particular uses?

Three types of work experience have been identified in this study as being described by the term "part time work".

I. "Part time" as second class employment status, is related to the dominant conception of part time work which has been described above. It is the result of differential treatment of part time workers by employers, and is accepted by the O.L.R.B. on the grounds of a "different community of interest" between full time and part time workers. Concern about full time workers has led to the absence of strong trade union action and policy formation about part time work. This has had the side affect of allowing the situation of part time workers to go unnoticed. Government action and inaction on part time work has colluded with the interests of business in having a flexible and unregulated pool of labour.

II. "Part time" as part year work. The only common thread in the various working arrangements called "part time work" was work for shorter than normal hours on a year-round basis.

In the Government discussion, part time work is viewed as a pattern of work different from casual and seasonal labour. The distinction is somewhat arbitrary and theoretical. Part time work throughout the year, at least for women, merges with seasonal work. "Casual" work has typically referred to male work of a short term nature, usually with different

employers. Much of the "on-call" casual part time work has some regularity to it, that is, it frequently refers to an on-going casual relationship between a particular employee and employer. In Ontario, with the sanction of the O.L.R.B., part timers who work full time "occasionally" but not "regularly" do not move out of their "part time" status. They do not enjoy the benefits and status of full time workers.

III. Permanent part time work, is the minority experience of part time workers in Canada. It comes closest to the ideal definitions, such as that of the I.L.O., and is the conception typically envisaged by those persons and groups which hold what has been called "the minority view".

The emphasis on this type of work has led to recommendations about improvements for the conditions of the "regular" part timers and suggestions that the conditions of others be regularised. It appears not to have led to the development of more permanent part time work opportunities, in spite of recommendations and the interest of potential employees and other social groups.

The failure to recognise different uses of the term "part time" work, and the different experience of work it describes, has concealed the central issues of part time employment. It has allowed the pool of unregulated and flexible labour to be maintained for the uses of business. Because this is characterised by inferior working conditions, it does not serve the interest of part time workers, although some commentators (for example, Bossen) have suggested that this

is a reasonable and fair price to pay for the opportunity to work unusual and shorter hours. It is the interests of business which are served. Government, itself an employer and furthermore charged with regulating the (corporate capitalist) labour market, has colluded with this. This lends support to Marx' assertion that dominant ideas are a reflection of dominant interests.

The third question concerned with the problem of definition was, "What are the implications of the absence of definitions in some areas, and the lack of clarity surrounding 'part time work' in others?" Finally, "To what extent do the different definitions reflect social reality?" That is, "which are useful in clarifying, rather than obscuring the actual situation regarding part time work? "

Clarification of definitions have been low priority, in spite of the recommendations of the Department of Labour study Part time Employment in the Retail Trade that this was an urgent priority. The authors noted

There is evident need to define more clearly what is meant by the term 'part time employment'. No one definition can embrace all types of part time employment. A start should be made toward defining casual, seasonal and voluntary regular part time employment, so that distinctions can be made between categories in the collection and publication of data. 8

The Ideal Definition

Chapter 1 presented several definitions of part time work. The most widely used is that of the I.L.O. (1963) which

defined part time work as "Work on a regular and voluntary basis, for a daily or weekly period of substantially shorter duration than current normal hours of work".⁹ This is an ideal or theoretical definition.

In Chapter 5 it was suggested that reliance on an ideal definition evaded the problems of part time work by obscuring the actual situation of part time workers.

Part time work in Canada is typically not on a regular daily or weekly basis.

Data collection to assess the extent of voluntary or involuntary part time work has been introduced as recently as January 1976. The categories on "reasons for part time work" are not mutually exclusive and thus not entirely satisfactory.

As involuntary part time employment has been linked to underemployment, this has implications for the total economy. If Alice Cook is correct in her assertion that women work part time when they cannot obtain adequate child care to work full time, then the meaning of voluntary should be even more critically examined. It may only mean "voluntary" in a situation of limited options for women.

The reliance on the ideal definition as a description of reality is, to use Lichtheim's term "ideological in the narrower sense of distorting rather than reflecting the reality it describes."¹⁰ To describe part time work in Canada in this way is premature. To rely on this ideal definition is to operate within the realm which Mannheim described when he said that "knowledge is distorted and ideological when it fails to

take account of the new realities which apply to a situation, and when it attempts to conceal them by thinking of them in categories which are inappropriate".¹¹ Bossen (1975) recognised this when she expanded the definition of part time employment to include a variety of categories, including recurring temporary, (seasonal and occasional), non-recurring or term employment, contingent and fee for service part time employment.¹² The statistical definition of part time work as "less than 30 hours" allows no clarity of whether the work is regular or intermittent. As statistics are taken from the "usual" experience of the particular survey week, the on-going working pattern does not emerge.

In many spheres of government part time workers are not separately defined but are subsumed under the term "employee". In some instances this provides protection for them, for example, the Canada Labour (Standards) Code, Workmen's Compensation legislation, and the Canada Pension Plan all implicitly include part time workers.

In other instances the absence of specific attention to part timers may exclude them from equal treatment, and is a barrier to an attempt to assess the nature and conditions of their work. For example, Canada Manpower Centres do not differentiate between job placements in full or part time work on the assumption that personstake work for the number of hours which suits them. Manpower statistics which would reveal either congruence or discrepancy between a wish for certain hours of work and their availability are therefore not readily

available.

Bossen (1975) commented that the White Paper on Unemployment Insurance in the Seventies was implicitly based on the assumption of one full-time labour market.¹³ The U.I.C. keeps no record of part time workers as such because their records are kept according to size of earnings. Canada Labour collates aggregate data on incomes and earnings. They are not presented by sex, and part-time earnings are integrated with full time figures.

The absence of clear definitions and the reliance on the ideal definition, in spite of its limitations as a description of part time work in Canada, has served to perpetuate the circumstances of part time workers and the interests of business.

The Social Function of Part time Work

The key to understanding the social function of part time work is the conception and use of part time workers as unregulated, flexible and temporary workers.

Temporary and unregulated workers are cheaper, useful, and disposable when the demand has passed. In a post scarcity society such jobs also appear to have substantial advantages to the employee, for example, flexibility, and less of an obligation to the workplace. These are short term benefits or conveniences. In a society of rising unemployment, inflation, rising costs and predicted economic difficulty, these jobs are very insecure, and the workers vulnerable.

Permanent part time work has been resisted in part because of the general reluctance to move toward employee-choice alternative work arrangements. To change toward work schedules which are flexible but secure for the employee, rather than the Company, would be to develop policy and practice from the premise that personal and family life was the central social value, the most important part of life's activity. In a society dominated by capital and technology, and geared to production and economic profit, family life, and the lives of men, women and children accommodate to the needs of the marketplace. It appears that regulating and regularising part time work, or the introduction of job-pairing or job-sharing, are resisted because this has the same disadvantages to the employer as full time positions of work. The trade unions, by their concern with full time positions and their relative powerlessness, and the government, in its concern to regulate the labour market, have both colluded with this.

Women, still grateful for a job at all, let alone a well-paid, secure job, are all too willing candidates for such temporary and insecure jobs. Furthermore it fits most conveniently with traditional family roles. In a society in which traditional division of labour in the family prevails, part time work, in spite of its second class employment status, might be the apparently most feasible solution for women with children who want or need to work to supplement the family income. It is a compromise solution in a situation of limited options for women, where labour market and related social

policies have not recognised women's experience "as subjects" (to draw on Smith's description of sexism in ideological structures). As Young and Millmott suggested it allows for the demands of the (traditional) family and the (traditional) workplace to be reconciled. It reinforces traditional sex-roles and traditional division of labour in the home, because married women, who are also in the paid workforce, can as part time workers still fulfil their family service and maintenance roles.

An expansion of part time work on a temporary and unregulated basis, as it presently exists for the most part, will not lead to equality, but reinforce sexism in society and occupational sex segregation in the labour force. It is likely to further the practice of segregated "men's work" and "women's work".

As long as part time work is seen as suited to marginal persons, it is unlikely that it will be sought after by men as a primary experience of work. This reinforces conditions of work which are unsuitable for one or more family breadwinners. Some studies have recommended the future possibility of part time work for both men and women, and parents of young children. Neither the conditions, nor the popular conception of part time work suggest that this is likely without some changes in both the family and occupational systems. As the introductory chapter noted, the realm of serious paid work is, in popular ideology, the realm of men and a full time occupation.

Part time workers have been discussed in the context

of the split labour market. One feature of the ideology of part time work is that its location in the 'secondary market' is appropriate and good both for "society" and the individuals involved. In a society dominated by elites and characterised by unequal distribution of wealth and power, business interests are reflected in labour market practice. The hierarchical structure of society as a whole is reflected in the labour market, and in the common view of how, in fact, the labour market should be.

From the point of view of business, a split and hierarchical labour force provides cost saving flexibility, and a pool of cheaper labour available on an unregulated and temporary basis to fill gaps and fluctuations in demand. The Government's position on the working conditions of part timers has already been noted. As long as the trade unions are in a powerless and defensive position, part time working conditions will take second place to issues such as unemployment, lay-offs, rising living costs and the need to protect full time jobs to support families. As long as part time work can be viewed as cheap and exploitive labour this situation will continue. Eberts and Cook noted the development of a vicious circle: "with no collective bargaining support, the part time worker will be exploited, and will be seen as an even greater threat to full time workers, who then will withhold collective bargaining support."¹⁴ While this has some descriptive validity, it appears to attribute too much power to the unions to alter the split labour force, which is so beneficial to business.

While full time workers are the priority for unions, it is not at all clear that it is lack of union support which keeps part time workers unprotected. As Porter and Clement were quoted, in the introductory chapter, as saying, the trade unions have only peripheral power to influence the economy.

Bossen concluded that the part time and full time labour force complement each other and do not compete for the same jobs. However Piore has shown how jobs can be 'moved' from the primary to the secondary market, by altering the conditions of work. This is the basis of the unions concern about use of "back to back" part timers and students. Work situations where there is actually sufficient work for one or more full time jobs are broken into part time shifts, and cheaper workers are employed. Piore also commented that "discrimination of any kind enlarges the captive labour force in the second sector".¹⁵ The social position of women in the labour force, and the view that this is appropriate and suitable, legitimates the presence of women part time workers in the secondary market.

Part time work, women, and Social Change

The evidence of part time work as it presently exists in Canada suggests that expanding opportunities in the form in which it is conceived in dominant ideology is not likely to bring equality for women. It is likely to increase job sex-segregation and discrimination in the workplace. It is likely to reinforce traditional division of labour within the

home.

In spite of its disadvantages at present, it appears that many people of both sexes, valuing the additional income, the work experience of the time for other activities rather than economic status and security, want the opportunity to work part time.

Clearly the dominant conception and use of part time work as temporary, peripheral, useful and cheap affects the various groups of part time workers differently. Students, in a period of transition to long term employment will be unlikely to be concerned with promotion opportunities and job security. According to union men some young persons, for example, skilled tradesmen, are interested in shorter working hours on an on-going basis. They wish to make a minimal income and have time for education or other pursuits. Retired persons, probably already in possession of at least a minimal income through retirement pensions are also unlikely to be interested in job security, fringe benefits and possibilities of promotion. For them it is likely that part time work tasks have intrinsic meaning and fill the vacuum often left by compulsory retirement. Where economic reasons are present, due to the impact of inflation on savings etc., it is likely that direct wages will be more attractive than fringe benefits. Moonlighters, whose basic job security is with their primary job, are also likely to want direct wages. These impressions would be well put to empirical investigation by interviewing the various groups of part time employees.

For some persons, at present usually married women, part time work may be their primary work experience throughout many years of their adult life. As long as women continue to fulfil the major child care and domestic responsibilities in the home, shorter than normal working hours may be the most feasible experience of paid work available to them. Chapter 4 noted the prediction that pressure for alternative and shorter working hours "will come from the young and from those committed to non-traditional working roles, especially women in professional areas." There has been some interest expressed by both men and women in such alternative working patterns.¹⁶

The expansion of permanent part time work, with pro rata wages and benefits, and opportunities for promotion, would be likely to attract both men and women. If more married women took such opportunities then the expansion of permanent part time work would be likely to reinforce traditional sex-roles within the family. Married women will continue to suffer the double impact of sexism - in the home and in the marketplace - unless structural changes in the family and the occupational systems occur, as Henripin and Safilios-Rothschild have suggested.

This study has shown that both the present policies and practices, and the current dominant conceptions about the nature of part time work are such that they maintain the existing hierarchy in the labour market, and the associated values and ideas.

Minority views have been shown to exist: views about

the conditions of work expressed by the trade union movement, and interest in permanent part time work, alternative work schedules and hours, and non-traditional sex-roles expressed by others, many of whom are women. This is an illustration of the ongoing struggle for control over the labour and conditions of labour of individual men and women in society. It also illustrates the way in which women's social roles and status, and economic status follow and accommodate to the demands of the market place.

Suggestions for further Research:

Data on part time workers would be more useful if the categories in the new labour force survey of "reasons for working part time" were mutually exclusive. The category "did not want to work full time" is insufficiently explanatory.

The changes in reporting occupational distribution inflate the "managerial" category by including persons in health and related occupations, teaching, science, religion and the arts. (This is a similar category to that formerly entitled "professional and technical occupations" but allows other occupations to be included.) These categories allow an unclear picture of the distribution of part time workers.

Information on the wages and benefits of part time workers is lacking. It would be useful if Canada Labour reported income trends according to sex, part time and full time, and unionised and non-unionised workers.

Evaluative research on the work behaviour of part time employees would further clarify the extent to which widely held views and fears about part time workers are accurate conceptions. For example, job attachment, productivity, skill level and reasons for working could be explored.

It would be useful to investigate the behaviour of different "types" of part time workers: students, married women, moonlighters, and retired persons.

Part time workers behaviour in different occupations could be assessed. For example, little is known about part time employment in professional occupations.

Research into working conditions of part time workers would test some of the attitudes and conceptions which emerged in this study. For example, work schedules, wages and other benefits, job security, extent of actual coverage by labour legislation.

Reported experience of part time employees themselves is a gap in knowledge.

Comparative experience of part time and full time workers could be studied to clarify the extent to which the second class employment status is widely experienced by part time workers.

Study of comparative experience of unionised and non-unionised part time workers would give more accurate information about what Bossen termed "union control" than the study of collective agreements can offer.

Systematic and detailed research into the various union viewpoints on part time work would greatly clarify the union position. Attention to different types of part time workers and different types of industry would be an essential feature of such a study.

The Temporary Help Industry, which employs full time and part time workers, emerged as an important and related phenomenon in this study. There is little systematic research available on this industry.

Footnotes - Conclusion

1. Bossen (1975) op. cit., p. 92.
2. Werther, op. cit.
3. Henripin, op. cit., p. 426-7.
4. New Patterns for Working Time, op. cit., p. 57.
An interest in permanent part time work is sometimes expressed in terms of job pairing or job sharing. Werther coined the term "mini-shifts" to describe this form of work, op. cit., p. 14.
5. Other women authors interested in permanent part time work were Carol Greenwald (part time head of the National Business Conditions Section at the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, and otherwise a Ph.D. economist and a mother), Judith Liss, Eve Bayefsky, and Felice Schwartz (President of Catalyst).
6. Bossen (1975) op. cit., p. 56.
7. For example, Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, Patricia Marchak, Rhona Rapoport.
8. Part time employment in the Retail Trade, p. 59-60.
9. See Chapter 1, footnote 15.
10. See footnote 75, Chapter 1.
11. See footnote 76, Chapter 1.
12. Bossen (1975) op. cit., p. 56.
13. Ibid., p. 108.
14. Eberts and Cook, op. cit., p. 161.
15. Piore, op. cit., p. 91.
16. "Men, women equally interested". Globe & Mail, February 4, 1976, p. 12. See also, for example Safilios-Rothschild (1974), Lazer (1975).

APPENDIX I

ARTICLES IN BUSINESS PERIODICALS listed under "part time employment" 1960-1976
(Chronological listing)

- 1960 "Women as part time and part year workers"
Labour Gazette 60: 668-72 (July) 1960
- "Part time working mothers: case study"
N.B. Worthy Management Record 22: 17-19 (Sept.) 1960
- "Growth and characteristics of the part time workforce." R.L. Stein and J.L. Meredith
Monthly Labour Review 83: 1166-75 (Nov.) 1960
- "Business getting concerned about surge in moonlighting" N. Anderson
Financial Post 54: 36 Dec. 10 1960
-
- 1961 "Unions, business hit moonlighters"
Financial Post 55: 9 July 22 1961
-
- 1962 "The part time employment of women in industrialised countries" F. Bruntz
International Labour Review 86: 5 (Nov.) 1962 425-442
-
- 1963 "Part time farming in the North Okanagan, B.C. 1960." N.D. Turnbull
Economic Annalist 33: 63-70 (June) 1963
- "Women graduates in part time work"
Labour Gazette 63: 7 (July) 1963 p. 494.
-
- 1964 "Unemployment among full time and part time workers." R.L. Stein and J.L. Meredith
Monthly Labour Review 87: 1009-13 (Sept.) 1964
- "Ever try part time salesmen?"
National Petroleum News 56: 82-3 (Oct.) 1964
- "RWDSU application for part time workers"
Canadian Labour 9: 45 (Dec.) 1964
-

- 1965 "What to do after 65?" (How Phillips in Eindhoven organised jobs for retired workers)
Financial Post 59: 6 June 5, 1965
- "Jingle bells ring out call for part time help (retail trade)"
Business Week p. 38 Nov. 27 1965
-
- 1966 "Housewives working part time prove fine FF clerks (for Youngs supermarkets, Wooster, Ohio)"
Quick Frozen Foods 29: 57 (Oct.) 1966
- "Women's bureau report on Women and part time work"
Labour Gazette 66: 710 (Dec.) 1966
- "Work experience of the population in 1965 (part year workers)"
F.A. Bogan and T.E. Swanstrom
Monthly Labour Review 89: 1373-7 (Dec.) 1966
-
- 1967 "British trade unionists discuss night work and part time work"
Labour Gazette 67: 35 (Jan.) 1967
- "Moonlighters can get fired under labour pact."
Financial Post 61: 1-4 Feb. 18 1967
- "A workshop for married women in part time employment: Implications of an experiment in the Netherlands." J.L. van der Does de Willebois
International Labour Review 96: 6 (Dec.) 1967
- "Part time help boosts staff flexibility."
J.R. Corey
Admin. Management 28: 38 (Dec.) 1967
-
- 1968 "Half a librarian is better than none." J. Hooper
Canadian Library 24: 338-40 (Jan.) 1968
- "Peripheral Worker in the Affluent Society."
D.W. Morse Monthly Labour Review 91: 17-20 (Feb.) 1968
- "Part time employment"
OECD Observer 34: 36-7 (June) 1968
- "Workshop for married women in part time employment"
Labour Gazette 68: 406 (July) 1968

- 1968 "So you want to be a farmer"
(cont.) Monetary Times PQ 136: 33-5 (Oct.) 1968
- "OECD releases study of part time employment."
Labour Gazette 68: 638 (Nov.) 1968
- "Pity the poor part timer." C. Ciccolelle
Merchandising Week 100: 19 Nov. 25 1968
- "Part time employment in 5 European Countries"
(from chapter 1 of Jean Hallaire)
Labour Gazette 68: 706 (Dec.) 1968
-
- 1969 "Aetna combats paper work explosion with dictation-
to-go" (Dictaphone Corp. Service)
Bests Review 69: 85 (Feb.) 1969
- "Teachers in the moonlight." H.W. Guthrie
Monthly Labour Review 92: 28-31 (Feb.) 1969
- "College trainees make the best help in part-time
lower jobs." F.J. Rehman
Office 69: 58-9 (April) 1969
- "Part time women employees help increase frozen
food sales at Youngs."
Progressive Grocer 48: 62-4 (July) 1969
- "The disadvantages of working part time"
Labour Gazette 69: 386-7 (July) 1969
- "Plant for part time workers"
Electronic News 14: 26 Sept. 22 1969
- "Part time Employment" (digest of Hallaire)
Labour Gazette 69: 671 (Nov.) 1969
- "Plant for part timers (control data)"
Business Week p. 108 Nov. 29 1969
- "Practical aspects of employing part timers"
Labour and Employment Gazette Nov. 1969 p. 40-1
-
- 1970 "An answer to the Computer programme shortage"
W.A. Thompson et al
Adult Leadership 18: 213-14 1970
- "Flexible personnel for flexible workloads."
Personnel Journal 49: 61-2 Jan. 1970

- 1970 "Senior citizens enjoy part time employment"
(cont.) (Chase Manhattan)
Burroughs Clearing House 54: 6-8 (March) 1970
- "Ten million U.S. Housewives want to work."
Labour Law Journal June 1970 p. 375
-
- 1971 "How to find employees."
Office Administration 17: 48 (Jan.) 1971
- "Part time employment for older persons."
(from Jean Hallaire)
Labour Gazette 71: 124 (Feb.) 1971
-
- 1972 "Part time work in the public service."
Marion Janjic
International Labour Review 105: 4 335-349 (April) 1972
- "Working mothers: the need for more part time jobs"
Carol S. Greenwald
New England Economic Review Sept. - Oct. 1972
-
- 1973 "Job satisfaction among part time and full time
employees" Nancy Logan et al.
Journal of Vocational Behaviour 3: 1 (Jan.) 1973
- "Evaluation of the professional and executive
corps of the Dept. of Health, Education and
Welfare." M.A. Howell and M.G. Ginsburg
Public Personnel Management 2: 37-42 (Jan.) 1973
- "Men, Women and Persons" Kathleen Archibald
Canadian Public Administration 16: 14-24 (Spring) 1973
- "Japan: Part time employment of Women."
International Labour Review 107: 4 71-2 (May) 1973
- "Part time workers can bring Higher Productivity"
Carol Greenwald and Judith Liss
Harvard Business Review Sept. - Oct. 1973
-
- 1974 "Part time employment: another alternative to the
traditional work week" Kathie Graham
Canadian Personnel and Industrial Relations Journal
8: 1 35-38 (Jan.) 1974

1974 "Chains seek to meter part-time hours automatically"
(cont.) Chain Store Age 50: 20 (Feb.) 1974

"Area wage survey test focusses on part timers"

R.S. Daski

Monthly Labour Review 97: 60-2 (April) 1974

"A boost for temporary help"

Business Week Aug. 3 1974 p. 60

"Part time work and employment"

A. Novitskii and M. Babkina

Problems of Economics 16: 9 36-50 1974

"Cheerless season for holiday job seekers"

Business Week Nov. 30 25-6 1974

"Part timers in the managerial ranks"

Industry Week 183: 40-1 Oct. 14 1974

"New Work Patterns - far better use of womanpower"

Felice N. Schwartz

Management Review 63: 4-12 May 1974

1975 "New merchants: housewives and working men"
(part time centre attracts novices)
Chain Store Age 51: 15 January 1975

"Part timers: overlooked and undervalued"

William B. Werther

Business Horizons p. 13-20 (Feb.) 1975

"Using permanent part time nursing personnel
efficiently"

Hospital Administration 17: 8 p. 50 (Aug.) 1975

"Involuntary part time work: a cyclical process"

Robert W. Bednarzik

Monthly Labour Review Sept. 1975 12-18

"Management of peripheral employees"

M.J. Gannon

Personnel Journal 54: 482-6 Sept. 1975

"Status of free lancers and part time employees"

Labour Gazette 75: 10 Oct. 1975 p. 741

"Job sharing as a pattern for permanent part time work"

Robert I. Lazer

Conference Board Record Oct. 1975 57-61

- 1976 "Men, women equally interested"
Globe and Mail Feb. 4 1976 p. 12
- "Mini-shifts: an alternative to overtime"
William B. Werther
Personnel Journal 55: 130-33 (March) 1976
- "Engineering part timers - how they can help you."
Modern Power and Engineering McLean-Hunter 70: 5
(May) 1976 p. 86
- "Labour supply of married women in part time and
full time occupations."
R.D. Morgenstern and W. Hamovitch
Industrial and Labour Relations 30: 59-67 (Oct.) 1976

Number of articles on part time employment 1960 - 1976

1960	-	4	
1961	-	1	
1962	-	1	
1963	-	2	
1964	-	3	
1965	-	2	
1966	-	3	
1967	-	4	
1968	-	8	median = 4
1969	-	9	1960 - 1976
1970-	-	4	
1971	-	2	
1972	-	2	
1973	-	5	
1974	-	8	
1975	-	7	
1976	-	<u>4</u>	
		69	

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Business Periodicals Index. Vols. 3-17 1960-1975
New York: Wilson Co.

Canadian Business Periodicals. Vols. 1 1975-1976
and issues in 1976
Toronto: Information Access 1976

Canadian Periodicals Index
Ottawa: Canadian Library Association 1960-1974 incl.

APPENDIX II

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS AND DOCUMENTS (chronological listing)

Below is a chart of the Canadian Government documents examined which mentioned or contained recommendations about part time work. The studies on part time employment will be underlined for clarity.

The provincial material from outside Ontario may be incomplete.

YEAR	FEDERAL DOCUMENTS	PROVINCIAL DOCUMENTS
1958	Married Women Working for Pay (Labour: Women's Bureau)	
1964	Women at work in Canada (Labour: Women's Bureau)	
1965	Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities (Labour: Women's Bureau xeroxed)	
1966	Changing Patters of Women's Employment (Labour: Women's Bureau)	
	<u>Women and Part Time Work</u> (Labour: Women's Bureau Bulletin article)	
1967	Judek, S. Women in the Public Service (Labour: Eco & Research)	
	Project: Married Women's part time pilot project Public Service	
1969	<u>Part time Employment in the Retail Trade</u> (Labour: Women's Bureau)	
1970	Archibald, K. Sex and the Public Service (Public Service Commission)	
	Royal Commission on the Status of Women	
1971	Royal Commission study no. 3: Patterns of Utilisation in Canadian Department Stores	Working Women in Ontario Eastham and Neville (Labour: Women's Bureau)

YEAR	FEDERAL DOCUMENTS	PROVINCIAL DOCUMENTS
1971	Royal Commission Study no. 4: (cont.) Manpower Utilisation in Canadian Chartered Banks	
	Royal Commission study no 9: Attitude of Union Workers to Women in Industry	
1972	Munro: Status of Women	
	<u>Use of Regular Part time Employees in Canadian Industry (Labour: Eco & Research)</u>	
1973		<u>Survey of Part Time Employment</u> Saskatchewan: Labour xeroxed
	<u>Report on the part time work situation</u> (Treasury Board Secretariat, Personnel policy branch) (restricted)	Equal Opportunity: A Plan for Action (Ontario: Sec. for Social Development)
1974		Report of the Workshop on the Utilisation of Regular Part time Employment Ontario, xeroxed
1975		Task force on Part time employment - Interim report xeroxed (Ontario: Civil Service Commission)
		<u>Comparative study of the provision of selected non-wage benefits to full time and part time employees</u> Saskatchewan: Labour
1976	The Changing Dependence of Women, MacLean (Health and Welfare)	<u>A Study of Part time Employment</u> (Manitoba: Women's Bureau)
	<u>Bossen Part time Employment in the Canadian Economy</u> Labour Completed 1975, Released 1976	

YEAR FEDERAL DOCUMENTS

PROVINCIAL DOCUMENTS

1976 Statistics Canada -
(cont.) definition change

The Workplace is Changing
article: Interaction
(Bulletin of Public Service
Office of equal opportunities)

Research in progress:

Part time work in Ontario
(Study of trends, begun
in 1974, due for
publication in 1977)
(Ontario: Labour)

research on part time
employment
(Quebec: Institut de
recherche applique sur
le travail)

APPENDIX III

LIST OF CORRESPONDENCE, PERSONAL AND TELEPHONE DISCUSSIONS

<u>Date</u>	<u>Correspondence</u> <u>General</u>	Reply
8.8.75	Reference Clerk, Statistics Canada	✓
16.10.75	Toronto Board of Education Librarian	✓
17.10.75	Institute of Behavioural Research, York University	✓
10.9.76	Canada Labour: Wage and Research Division	✓
27.9.76	Catalyst Employment Service, N.Y.	✓
17.9.76	International Labour Office, Geneva	✓
6.10.76	Canada Labour: Library Services	✓
7.10.76	Marianne Bossen Associates, Winnipeg	✓
7.10.76	Swedish Embassy, Ottawa	✓
17.10.76	Carleton University Library	✓
3.12.76	Advisory Council on Status of Women, Ottawa	✓
unsolicited	Vancouver Status of Women Council	✓
unsolicited	Institut de Recherche Appliquée, Montréal	✓
<u>Government</u>		
25.6.75	Ontario Women's Advisor, Ministry of Government Services	
15.7.75	Civil Service Commission	22.7.75
24.6.76	Ontario, Women Crown Employees Office	7.7.76
25.6.76	Saskatchewan Women's Bureau	8.7.76
10.9.76	Canada, Labour, Eco, Ontario	✓
20.9.76	Canada, Labour, Rights in Employment	3.10.76

Date	<u>Government</u>	Reply
20.9.76	Ontario, "Go Temp" Service	-
20.9.76	Ontario, Women's Advisor, Ministry of Government Services	5.10.76
	Ontario Office of Women's Advisor Ministry of Government Services	14.8.76
21.9.76	Canada, Public Service Commission	12.10.76
16.11.76	Office for Equal Opportunity	4.1.77
12.10.76	Letters to Provincial Departments of Labour	
	Alberta	29.10.76
	B.C.	22.11.76
	Manitoba	✓
	New Brunswick	18.10.76
	Newfoundland	-
	Nova Scotia	10.11.76
	P.E.I.	18.10.76
	Quebec	-
	Saskatchewan	21.10.76
25.10.76	Women's Bureau, Manitoba	5.11.76
1.11.76	Canada Manpower, Ottawa	by telephone
1.11.76	Department of Health and Welfare, Ottawa	17.12.76
25.11.76	Unemployment Insurance Commission, Ottawa	15.12.76
28.11.76	Canada Treasury Board Secretariat, Personnel Policy Branch	6.12.76
	<u>Trade Unions</u>	
25.6.75	Director of Research, CUPE	15.8.75
10.9.76	Director of Research, C.L.C.	-
28.11.76	Provincial Federations of Labour	
	Alberta	-
	B.C.	-
	Manitoba	-
	New Brunswick	-
	Newfoundland	14.12.76
	Nova Scotia	-
	P.E.I.	-
	Quebec	14.12.76
	Saskatchewan	15.12.76

Date	<u>Personal or telephone discussions</u> <u>Government</u>
22.5.75	Ministry for Treasury, Eco (TEAGA)
9.6.75	Assistant Manager, Canada Manpower Centre, Hamilton
24.6.75	Ontario Women's Bureau
25.7.75	" " "
20.9.76	" " "
14.8.76	Ontario, Office of Women's Advisor, Ministry of Government Services
8.9.76	Ontario, Women Crown Employees Office
8.9.76	Ontario Civil Service Commission
29.11.76	Ontario Labour Research Department
29.11.76	Canada Manpower, Ottawa
9.12.76	Ontario Labour Relations Board, alternative Chairman
	Trade Unions (all personal interviews)
Oct. 76	McMaster University, Labour Studies Programme (2 interviews)
Nov. - Dec. 76	Research Director, Ontario Federation of Labour (2 interviews)
Dec. 76	Retail International Union (organiser)
Dec. 76	Food and Allied Workers (assistant director, research officer and organiser)
Dec. 76	Retail and Wholesale Department Store Union (assistant director)

APPENDIX IV

ONTARIO LABOUR RELATIONS BOARD 30 CASES (1969-1974) RELATED TO PART TIME EMPLOYMENT

<u>REASONS FOR HEARING</u>	Number
Application for certification of all employees	12
Request to exclude part time workers from a previously certified unit of all employees	6
Request to exclude full time employees	1
Request for declaration terminating bargaining rights	1
Applications for separate full time and part time units	2
Application for certification of full time employees only	1
Application for part time unit	4
Application for inclusion of casual employees previously excluded from a part time unit	1
Group of employees objecting to inclusion in part time unit	1
Further hearing on dispute re part time unit, originally an application for certification of all employees	<u>1</u>
	n = 30

OLRB REPORT NO.	RESPONDENT (COMPANY)	APPLICANT (UNION) AND OTHER PARTIES	REASON FOR BOARD HEARING
1 1969 Dec. p. 1111	Alex's Plumbing & Heating	Christian Labour Assoc. of Canada (and two other unions)	Application for certification of all employees
2 1970 July p. 502	Brinks Express Co.	Teamsters, Chauffers, Warehousemen & Helpers local 880	Application for certification of all employees
3 1970 Dec. p. 984	Brinks Express Co.	Teamsters, Chauffers, Warehousemen & Helpers	Request by Company to reconsider July decision and exclude full time employees from unit (see case 2)
4 1971 Jan. p. 28	Britannia Public House, Hamilton	Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union	Request for declaration terminating bargaining rights
5 1970 July p. 530	Chapples Stores Ltd.	Retail Clerks International Union	Request by Company to ex- clude part time employees from a previously certified unit of all employees
6 1973 May p. 285	Charterways Co.	General Truck Drivers Local 938	Application for separate certification of full time and part time employees
7 1969 Jan. p. 1012	Corporation of the City of Owen Sound	C.U.P.E.	Application for certifica- tion of full time employees

OLRB REPORT NO.	RESPONDENT COMPANY	APPLICANT (UNION) AND OTHER PARTIES	REASON FOR BOARD HEARING
8 1972 Oct. p. 882	Robert Cruickshank, Cleaning Contractors	Building Service Employees Inter- national Union	Application for part time employee unit
9 1970 Dec. p. 935	Dominion Glass Co.	Union Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America	Application for cert- ification of all employees
10 1969 June p. 391	Essex County Humane Society	Teamsters, Chauffers, Warehousemen & Helpers	Request by Company to exclude part time from a previously certified unit of all employees
11 1970 Sept. p. 655	B.F. Goodrich, Canada	United Rubber Workers of America	Request by Company to exclude part time from a previously certified unit of all employees
12 1971 March p. 135	Ian Douglas Ltd. (Dryden Dry Cleaners)	Retail Clerks International Union	Application for separate full time and part time units
13 1969 March p. 1341	Inland Publishing Co.	Lithographers and Photoengravers International Union	Request by Company to exclude sales, office, part time and student employees
14 1973 August p. 420	International Nickel Company of Canada	United Steelworkers of America	Request for decision on previous request by Company for exclusion of part timers
15 1974 Dec. p. 895	Manitouwadge General Hospital	Service Employees Union	Application for part time employees unit

OLRB REPORT NO.	RESPONDENT COMPANY	APPLICANT (UNION) AND OTHER PARTIES	REASON FOR BOARD HEARING
16 1974 Oct. p. 755	MacDonald's Restau- rant of Canada	Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union	Hearing on request for certification of all employees
17 1971 May p. 263	Port Hope Ready Mix Co.	Ready Mix Drivers and Teamsters	Application for cert- ification of all employees
18 1974 Sept. p. 589	Richmond Inn	International Beverage Dispensers and Bartenders Union	Application for cert- ification for all employees
19 1973 Feb. p. 97	St. Josephs Hospital London	Association of Nurses, St. Josephs Hospital	Application for in- clusion of casual employees previously excluded in part time unit
20 1973 March p. 127	Sprucedale Lumber Co.	Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union Local 2995	Application for cert- ification of all employees - 2nd hearing
21 1973 Aug. p. 425	Strathmer Lodge Middlesex County Home for the Aged	District Building Service Workers Union Local 220	Group of employees (6 graduate nurses) object- ing to inclusion in part time unit
22 1971 May p. 270	Tradewoods Manor Nursing Home	C.U.P.E.	Application for cert- ification of all employees

OLRB REPORT NO.	RESPONDENT (COMPANY)	APPLICANT (UNION) AND OTHER PARTIES	REASON FOR BOARD HEARING
23 1973 Oct. p. 552	Trillium Recreational Vehicles	United Electrical Workers	Request for Company for exclusion of part time employees and students in a hearing for application for certification of all employees
24 1973 March p. 179	Vermillion Bay Co-op	Retail Clerks International Union	Application for a part time unit
25 1971 Oct. p. 632	Wells Fargo Armoured Express	Teamsters Local 91	Application for cert- ification of all employees
26 1969 Feb. p. 1225	Weiner Electric Ltd.	Union Steelworkers of America	Application for cert- ification of all employees
27 1973 Dec. p. 647	Wilson-Munroe Co. Ltd.	United Paperworkers Union v. Group of Employees (objectors)	Application for cert- ification of all employees
28 1973 March p. 161	Children's Aid Society of Sault Ste Marie	District of Algoma and Federation of Children's Aid Staff	Application for part time unit
29 1973 May p. 287	MacDonald's Rest- aurant of Canada	Hotel and Restaurant Union and group of Employees	Hearing in an applica- tion for all employees (see also case no. 16)
30 1974 Oct. p. 694	Niagara Regional Health Unit	Health Sciences Association of Niagara Falls	Application for cert- ification of all employees

APPENDIX V

EXAMPLE OF LETTERS

October 12, 1976

To all
Provincial Department of Labour.

Dear Sir or Madam:

I am engaged in some research on part time work. My interest is that it is an increasing phenomenon and the focus of the study is the implications of this for women.

I am interested in part time work on a regular and continuous basis, as well as temporary part time employment. Alternative work schedules, such as the compressed work week and flexitime are beyond the scope of the study as neither consist in shorter than normal hours of work.

As part of this study I am contacting each provincial Department of Labour, and would be grateful if you would assist me with the following information:

1. Information regarding government legislation and policies affecting part time work in your province.
2. Information regarding any major studies or pilot projects in your province.
3. Any comments you would be willing to make about the trends in part time work in your province.

I would be very grateful if you can be of help to me.

With thanks in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,

bv

28th November 1976

To all Provincial Federations of Labour

Dear Sir or Madam:

I am engaged in some research on part time work. My interest is that it is an increasing phenomenon and the focus of the study is the implication of this for women.

I am interested in part time work on a regular and continuous basis, as well as temporary part time employment. Alternative work schedules, such as the compressed work week and flexitime, are beyond the scope of this study as neither consist in shorter than normal hours of work.

It is my concern to try to clarify the way in which the various groups concerned with part time work discuss the topic: government, business and trade unions. I am hoping to present a clear and sympathetic understanding of trade union attitudes to and problems with part time work. As part of this attempt, I am contacting each provincial Federation of Labour, and would be grateful if you would assist me with the following information:

1. Could you identify the problems, if any, related to part time employment which have concerned your Federation and/or its affiliates?
2. Does your Federation and/or any of its affiliates have a policy about part time work?
3. In their applications to the Labour Relations Board, do your affiliated unions ask for the inclusion of part time workers?
4. What action have you and/or your affiliates taken on the problems identified in response to Question 1?
 - a. Have there been any attempts to deal with these problems by legislation?
 - b. How have these problems been handled in labour contracts?
 - c. Other ways?
5. Could you refer me to any studies about trade union attitudes to or experience with part time work?

I hope that you can be of assistance to me, and would be very grateful if I could have your reply before Christmas.

Best wishes in the work of your Federation.

Yours faithfully,

Note: The questions listed were also used in interviews with union representatives.

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