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PART-TIME WORKERS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN INTERNAL LABOUR MARKETS*

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Working Paper No. 277

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Part-time workers are becoming an important segment of the labour force in Canada (Zeytinoglu, 1987; Labour Canada, 1983; Neubourg, 1985). Labour Force Surveys of Statistics Canada reveal that part-time workers comprised 3.8 percent of employment in 1953 and this figure increased to 19 percent in 1984. The increase in the number of part-time workers and the concerns for their employment conditions, stimulated discussions on this specific segment of the labour force in recent years, in the industrial relations, sociology, human resource management, women's studies and labour economics literature (see, for example, Neubourg, 1985; Ichniowski and Preston, 1985; Labour Canada, 1985; Labour Canada, 1986; Wallace, 1986; Labour Canada, 1983; Osterman, 1984b; Simpson, 1986; White, 1983). Despite such an interest on the topic, only a few studies exist on the unionized part-timers (White, 1983; Zeytinoglu, 1987).

I am indebted to Harish Jain, Joe Rose, Duncan Campbell and Roy Adams for their comments on an earlier version of this paper. This study was funded by the Arts Research Board, McMaster University.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the unionization and collective bargaining activity of part-time workers in Canada based on the internal labour market (ILM) theory of labour economics. This is a macro-level analysis of the dual employment systems in ILMs in Canada. In the following sections, first I will discuss the internal labour market theory (ILM), present the propositions of the study, define of part-time worker and explain the data. Then, I will examine the ILMs in each occupation, the extent of unionization among part-time and full-time workers and the achievements for part-timers in wages and benefits when they are covered by collective agreements.

Primary and Secondary Systems in Internal Labour Markets

Research on the segmented labour markets discuss the existence of dual employment structures in labour markets. The dual labour market (DLM) theory divides the market into two sectors based on the quality of occupations and the mobility between occupational groupings (Cain, 1976; Osterman, 1975; Gordon, Edwards and Reich, 1982). High-paying, stable, skilled and/or unionized jobs fall in primary market and low-paying, unskilled, unstable and unorganized jobs are in the secondary market (Wachter, 1974).

The internal labour market (ILM) theory is an extension of the DLM theory, focusing on the employment structures in firms. The ILM theory of Doeringer and Piore (1971) and the empirical studies based on that (see, for

example, Edwards, 1979; Harrison, 1972; Osterman, 1984a) argue that large, well organized firms creates ILMs by choosing a primary group of workers, investing in them and fostering their attachment to the firm. Entrance to the firm (and to the ILM) is restricted to the ports of entry and vacancies are filled by promotion from within the ranks of current employees. These workers receive regular wage increases and have job security (Carter and Carter, 1985).

While the ILMs emerge as a result of the employers' deliberate attempt to control the workforce (Silver, 1970; Stone, 1975; Reich, 1971), the unions also contribute to the development of the ILMs. Osterman (1984a) notes that the process of unionization speeds up and formalizes the ILM in a firm.

The revised ILM theory (Osterman, 1987, 1982, 1984b) holds that there can be several employment subsystems in ILMs. Some workers work in the "industrial", "salaried" or "craft" subsystems and others in "secondary" subsystems.

Jain and Sloane (1981) also note that large firms may segment their operations in such a way that they create a well developed ILM for a certain group of employees and a secondary market for a clearly differentiated group of employees. Osterman (1984b) gives many part-time and adjunct professors in universities as examples of employees working under secondary conditions despite their high qualifications (which is clearly demonstrated by their possessions of a Ph.D. degree). Although these faculty may receive a high salary, they work without job security in unpromotable positions.

In the discussion here, primary market is used to describe the working conditions in which the workers are unionized and have a high-paying and

relatively stable and secure jobs. Most of these jobs are occupied by fulltime workers. The secondary market includes low-paying, insecure and/or unorganized jobs.

The propositions presented here apply Osterman's revised ILM theory (1987, 1984b, 1982) to the specific question of interest in this paper. Do part-time workers work in the secondary system? Does unionization and collective bargaining improve their working conditions in comparison to nonunion workers and move them to the primary system of the ILM?

The specific hypotheses to be tested in this study are the following:

Hypothesis 1: Firms with ILMs create dual employment systems in each occupational group where full-time workers work in primary market conditions and part-timers in secondary market conditions.

This general hypothesis can be further refined to focus on the specific employment characteristics generally associated with the ILMs, such as high pay, job security, on-the-job training, promotion from within and unionization. Due to the limitations of the available macro-level data, our propositions will focus on only three of those characteristics: wages and benefits, job security and unionization. The secondary propositions are:

Hypothesis 1(a): Part-time workers in the same occupational group receive lower wages than full-timers. However, unionization increases the wages of part-timers and provides full or pro-rated benefits.

Hypothesis 1(b): Fart-time workers lack job security in comparison to full-timers. Unionization improves the job security of part-timers over nonunion part-timers.

Hypothesis 2: Among part-time workers, particularly part-time professionals resist the existence of the secondary employment conditions in their occupational group (Crozier, 1964) and join unions in order to receive the same benefits of unionization as full-timers (Osterman, 1982).

Hypothesis 3: The secondary market consists predominately of female workers.

Data and the Definition of Part-Time Work

The data were compiled from two special surveys conducted by Statistics Canada in 1981 and 1984, and a list of collective agreement provisions covering part-time and full-time workers provided by Labour Canada.

The Survey of Union Membership (SUM) conducted by Statistics Canada was appended to the December 1984 Labour Force Survey. It contains data for three groups - those employed in the December 1984 reference week, those who had a job in the reference week but were not at work because of a layoff, and all others who worked at a paid job sometime in 1984. The Survey of 1981 Work History (SWH) presents data for three slightly different groups² - those employed in the month of December 1981, those not working in December 1981 because they were laid off or "lost" their job, and all others not working in December 1981 but worked at a paid job sometime in 1981. These two surveys are designed to allow estimation of union membership and hourly wage for unionized and non-unionized workers. These are the only data sources that provide information on the unionization of part-timers.

The data on benefits provided in collective agreements for both part-time and full-time workers were obtained from Labour Canada collective agreements files. The Listing of Part-Time Provisions, All Canada, All Industries, 1984 and 1981, is an unpublished data consisting of major collective agreements with a coverage of 500 or more workers. Although this data eliminates small workplaces, it is the major source on collective agreements in all provinces and in all industries.

The definition of part-time worker used in this study is the one adopted by Statistics Canada which considers those who work less than 30 hours per week to be part-time workers. While this definition has the limitation of excluding those who work more than 30 hours whether or not they consider themselves part-time workers, it includes all those who work part-time on a regular basis in a work week (permanent part-time) as well as those that are casual (temporary) or seasonal workers.

The ILMs in Each Occupational Group and the Gender Differences

Our analysis of the dual employment systems will start with an examination of the extent of part-time work based on occupation and gender.

As displayed in Table 1, a majority of part-time workers are in service, sales and clerical occupations where full-time as well as part-time jobs are in the secondary market. The percentage of part-time workers in these occupations range between 22 and 33 percent in 1981, increasing to between 23 and 36 percent in 1984.

Table 1 indicates that part-time employment takes a substantial percentage of the labour market not only in the secondary market but also in the occupations which are in the primary market, such as the managerial and

professional, processing, materials handling and transportation jobs. For example, 19 percent and 18 percent of the part-time workers in materials handling jobs and 15 percent and 13 percent of management and professional jobs were part-time in 1981 and 1984, respectively. Furthermore, a majority of those part-time positions in the managerial and professional occupational group, are in the two predominately female professions of nursing and education. Since 1980, job creation in these jobs was mostly in part-time positions (CNA, 1981; CTF, 1981). Although not shown here, the data indicates that in 1984, 27 percent of the professionals in the medical occupations and 22 percent of the teachers were working part-time.

Examination of part-time workers based on gender shows that part-time workers are predominately female, who are generally over 35 years old with dependent children. Men working part-time tend to be young and/or students or older men reaching their retirement age (Labour Canada, 1983). In 1984, 71 percent of all part-time workers were female. An analysis of the female/male distribution of part-timers in 1984 discloses that part-time workers are concentrated in the secondary market within the typical female jobs. For example, 90 percent of part-time clerical jobs, 68 percent of part-time sales jobs and 50 percent of part-time service jobs are occupied with females. Even in the primary market occupations of managerial and professional jobs, females dominate the part-time group (80 of the part-timers are female in this group).

The Extent of Unionization

Expansion of part-time jobs since the 1970s and the persistence of those jobs positively influenced the unions' organizing activity (Zeytinoglu In 1984, 16 percent of part-time workers were organized. figure is, however, only half of full-time workers' unionization rate. As Table 2 displays, unionization rate of part-timers is less then full-timers in all occupational groups with the exception of managerial and professional workers who have a comparable rate of unionization. Part-time unionization is almost half of full-time unionization in clerical jobs and one third in service jobs where majority of part-timers are employed. Unionization among part-timers is quite low in sales which also tends to have a very low rate of unionization among full-time workers. Heavily unionized occupations such as processing, materials handling and transportation, dominated by males, do not have many part-time workers. However, approximately one third of those working part-time are organized within unions. Among the highly unionized skilled jobs, construction is the only group which has a very low percentage of part-timers and a low unionization rate.

A closer look at the occupations listed under managerial and professional jobs based on the same data set but not presented here shows that in 1984 approximately 58 percent of part-time nurses and health care workers, and 43 percent of the teachers working part-time were organized.

Overall, Table 2 indicates that, as it was proposed earlier, employers create dual employment systems for full-time and part-time workers in each occupation, but unions challenge this dual system by organizing both groups of workers. Within part-time workers, however, there is also a distinction in terms of unionization. Part-timers in primary market occupations are

highly unionized in comparison to secondary occupations. Consequently, part-time and full-time workers in the secondary occupations (of sales, services and clerical jobs) continue to be placed in the secondary market without enjoying the benefits of the ILMs. Therefore, data in Table 2 present that secondary workers whether or not they work as part-timers, continue to be placed in the secondary system. Unionized clerical workers in large supermarkets and department stores are the only exceptions to this tentative conclusion.

In line with the hypothesis 2, Table 2 shows that professionals have a high unionization rate; and as Table 3 displays, when they are unionized they receive the same or similar wages as full-timers. The data, however, does not help us to conclude if part-time workers, particularly professionals, resist their secondary positions in the organizations and join unions, or if the unions are interested in organizing these workers because these skilled workers are easier to organize or because the legislation, particularly, public sector legislation, eases the organizing activity. One can only speculate here that possibly a combination of these factors contribute to their high rate of unionization.

Worker Achievements Under Collective Bargaining

We now turn our discussion of part-timers in the primary and secondary employment systems to focus on the three employment characteristics generally associated with the ILMs. We will first analyze the wages of full-timers and part-timers and the impact of the unionization on wages. We will also discuss the benefits provided to part-timers in collective

agreements. Lastly, we will examine job security of part-timers based on layoff and unemployment figures.

Wages.

A comparison of hourly wages for full-time and part-time unionized and non-union workers are presented in Table 3. As it was hypothesized in each occupational group part-time workers receive lower wages than full-time workers. However their wages increase substantially if they are unionized. In 1981 and 1984 with the exception of sales and professional jobs, unionized part-time workers earned higher wages than nonunion full-time and part-time workers, confirming the hypothesis that unionization would improve the wages.

As Table 3 displays, on the average, in 1981 and 1984 a unionized part-timer earned 99 and 87 percent, respectively, of unionized full-time worker's wage. The average wage of unionized part-timers is comparable to the average wage of unionized full-timers in each occupational group, particularly in the managerial and professional, clerical and materials handling jobs.

In comparison nonunion part-time workers, unionized part-timers earned approximately 54 and 83 percent more in 1981 and 1984, respectively. The increase in wages ranged between 15 percent (in managerial and professional unionized part-time workers in 1981), and 99 percent (in materials handling occupations in 1984). In a study on part-time pay Simpson (1986) reached the similar conclusion that there is a striking difference in wages for union and nonunion part-time workers.

A closer examination of wages within the managerial and professional group (which has a comparable rate of unionization within part-time and full-time occupations) reveals that in 1984 a unionized part-time nurse earned 18 percent more than a non_union part-time, and a unionized part-time teacher earned 49 percent more than a non-unionized teacher. The relative wage advantage for these occupational groups is approximately 34 percent over non-unionized professionals.

Benefits for Part-Timers in Collective Agreements.

Unions were also successful in negotiating some benefits for part-timers. An examination of collective agreements put into effect in 1981 and in 1984 (in Tables 4, 5 and 7) shows that and appeared percent of the agreements, respectively, provide some type of health and welfare, sick leave, vacation, holidays, pensions and/or seniority benefits for part-time workers.

Of the 916 agreements signed in 1981 and 874 agreements signed in 1984 29 covering 500 or more workers, 22 and percent, respectively, provided health and welfare, sick leave and/or pension benefits to part-timers paid on the same basis as full-time workers or on a pro-rated basis. The same agreements also have provisions on vacation and holiday benefits for part-time workers. In 1981 and 1984, 24 and 28 percent of the agreements, respectively, had pro-rated vacation and holiday benefits for part-timers (See Tables 4 and 5).

Job Security.

One of the major characteristics of the ILMs is the separate promotion, layoff and dismissal policies for primary and secondary workers. In her study on part-time work Weeks (1984) notes that employers use part-time workers as a reserve army to call in whenever there is a need. Mangum, Mayall and Nelson (1985) and Osterman (1984b) reached the similar conclusion that part-timers are used for flexibility reasons without any committment of the firm to these workers. The comparison of job security between part-timers and full-time workers in Tables 6 and 7 indicate similar results.

Table 6 displays the aggregate data on part-time and full-time workers and their job security. The data enables us to separate currently employed group from the ones on layoff and unemployed. The analysis of the data reveals two things: first, non-union part-timers are the worst off in terms of the probability of being unemployed or layed off in comparison to all other groups of workers. The percentage of part-timers who are on layoff or unemployed was approximately 23 and 30 percent, in 1981 and 1984, Second, respectively. A Unionization improved the chances of part-time workers to have a continuous employment. Again for both years, only 16 percent and 17 percent of unionized part-timers were out of work.

Table 7 shows the percentage of collective agreements providing seniority and severance benefits to part-timers. Unions were the least successful in negotiating seniority benefits for their part-time working members. The provisions in the agreements generally provide seniority benefits to part-timers within their own group or on a calendar year basis. This results in some injustices because in promotion and layoffs, a

permanent part-timer who has been with the firm for a long time is considered less senior than a person hired after him/her on a full-time basis. Casual workers are almost always excluded from the seniority provisions. As a result, unionization brings some job security to permanent part-timers in layoffs but almost none to casual part-time workers. Full-time workers in the same occupational group, however, enjoy the full protection of unionization in promotion, layoff and recall rights. Data (in Table 7) reveal that only 9 percent of the agreements in 1981 and 13 percent in 1984 had a severance benefit and seniority provision on promotion, layoff and/or severance benefits.

In summary, data proves the proposition (Hypothesis 1(b)) that parttime workers lack job security in comparison to full-timers, but they improve their secondary conditions substantially when they join unions.

Conclusions

The findings of this study illustrate the existence of dual employment systems in ILMs based on Canadian data. Our results are, however, tentative because it is based on the aggregate level data to explain firm level changes. More empirical research in contemporary internal labour markets theory is necessary to confirm the findings of this study.

As it was proposed at the outset of the paper, we found that a dual employment structure was common in all occupations, where full-timers worked in the primary market and part-timers were confined to the secondary market. Part-time workers, who are predominantly female, were clustered in the secondary occupations of sales, service and clerical occupations. A majority of the employees in these occupations were nonunion and received

wages much lower than full-timers. Within part-time workers, the ones working in heavily unionized industries of processing, materials handling and transportation, and the ones who are skilled labor, such as nurses, health care professionals and teachers, were more likely to be organized. This finding is consistent with Crozier (1964) and Osterman's (1984b) predictions that skilled workers who are limited to secondary jobs within the same firm would form or join unions.

The most striking finding of the study is the influence of the unions on wages and benefits of part-timers. As it was proposed, we found that in each occupational group part-timers received lower wages than full-timers. However, their wages increased substantially when they were unionized. In addition, unionization also provided some pro-rated benefits to part-timers.

Analysis of the data on the currently employed and unemployed workers also showed that as it was predicted there was a high correlation between working full-time and job security. Unemployment was the highest in nonunion part-time workforce, followed by nonunion full-time and unionized part-time workers, confirming the proposition that part-timers work in the secondary market but unionization ensures a relative job security for those workers.

Overall, we can tentatively conclude that although unionization increases the wages and benefits of part-timers improving their place within the internal labor market, it does not eliminate the secondary subsystems within firms and occupations. Part-time workers, whether union members or not, continue to be employed in secondary market conditions providing the flexibility and relatively low labor costs for the employers.

Table 1: Percentage Distribution of Full-Time and Part-Time Employment by Occupation, 1981 and 1984 (Columns 1 and 2 for each year sum to 100 percent)

Occupation	1983	L	1984		
	Full- Time (1)	Part- Time (2)	Full- Time (1)	Part- Time (2)	
Managerial and Professional	85	15	87	13	
Clerical	78	22	67	23	
Sales	72	28	64	36	
Service	67	33	65	35	
Primary Occupations	80	20	84	16	
Processing	95	5	95	5	
Construction	95	5	93	7	
Transportation	88	12	89	11	
Materials Handling	821	19	82	18	
Total	82	18	81	19	

^{*} Includes all those who are currently employed, who are on layoff and unemployed.

Sources: Statistics Canada, <u>Survey of 1981 Work History</u>. Special Surveys; Statistics Canada, <u>Survey of Union Membership</u>, 1984, Special Surveys.

Table 2: Union Membership by Full-Time and Part-Time Employment and Occupation, 1981 and 1984

	.	1981		.984
Occupation	Full-ti	of Unionized me, Part-Time, es Employees	Full-Time Employees	
Managerial and Professional	40	38	38	39
Clerical	31	13	32	15
Sales	10	5	.10	5
Service	31	9	31	11
Primary	24	6	24	3
Processing	51	17	49	14
Construction	48	14	52	1
Transportation	50	21	46	17
Materials Handling	52	18	52	15
TOTAL	38	16	38	16

Includes all those who are currently employed, who are on layoff and unemployed.

Sources: Statistics Canada, <u>Survey of Union Membership</u>, 1984, Special Surveys; Statistics Canada, <u>Survey of 1981 Work History</u>, Special Surveys.

Table 3: Comparison of Wages (Hourly Wages in \$)

		198	31			198	4	
Occupation	Unionized Full-Time Workers	Unionized Part-Time Workers	Nonunion Full-Time Workers	Nonunion Part-Time Workers	Unionized Full-Time Workers	Unionized Part-Time Workers	Nonunion Full-Time Workers	Nonunion Part-Time Workers
Managerial and								
Professional	11.18	11.11	11.13	9.65	14.05	12.79	11.71	8.57
Clerical	8.29	7.80	6.85	6.36	10.68	9.66	7.95	6.43
Sales	8.60	7.07	7.47	5.61	11.41	8.35	8.46	5.25
Service	8.09	7.68	5.94	4.55	10.00	7.60	5.75	4.68
Primary	9.88	7.06	6.66	5.23	12.36	8.00	7.34	4.80
Processing	8.33	7.84	7.40	6.19	11.55	9,74	8.54	5.71
Construction	10.60	10.59	8.66	7.42	13.85	10.07	9.06	5.96
Transportation	9.38	8.59	7.85	7.29	12.49	10.46	9.02	7.20
Materials								
Handling	8.94	8.16	7.28	5.58	11.64	10.82	8.35	5.43
Average	9.65	9.51	8.23	6.16	12.27	10.68	9.17	5.84

Sources: Statistics Canada. <u>Survey of Union Membership, 1984</u>, Special Surveys; Statistics Canada. <u>Survey of 1981 Work History</u>, Special Surveys.

Table 4: Collective Agreements* Providing Health and Welfare,
Sick Leave and Pension Plans to Part-time Workers,
1981 and 1984

Collective Agreement Provision	1981		<u>198</u> 4	
	% of Agreements	% of Workers	% of Agreements	% of Workers
Health and Welfare Benefits	2.5	1.7	3.0	3.7
Sick Leave Benefits	5.0	8.0	7.0	11.2
Pension Benefits	0.9	0.8	1.0	0.6
Both Health and Welfare and Sick Leave Benefits	7.8	15.6	12.9	24.2
Both Health and Welfare and Pension Benefits	0.6	0.9	0.8	1.1
Both Sick Leave and Pension Benefits	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1
Health and Welfare, Pension and Sick Leave Benefits	4.2	6.7	3.7	6.7
No Provision	78.3	65.8	71.0	52.1

 $[\]boldsymbol{\ast}$ Data includes collective agreements with a coverage of 500 or more workers.

Source: Compiled by Labour Canada, <u>Listing - Part-time Provisions</u>, Unpublished Data.

Table 5: Collective Agreements* Providing Vacations and Holiday Benefits
To Part-Time Workers, 1981 and 1984

	19	981	1984		
Collective Agreement	% of Agreements	% of Workers	% of Agreements	% of Workers	
Pro-Rated Vacation	5.3	5.9	3.8	3.2	
Pro-Rated Statutory Holidays	1.3	2.3	1.6	2.8	
Both Pro-Rated Vacation Paid Statutory Holiday		27.4	21.6	37.9	
No Provision	76.4	64.2	72.8	55.9	

^{*} Date includes collective agreements with a coverage of 500 or more workers.

Source: Compiled by Labour Canada, <u>Listing - Part-time Provisions</u>, Unpublished Data.

Table 6
Comparions of Job Security of Full-Time and Part-Time Workers, 1981 and 1984 (In Percentages)

		1981	1			1984	3 4	
	Unionized Full-Time Workers	Unionized Part-Time Workers	Nonunion Full-Time Workers	Nonunion Part-Time Workers	Unionized Full-Time Workers	Unionized Part-Time Workers	Nonunion Full-Time Workers	Nonunio Part-Ti Workers
Currently Employed	89	84	81	77	90	83	81	70
Layoff	4	7	8	Ø	1	*	*	*
Unemployed	7	ø	11	15	9	17	19	30
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total 3 (in #)	3,529,848	323,089	5,855,901	1,731,086	3,518,641	348,665	5,759,124	1,785,4
					:			

The number is too small to provide a reliable estimate.

Sources: Statistics Canada, <u>Survey of 1981 Work History</u>, Special Surveys; Statistics Canada, <u>Survey of Union Membership, 1984</u>, Special Surveys.

Table 7: Collective Agreements* Providing Seniority and Severance Benefits To Part-Time Workers, 1981 and 1984

Collective Agreement Provision	1981		1984	
	% of Agreements	% of Workers	% of Agreements	% of Workers
Seniority on Promotion	0.3	4	0.6	1.3
Seniority on Lay-off	2.0	3.9	3.2	5.7
Severance Benefits	0.4	1.2	3.0	3.8
Seniority on Promotion and and Lay-off	4.3	5.8	5.0	8.2
Seniority on Lay-off and Severance benefits	0.5	0.8	0.8	1.0
Seniority on Promotion, on Lay-off and Severance Benefits	0.7	0.9	1.1	1.3
No Provision	91.4	85.9	87.0	78.3

 $[\]star$ Data includes collective agreements with a coverage of 500 cr more workers.

Source: Compiled by Labour Canada, <u>Listing - Part-time Provisions</u>, Unpublished data.

FOOTNOTES

- The definition of these subsystems is different than the traditionally used terms in the industrial relations literature. For the definitions, see, Osterman (1987, 1982). Osterman's industrial, craft and salaried subsystems have characteristics similar to the primary market of the DLM.
- Occupation variables used in each survey slightly vary from one to the other. The SWH variable is based on the 1971 Classification scheme and the SUM on the 1980 scheme. For more on the description of the occupational classification and the changes see, The Labour Force, January 1984, Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, February 1984.
- For more on these surveys, see the Appendix in <u>The Labour Force</u>, <u>December 1985</u>, Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 70-001; <u>Methodology of the Canadian Labour Force Survey 1971</u>, Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 71-526. The Special Surveys Division of Statistics Canada can also provide information.
- The author can provide more detailed information on the data to interested readers upon request.
- For a discussion on the occupational composition of labour force segments and the upper and lower tiers of the primary market, see Osterman (1975) and Meng (1985).
- Professional and managerial occupations include managerial and administrative positions, jobs in natural science, social science, religion, teaching, medicine and artistic professions.
- 7 This is a gross wage differential between full-time and part-time workers. It does not measure pure unionization effect nor does it compare wages of full-time and part-time workers who have identical characteristics.

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