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**Part-Time Labour in Canada From 1955 to 1987
Analysis of Conventional and Modified Definitions
and Theoretical Considerations.**

Emile Turcotte

**A Thesis
in The Department
of
Sociology**

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada**

April 1989

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ISBN 0-315-49050-0

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ABSTRACT

Part-Time Labour in Canada From 1955 to 1987 Analysis of Conventional and Modified Sampling Methods and Theoretical Considerations

Emile Turcotte

Data from Statistics Canada are used to plot and assess various trends in part-time employment. This thesis argues that a more refined definition of part-time employment contributes to a better understanding of these trends than the definitions used by Labour Canada.

After demonstrating the effects of the definitional models on the data, a feminist and a segmentation approach to labour market theory are assessed in an effort to offer an explanation for both (a) the shift in the aggregate composition of work-time among the components of "short-time", "full-time" and "over-time" and (b) the role of female workers in this shift.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank Gerald Dewey for providing me with helpful advice. I appreciate his willingness to work with me regardless of time restraints which I imposed upon him. Also, Bill Reimer's help for this, my thesis work, as well as for a variety of academic problems is most appreciated. His calm patience and reliability has served to make these last five years highly productive.

I have also had the opportunity to work with and learn from Joseph Smucker. Throughout the course of my undergraduate and graduate program, professor Smucker has always been available to help and advise me. I deeply appreciate the time, effort and encouragement which he has invested in my intellectual development. His great knowledge, experience and teaching ability has served to greatly enrich the value of my education at Concordia.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mother and sister Louise who have made my return to school possible while enduring me throughout. Also, Kim for her support and understanding.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this essay is to discuss issues dealing with trends in part-time work. In doing so it will also deal with a more basic issue, namely the question of voluntarism in labour market behaviour. The focus of the inquiry implicates directly the activities of women in the labour market.

The plan of this essay is divided in two parts. First; in "part-one", I will review the data available from Statistics Canada which are relevant to part-time work. The purpose here is to redefine and compute the percentages of part-time work in Canada from 1955 to 1987. Here we answer the question; what is part-time work? Based upon this review we will find that Statistics Canada's data underestimate the proportions of part-time workers within the labour market.

Having established a new statistical tabulation of part-time work in Canada I will assess theoretical issues which deal with the implications of part-time work. Here, in "part-two" of the text, I consider two specifically "structural" (macro) theoretical frameworks. These are, the feminist view of the "reserve army of labour", and the "labour market segmentation" approach. I will then contrast these positions to the "modified segmentation"

approach of Charles Sabel. This "modified segmentation" theory addresses the problem of labour market voluntarism and is rooted within a "micro" perception of the economy and society.

PART ONE: PART-TIME DATA

Objectives:

What constitutes "part-time" work in Canada? What is a "part-time" worker? The purpose of this first part is twofold. First, we will look into some of the definitions which we can work from, that is, those of Statistics Canada and, the many definitions outlined in the Commission of Inquiry Into Part-Time Work (Wallace, 1983). Second, based upon the definitional modifications which are proposed within this text, we shall consider the variations in part-time work estimations which result as a consequence of our modified definition.

A related objective of this text is to deal with the labour market as a three-part model as opposed to a dichotomous one. In other words, we shall not limit our perspective to a part and full-time view of the work force, but rather, to a consideration which also includes over-time as a statistical segment. This strategy will provide a greater depth of analysis to any conclusion which we can draw relative to part-time labour.

We now begin our analysis of part-time work by looking into the variety of samples which can be selected in order to identify the Canadian part-time workforce. We will first examine the Statistics Canada sampling base

which we shall term "traditional part-time". The following stage will involve our definition¹ of what constitutes part-time work. This "modified" sample selection which is suggested within this text will be referred to as the "short-time" category or model.

¹ "Defined" in terms of our sample selection. In this sense, the sample selection is the definition.

Chapter One: Definitions

Statistics Canada Definitions

The fundamental changes which are proposed in this section are motivated by the confusing and unspecified nature of the categorization schemes utilized by Statistics Canada (traditional part-time). The first contrasting element between the definition used by Statistics Canada and the one suggested here relates to the "subjective" and "objective" feature. Simply stated, Statistics Canada, in its traditional definition of full-time work, includes both individuals who work more than the definitional minimum of 30 hours per week and, those who work fewer than 30 hours but who consider themselves to be "full-time" workers.

This refers to the fact that in 1975 Statistics Canada began to accept the subjective perception of respondents as sufficient criterion for categorization in one or the other time-category (part-time or full-time). As a result, individuals who work 17 hours per week are classified as "full-time" if they consider themselves to be such. This represents a problem since this method does not allow for the identification of individuals which categorize themselves outside of normal Statistics Canada parameters, that is, using the 30 hour point of reference.

Our definition of part-time work will not consider "subjective" criteria for the inclusion of individuals in any of the "time-categories" listed within our model. The only method of categorization will be the objective perspective of "hours worked".

Having dealt with this basic distinction² we shall proceed with the elaboration of the definition used here. Basically, we will redefine the "part-time" category by focusing upon four elements of this group.

First, in contrast to Statistics Canada's sample, only paid-workers will be included within our definition. The goal here is to define "workers" as those who do so for the expressed purpose of obtaining economic returns. Second, individuals which are classified as "agricultural workers" will not be considered³. Part of the reason for

² "Basic distinction" because it is impossible to work with the Statistics Canada data by altering its composition since there have been no measures taken to allow for the identification of individuals who are classified "objectively" or "subjectively". As a result, any findings which show a difference between Statistics Canada's sample and the one outlined here must assume that an unknown part of the variation is due to Statistics Canada's sampling base and, as a result, it becomes impossible to "control" for this variable.

³ The main reason why we will not consider "agricultural workers" within our sample is due to the spectacular drop in the percentages of workers within this category caused by the increased productivity levels in "agriculture" as compared to the growth of the service sector:

excluding agricultural workers. has to do with the seasonal variations in work levels. Essentially, these "natural" fluctuations might distort some of the statistical results.

The third distinguishing feature of our definition/sample base relates to the maximum number of hours worked in order to be categorized as "part-time". What will, in fact, distinguish our perception of part-time work from Statistics Canada's view is that we shall maintain the maximum 35 hour limit throughout the period of time covered by this work (1955-1987). This means that individuals who worked fewer than 35 hours per week are, according to our method, classified as short-time workers.

This is also true of data found in Statistics Canada reports, however, this "upper limit" is modified in 1975. Consequently, Statistics Canada data concerning part-time work estimates prior to 1975 deal with individuals who worked fewer than 35 hours a week, and all data relative

Year	Primary Sector	Secondary Sector	Tertiary Sector
1951	23.3%	33.2%	43.5%
1986	6.4%*	22.6%	71.0%

*Percentage in agriculture alone: 1986: 4.0%
Source for year 1951 (Smucker, 1980:78)
Source for 1986 (Statistics Canada, 1955-87)

to part-time work since 1975 define the part-time worker as one who worked fewer than 30 hours per week.

We shall compare results which can be obtained when this contrast is maintained (30 versus 35 hours per week maximums) as well as when our data is adjusted to the 30 hour maximum. Doing so will demonstrate the impact which this modification (Statistics Canada's decision to change the upper limit) has had upon estimations of part-time work.

Fourth; workers which are "employed" who, nevertheless, worked "0" hours⁴ will be classified as "short-time". This is an important distinction from the traditional data on "part" and "full-time" since Statistics Canada does not consider "0" hours as part-time. As we will see, by making this distinction we will find that the traditional "part-time" classification is underestimated in terms of the proportion of workers belonging to the short-time group.

Having discussed the basic variations which we seek

⁴ These individuals are those who are associated with an employer while not having worked any amount of time during the week in question (at the time of the statistics Canada survey). The reasons for not having worked will vary between; illness, labour conflicts, vacation, bad weather, temporary layoff, and other reasons. (Statistics Canada, 1955-87)

to illustrate in this section, chart 1 (page 10) lists the different components of both definitions used and contrasted in this study. However, in order to add some perspective to any part-time (or as it should be termed in this case; "short-time") definition which we can invent, we will now consider some of the existing definitions which are utilized by various groups and agencies. Indeed, these definitions merely represent a portion of the variety of perspectives which currently seek to define the part-time worker.

Chart 1: Definitions Modifications

Statistics Canada Definition Of Part-Time Workers:

- Includes objective and subjective components
- Includes non-paid workers
- Includes agricultural workers
- Part-time definition shifts in 1975 to move from the 35 hours per week mark to 30 hours per week level
- Excludes individuals working "0" hours per week

Modified Definition Of Short-Time Workers:

- Excludes subjective components
- Excludes non-paid workers
- Excludes agricultural workers
- Part-time definition is consistent at the 35 hours per week mark and also adjusted to compare with Statistics Canada sample
- Includes individuals working "0" hours per week

Part-Time Work, Other Definitions:

An overview of studies dealing with the subject of "worktime" will reveal, at its most basic level, the

rudimentary classifications which are used by most analysts. What we will most likely find is a breakdown of "worker-types" who are identified as either "full-time" or "part-time". This practical method which is characterized by its simplicity, does nevertheless, conceal much definitional ambiguity. Simply said, it is useful to ask once more; what is a part-time worker?

As a result, before we may discuss issues dealing with part-time work or apply the definition⁵ which we planned above, we must review some basic interpretations of what part-time work can be, and as it must follow, how a part-time worker can be defined. Of course, attempting to group together large numbers of people will, inevitably, lead to inaccuracies.⁶ Obviously, most established parameters will exclude some individuals which should be included and, exclude some who should be considered. This is the problem which the Commission of Inquiry into Part-time Work faced. The report stated that;

The first priority of the Commission was to define a part-time worker. It was clear to the

⁵ To "apply the definition" by selecting which characteristics will be retained within the sample of workers selected to represent short-time work.

⁶ This is the problem which I try to ameliorate here. Of course, this is also the purpose of anyone or group attempting to deal with the issue. However, ours is not a presumption of perfection, but simply, a different perspective.

Commission that as long as different definitions, or categories of part-time workers exist, it would be impossible to ensure that all part-timers are treated equitably. (Wallace, 1983:22)

As a result of this stated ambition, the Commission recommended the following definition (This is the definition adopted by the Canada Labour Code):

A part-time worker is one who works less than the normally scheduled weekly or monthly hours of work established for persons doing similar work. (Wallace, 1983:22)

This definition was formulated in order to protect the greatest number of individuals by including as many of them as possible under the legislative umbrella of government, while maintaining enough conceptual ambiguity to allow for flexible descriptions of these different workers.⁷

However, by allowing for such an "indefinite" group to form a "category" the Commission report (and subsequently, the labour code's adoption of this

⁷ Indeed, the report states: "The Commission believes that this definition can provide the basis for legislative protection for the majority of part-time workers. At the same time, it will allow other government departments to adapt it to their own special purposes, such as the development of new labour standards. Similarly, private employers will be able to continue to use the variety of internal definitions which they have developed to suit their own needs." (Wallace, 1983:23).

description of a part-time worker) leaves analysts, and to a certain extent, legislators, without a firm understanding of what constitutes part-time work. We find that more specific Canadian definitions exist from other sources. As we find here for example; "Part-Time employment consists of all persons who usually work less than 30 hours per week" (Statistics Canada, 1955-87).

The Ontario Labour Relations Board definition also uses "hours" as a precise measure of what constitutes part-time work; "A part-time employee is one who works less than 24 hours per week" (Wallace, 1983:39).

Less specific references remain within other institutions. For example, the Employee Compensation Survey definition is as follows: "A part-time employee is a person who regularly works substantially fewer hours than the standard work week of the establishment. A casual employee is a person hired for discontinuous periods or on an irregular basis" (Statistics Canada, 1978).

So far, we have reviewed some of the definitions of part-time work which seek to contrast it to full-time employment. In this vein, the "maximum" number of hours worked, per week, is defined as the level of

differentiation between part and full-time employment. However, what we must also consider is the "minimum" number of hours worked per week, that is, what can be admissible as the minimal amount of work each week? In other words, should a person working two hours a week (these would be called, according to the Report on Part-time Work, "Casual" or "Contingent" part-time employees)⁸ be considered at all within statistics dealing with work in general?⁹

One method of estimating the "minimum limits" of what is the smallest number of hours required to be considered as a "part-time" worker (or simply a "worker") involves the requisites needed for unemployment benefits. If one is to benefit from UI payments during times of unemployment, there are specific objectives which must be met;

⁸ The complete definition used in the Report is as follows: "Casual or contingent part-time employees are employed on an "on-call" basis when required. Their hours may vary from only a few hours per week to almost full-time, depending upon the requirements of their employer." (Wallace, 1983:37).

⁹ An article from Statistics Canada reveals that consideration was given to the statistical elimination of workers who spend few hours working each week. The rationale for this discussion had to do with the inclusion or exclusion of these individuals who work few hours each week within the tabulations of unemployment rates. The base number of hours proposed was set at 5 hours per week. At this point, the recommendations from this article have not been implemented. (Statistics Canada, 1955-87).

Of all part-time workers who work during an average week, at least 40 per cent work less than 15 hours and thus do not have insurable earnings to qualify for Unemployment Insurance for that week's work. (Wallace, 1983:21-22)

This means that for all useful purposes (at least useful for the worker), an individual must work a minimum of 15 hours per week in order to benefit from the protection of unemployment insurance. This specific requirement (15 hours per week) is contrary to the objectives of including the maximum number of individuals within the broad definitions arrived at by the Commission on part-time work. As it is mentioned in the Commission's text, 40 per cent work fewer than 15 hours per week which constitutes a large minority of all those who work part-time.

This 15 hour per week mark is also the minimum level of work needed if one is to qualify for the "Canadian Pension Plan/Québec Pension Plan" (CPP/QPP). Individuals who work fewer than this amount of hours do not contribute to such insurance plans and, therefore, cannot benefit from the security which they provide (Wallace, 1983:157). Once more, for practical purposes, the 15 hour work week limit is an important one, one which the Commission of Inquiry Into Part-Time Work seems to have neglected. We could conclude that by strict "economic" measure, the

minimum number of hours required to be considered as, at least, a part-time worker is the fifteen hour mark.

However, for the purpose of statistical categorization, Statistics Canada uses the "less than 30 hours per week" level as the "upper" or "maximum" limit of what is defined as traditional¹⁰ part-time work (there are no "minimum" limits, that is, a person working 1 hour a week is considered as a part-time worker)..

Nevertheless, while Statistics Canada includes those who work "1" hour per week within the tabulations of part-time work, those (employed individuals) working "0" hours are excluded. As mentioned above, I will incorporate within the short-time category/sample those people who, while being "employed", worked "0" hours during the reference week of the investigation.¹¹

It is important to include employed individuals with "0" hours work because this represents another facet of short-time work. Indeed, as with every other "time-category" outlined in tables 3a and 3b (pages 31 and 32),

¹⁰ The term "traditional part-time" is used to identify the sample base used by Statistics Canada in defining part-time.

¹¹ These data have been tabulated from results of Statistics Canada sources (Statistics Canada, 1955-87).

these percentages represent the yearly average of individuals within each segment at anytime during the course of a year. Therefore, as we can see from table 3a, in 1987 the average percentage of employed males working "0" hours was 7.1 per cent. This 7.1 per cent simply illustrates the average number of males within this category for the year 1987. Moreover, these individual who reported "0" hours worked during the reference week did not necessarily remain within this group for a second week, however, the same is also true for those who reported 45 hours work during the same reference week. It must logically follow that all "employed" individuals must be tabulated within the data.

Also, employed individuals reporting "0" hours of work during the reference week will have, in many cases, been the victims of, or will have contributed to, labour conflicts. In other words, they will have either chosen to reduce their amount of work or, circumstances will have forced them to reduce (in this case reduce to zero) their labour time. The point is that if we do not take into account the level of "voluntarism" involved in the individual's decision to work, for example, 30 instead of 35 hours per week, we cannot apply a different "rule" for those who work "0" instead of 5 hours. Basically, as long as the individual classifies him/herself as employed,

every category of "hours worked", including the "0" hours category, must be tabulated and considered within the computations of part/short-time work.

Beyond A Dichotomous Model; Hours Worked

As we have discussed earlier, one of the most obstructive problems inherent to the "part/full-time" definitions of Statistics Canada is the inclusion of "subjective criteria". This method only becomes "obstructive" once we realize that the individual's response cannot be woven out of the aggregated data. Indeed, the results tabulated incorporate within a single category those who, for example, classify themselves as full-time workers while working 20 hours a week along with those who work 50 hours per week. This will have a tendency to underestimate the proportion of part-time workers since some individuals working few hours will be included with others who truly work "full-time".¹²

¹² The purpose of this method was to incorporate individuals within the proper category who would otherwise be erroneously considered as part-time workers; airline pilots are an example of such a "type". However, the problem here involves the lack of accountability. That is, we cannot identify the individual's who should be classifying themselves as "full-time" (such as the airline pilot example), and those who simply believe that 20 hours a week represents a sufficient workload to be considered as a full-time worker.

Ideally, a general sample should include the subjective and objective features in order to obtain a more accurate reflection of reality. However, since this cannot be achieved by using Statistics Canada data relevant to part and full-time work, I will revert to a simple, and as such arbitrary approach to the problem. In this case, what this means is a basic consideration of "hours worked" as a root of data analysis. This view¹³ will limit the level of inconsistency by going directly to the "hours worked" rather than by using second-hand labelling.¹⁴

The point is, rather than including some individuals who work three, six, nine, etc. hours a week, but who consider themselves as "full-time workers" within the "full-time" sample and accept an immeasurable level of "error",¹⁵ we will accept the idea that "hours worked" is the principle factor in identifying a person's level of

¹³ As we have seen, our description of what part-time work is, or should be, is as valid as any of the other descriptions listed above. Indeed, our description includes more individuals which should be considered as part-time workers and exclude others which do not belong.

¹⁴ Also note that individuals with more than one job will be categorized according to the sum of the paid hours spend working at these multiple occupations.

¹⁵ The error, in this case, is the lack of knowledge which the inclusion of "subjective elements" causes. Indeed, this subjective component remains hidden within the data.

worktime.

Compared to traditional classifications used by Statistics Canada, the short-time category which I will use mirrors the definition of "part-time" Statistics Canada used until 1975, that is, 35 hours or less per week. Statistics Canada data concerning part-time work use the 30 hours per week cut-off from 1975 on to the present. In this study the 35 hour limit is maintained throughout. Where my cut-off is arbitrary (has no statistical definition to use as a "statistical mark") is at the "over-time" level. Here a level of 45 hours of work each week constitutes the requirements for "over-time".

I have referred to the term "over-time" so far without defining it properly. First, the reason for using this classification is simple; it is just as important to consider the dynamics of this facet of the labour market as it is to understand the workings of the "part-time" sector. In fact, it is interesting to consider these individuals who work for longer periods of time when, indeed, much of our modern preoccupations revolve around leisure time.

Chapter Two: Results

So far we have considered some of the problems inherent to the Statistics Canada definition of part-time work. Moreover, a revision of this definitional sample has been proposed. At this point the new definition outlined above shall be used as the focus of our sample selection and, in so doing, a re-tabulation of Statistics Canada data will be presented in order to arrive at a new perception of the overall dimension of this facet of the work world.

Women, Men and Hours Worked

There is one other factor which differentiates the method used here to look into the question of worktime as opposed to the one employed in research dealing with "part" versus "full-time" (two-part) designs. That is, we shall also consider the (chronological) change in proportions within each gender group as opposed to a single view which concentrates upon the differences across genders.

The data which I will present span a thirty year

period (from 1955 to 1987)¹⁶ of the Canadian labour market history. Having discussed many of the problems inherent to the traditional "part-time", "full-time" dichotomy, we will now consider the logic of the method used here for the restructuring of the data.

In order to maintain some form of traditional coherence, the data have been categorized into three groups which will better reflect the conventional patterns of work. First, I have included within a category called; "short-time"¹⁷, all those who work 34 hours or less.¹⁸

¹⁶ The data which I refer to includes non-published tables from Statistics Canada (from 1959 to 1965). Data on "hours worked" was not computed (using gender as a statistical category) by Statistics Canada for the years 1966 through to 1975, therefore, this information is lacking in my analysis. All verifications of my findings can be made by referring to: (Statistics Canada, 1955-87).

¹⁷ The definition employed here, "short-time" is used in order to differentiate this category from the traditional Statistics Canada "part-time" classification employed in most other studies. However, the term "short-time" is also used to refer to different "types" of part-time workers by other researchers. A definition is given in the Report on Part-time Work: "Short-time employees are those who normally work full-time, but who are temporarily forced to work part-time due to lack of full-time work." My definition is not meant to include this specific description of short-time workers found in the "Report". (Wallace, 1983: 37).

¹⁸ The principal shift from convention here involves the four extra hours which I include within the group representing those who work (remunerated work) the "least". Most of those who discuss "part-time" do so by assuming that the "cut-off" point exists at the 30 hour limit since Statistics Canada tabulates results based upon this mark since 1975. By including this extra four hours a more consistent perspective can be achieved and, also,

The second group represents those who would, according to traditional Canadian perspectives, work a "normal" work week. For this reason, this category is termed "full-time". Here the people will have laboured between 35 and 44 hours each week.

The third and last section will consist of those who, once again, based on traditional understanding, work more than is usual in Canada. These persons will fall in the "overtime" category. This division will incorporate those who have worked more than 44 hours a week; that is, all those who work 45 hours plus.

To summarize, my data represent the hours worked by women and men.¹⁹ This only includes those who have been paid to work, and, those who are classified as "non-agricultural" workers. Also, those who claim to be employed, but, who worked "0" hours are tabulated within the "short-time" category. The years covered by these tables will extend from 1955 up to and including 1987.

maintaining the same standard allows for comparisons through greater periods of time. This "consistency" is further realized by breaking down the labour market into three categories which I will further discuss in the text.

¹⁹ All of the data which follow have been computed from the following source: (Statistics Canada, 1955-1987). Included are some non-published data obtained from Statistics Canada for the years 1959 up to 1965.

Due to a lack of availability²⁰, the data for the years 1966 up to and including 1975 are missing, however, the trends apparent in previous and following years indicate that much of the same patterns did emerge. The totals for each "hour category" have been further collapsed into three groups which represent the "short-time"; "full-time" and "over-time" segments.

Beyond Participation Rates:

According to a traditional measure of labour force trends; the "labour force participation rate" has changed dramatically for women since the turn of the century. Indeed, this "rate" was established at 23.9 in 1955 (Statistics Canada, 1955-87:94) and grew to 56.2 in 1987 (Statistics Canada, 1955-87:100). This dramatic movement was not matched by the male labour force. In fact, compared to this great shift (within the female labour force), the men's participation rate decreased from its 1955 high²¹ of 82.1 (Statistics Canada, 1955-87:93) to the 1987 mark of 76.7 (Statistics Canada, 1955-87:100). The obvious conclusion here is that, regardless of any changes

²⁰ The data has not been computed by Statistics Canada for those years in question.

²¹ The highest measured participation rate for men was recorded in 1941 which was at 85.6. (Statistics Canada, 1983)

which may have occurred within the female work force, this dynamic progress has not affected the surprisingly stable participation rate for men (women +32.3 / men -5.4).

**Table 1: Labour Force Participation Rates by Sex and Year,
1955-1987**

Year	Male	Female
1955	82.1	23.9
1960	80.7	27.9
1965	77.9	31.3
1970	77.8	38.3
1975	78.4	44.4
1980	78.4	50.4
1987	76.7	56.2

Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Cat. No. 71-001: Annual Averages (1985/87)

Of course, by using the "participation rates" what we find is the extent of male labour force participation as a percentage of the overall "male" population (table 1, page 23), and the same is evidently true for the female portion of workers (the 1955 male participation rate of 82.1 means that 82.1 percent of all males of working age were gainfully employed).

The data in table 2 (page 26) give a slightly different account of the labour market. The purpose was to allow for an overall perspective of the labour market activity (gender mix) and not just consider what is the percentage of workers for each gender. This "gender mix"

represents the effect which the participation rate has upon the gender components of the labour force. By doing so we find that more change can be perceived by asking a different question, that is, what are the percentages of these labour force "gender" components?

According to results of table 2 we find that a shift has occurred within this labour force composite. The principal difference between the shift which occurs here, and the one found in the labour force participation rate data, is that a symmetric movement must occur²² within the former which illustrates the impact that the growth of female employment has had upon the male labour force.

In table 2 we find that, in 1955, 28 percent of the labour force was composed of women. As it should logically follow, 72 per cent of workers were men. This figure is moderated to the 68 percent male; 32 percent female division in 1965 (table 2), and eventually changes to the 1987 levels of 56 percent male; 44 percent female.

Significant here is the inevitable (a sixteen per cent increase for women must result in a sixteen per cent decrease for men) equalizing "pull" towards quantitative

²² As logic dictates, a positive change in percentages of females must be counterbalanced by a negative shift for males.

Table 2: Women As A Percent of all Paid, Non-Agricultural Workers In Canadian Labour Market 1955 to 1987

Years	Females	Change
	%	
1955	28	+16
1956	28	
1957	29	
1958	29	
1959	29	
1960	30	
1961	31	
1962	31	
1963	31	
1964	32	
1965	32	
1976	38	
1977	38	
1978	39	
1979	40	
1980	40	
1981	41	
1982	42	
1983	43	
1984	43	
1985	43	
1986	44	
1987	44	

Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Cat 71-001

parity within these data as opposed to the singular motion inherent to the participation rate method.²³ That is, change becomes apparent within the "male" sector here as opposed to the uni-dimensional impression given by

²³ I say inherent to the "participation rate" method because this "method" represents a percentage of "participants" within each gender group as opposed to a percentage of the working population, which is what I use here.

participation rate methods. In fact, when we look at the fluctuation within the "male" sector we find a 16 per cent relative²⁴ decrease of men in the labour force from 1955 to 1987. This method shows more of the motion which does occur within this "gender mix" perspective. As we have seen, the traditional participation rate technique reveals little motion for males (-5.4%) as opposed to the method here (-16%).

Pursuing this routine we necessarily find that change is maintained within the female sector. Using this method of quantifying the percentage of females within the labour force "gender mix" we find that, in 1955, 28 percent of all workers were female (table 2). This number inflates to the 1965 mark of 32 percent. The picture is rounded out by the 44 percent high point of 1987. Overall, as it must logically follow (a 16 per cent difference between 1955 and 1987 for men must result in a 16 per cent increase for women when this method is employed), the female portion of the labour force increases by 16 percent.

What this method will hopefully demonstrate is the

²⁴ Relative because although more men are working, men today represent a smaller portion of the paid-labour force due to the influx of females within the paid-labour spectrum of the economy.

change reflected by this perspective of the labour market. In other words, the knowledge gained by using the participation rate method allows us to understand the degree of men, or women, relative to all men or all women, who decide to work. Here, we find what the result of this "rate" is in terms of the "mix" of workers within the labour force. It is this "mix" of workers in which I am interested, and, it is this view which shows the greatest amount of change occurring in the past thirty years for both men and women.²⁵

Breaking Down The Statistics:

The changes which appear as a result of the focus used in this study, can be further considered in terms of how this relates to the "time-segments" and "time-categories"²⁶ breakdown displayed in tables 3a and 3b

²⁵ We can also note that the increase in participation rates for women is unmatched by men. Indeed from 1955 to 1984 the proportion of males in the labour market increased by 65 per cent. The increase in participation rates of women for the same time period grew by 312 per cent.
(Statistics Canada, 1955-87).

²⁶ Time-segment refers to the finest breakdown of hours available from Statistics Canada. The range of time-segments is as follows:
0 / 1-14 / 15-24 / 25-34 / 35-44 (up to 1975 and 35-39 following 1975) / 35-44 (up to 1975 and 40 following 1975) / 45-54 (up to 1975 and 41-49 following 1975) / 55+ (up to 1975 and 50+ following 1975).

Time-categories refer to the three sections within which I reclassify workers. These are the "short-time, full-time"

(pages 31 and 32). In this sense we may question the effect which this "+16 / -16" per cent variation in the composition of the labour market has had on the distribution of workers within each of these time-categories.

Short-Time:

What we find initially is that the "short-time" category for men has more than tripled by 1987 going from its 1955 value of 9 per cent (table 3a) to its current 28 percent level, a relative increase of 19 percentage points in 32 years. The situation is more dramatic within the female sector. Here the level has grown to the 1987²⁷ point of 49 per cent, from the 16 percent level of 1955 (tables 3b).

and "over-time" categories. Short-time workers spend between 0 and 34 hours a week working; full-time people work between 35 and 45 hours per week, and finally, individuals included as over-time workers will have spent 45 hours or more at work each week. I must repeat that all three of these time-categories consider those who have been paid to work in non-agricultural settings exclusively.

²⁷ Note that the "time-category" breakdown is modified in the block of years 1976 to 1987 in order to allow for continuity of interpretation of "statistical change. This can be noticed by looking at the "41-49" segment in the 1976 to 1987 block. Here this "segment" is added and then divided in two with one half of the "percentage" attributed to the "full-time" category and the other to the "over-time" category. This had to be done in order to adapt to Statistics Canada's modifications in tabulation and categorization.

The percentage change for this "female" group (short-time) represents a 33 percentage point increase. During this period (1955 to 1987) the "short-time" labour force category for women has disproportionately increased, as compared to the "male" group, by a margin of 14 percentage points.

Full-Time:

The "full-time" category reveals an interesting pattern. As far as the "male" component is concerned, we find that this section has gone from its 1955 mark of 63 per cent (table 3a) to the new 1987 low of 49 percent, which represents a 14 percentage point drop. As far as the "female" section is concerned, the figures have gone from the 67 per cent high²⁸ in 1955 (table 3b) to the new 1987 low of 43 per cent (table 3b), a 24 percentage point diminution. Once again, the change is disproportionate between the "male" and "female" categories (10 percentage point difference) in which the female "full-time" sector erodes vis-a-vis the male "full-time" category.

²⁸ Interestingly, in 1955 and up to 1965, a greater proportion of women, of those women who did work, worked "full-time" than short-time" as compared to men. See tables 3a and 3b.

Table 3a): Percent Of Males Per Year By "Time-Segment/Category"

See footnote "27" for explanation of "time-segment" modifications
N = ,000

Years	N:	HOURS						
		0	1-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+
			Short-Time			Full-Time	Over-Time	
1955	2889	4	0.9	1.8	2.1	63	22	6
			9%			63%	28%	
1956	3054	3.9	0.9	1.6	1.7	63	21.7	6.9
			8%			63%	29%	
1957	3130	4.3	1.1	2.2	8.8	58.1	18.6	6.9
			16%			58%	26%	
1958	3155	4.7	1.3	2.4	9.2	57.2	17.9	7.4
			18%			57%	25%	
1959	3270	3.9	1.4	2.2	6	61	17.9	7.6
			13%			61%	26%	
1960	3296	4.3	1.5	2.4	6.5	60.1	17.3	7.4
			15%			60%	25%	
1961	3304	4.7	1.9	2.4	4.9	61.3	17.3	7.5
			14%			61%	25%	
1962	3428	4.6	1.9	2.3	5.7	60.1	17.7	7.7
			15%			60%	25%	
1963	3522	4.8	2	2.4	6.4	58.4	18.2	7.8
			16%			58%	26%	
1964	3667	4.7	2	2.4	9.1	55.7	18.1	7.9
			18%			56%	26%	
1965	3857	5.3	2.2	2.5	9.5	54.4	17.7	8.3
			20%			54%	26%	
Years	N:	0	1-29	30-34	35-39	40	41-49	50+
			Short-Time			Full-Time	Over-Time	
1976	5277	7.1	8.8	11.2	11.1	36.5	12.8	12.5
			27%			54%	19%	
1977	5342	6.7	8.7	10.3	11.6	37.3	12.7	12.6
			26%			55%	19%	
1978	5443	6.9	8	7.2	11.9	39.7	12.9	13.3
			22%			58%	20%	
1979	5534	7.4	8	5.7	11.5	39.7	13.2	14.4
			21%			58%	21%	
1980	5637	7.3	8.6	8.5	11.6	37.1	12.7	14.2
			24%			55%	21%	
1981	5718	7.3	9.3	11.8	11.4	34.9	12.4	13.8
			28%			52%	20%	
1982	5420	6.9	10.2	10	12.7	35.4	11.6	13.1
			27%			54%	19%	
1983	5382	6.9	10.2	9	12.7	35	12.1	14.2
			26%			54%	20%	
1984	5523	7.3	10	8.2	12.1	35	12.6	14.8
			26%			53%	21%	
1985	5637	7	9.8	8.4	11.7	34.8	13.0	15.4
			25%			53%	22%	
1986	5788	7.2	10.2	8.1	11.4	34.3	13.0	15.8
			25%			52%	22%	
1987	5912	7.1	10.1	10.8	10.7	32.3	12.7	16.3
			28%			49%	23%	

Table 3b): Percent Of Females Per Year By "Time-Segment/Category"

See footnote "27" for explanation of "time-segment" modifications
N = ,000

Years	N:	HOURS						
		0	1-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+
			Short-Time			Full-Time		Over-Time
1955	1106	3.9	2.9	5	4.5	66.7	14.6	2.5
			16%			67%	17%	
1956	1183	3.6	3	5	3.9	67.5	14	3
			16%			67%	17%	
1957	1253	4.2	3.5	6.1	11.7	58.5	12.5	3.5
			26%			58%	16%	
1958	1281	4.2	3.8	6.6	12.6	57.4	11.8	3.6
			27%			57%	15%	
1959	1354	3.8	4	6.5	9.6	61.6	11.1	3.4
			24%			62%	15%	
1960	1436	4.6	4.6	6.7	9.6	60.7	10.2	3.5
			26%			61%	14%	
1961	1495	4.7	5.5	7	8.1	61.8	9.6	3.2
			25%			62%	13%	
1962	1552	4.8	5.4	7.2	8.8	61.3	9.5	3
			26%			61%	13%	
1963	1615	5.2	5.8	7.6	10.3	59.3	8.8	3.2
			29%			59%	12%	
1964	1700	4.6	6.5	7.9	13.1	56.6	8.5	2.9
			32%			57%	11%	
1965	1798	5.2	7.1	8.5	13.7	54.9	8	2.6
			35%			55%	11%	
Years	N:	0	1-29	30-34	35-39	40	41-49	50+
			Short-Time			Full-Time		Over-Time
1976	3211	7.7	25.1	13.3	22.2	23.5	5.1	2.9
			46%			48%	5%	
1977	3289	7.7	25.4	12.6	23.3	23	4.9	3
			46%			49%	5%	
1978	3473	7.5	24.3	10.2	24.8	24.6	5.3	3.4
			42%			52%	6%	
1979	3623	7.9	24.2	9.2	24	25.2	5.8	3.7
			41%			52%	7%	
1980	3812	7.9	25.6	11.1	22.8	23.3	5.6	3.7
			45%			49%	6%	
1981	3999	8.1	26.7	13.7	21.3	21.1	5.4	3.6
			49%			45%	6%	
1982	3944	7.5	27.8	12.2	22.7	20.7	5.2	3.8
			48%			46%	6%	
1983	4007	8.0	27.3	11.3	22.6	21.3	5.6	4.1
			46%			47%	7%	
1984	4169	8.5	26.6	11.0	22.5	21.2	5.8	4.4
			46%			47%	7%	
1985	4321	8.4	27.1	11.3	21.5	21.1	6.1	4.6
			47%			46%	8%	
1986	4509	8.3	26.6	11.2	21.1	21.6	6.4	4.8
			46%			46%	8%	
1987	4679	8.5	27.2	13.3	19.6	20.0	6.3	5.1
			49%			43%	8%	

Over-Time:

The third category, "over-time", is where much of the change in the other two categories can be understood. Here, we look at those who work more than is the normal amount of hours per week. The specific breakdown of the scheme, which ultimately adds this "over-time" division, was designed in order to achieve the added specificity of this finer distribution. Simply said, the "part-time" versus "full-time" classification shadows much of the activity which occurs at this, the "over-time" level. The purpose here was to find out if much of the change in the "short-time" group (or, to a lesser extent, the "full-time" group) was mirrored by the "over-time" sector.

According to the data above, an additional perspective can be added to the dynamics of evolving time patterns by looking into the devolution of the "over-time" work category. The question here is, how many people are working less?

Based upon the above data in tables 3a and 3b we find a constant decrease in the amount of "over-time" work for both men and women. Table 3a shows that in 1955, a full 28 percent of all men who worked did, in fact, work "over-time" (45 hours or more per week). This amount drops to

the 19 per cent level of 1976 and grows again to the 1987 value of 23 per cent (of all those men who are paid, non-agricultural workers). All factors²⁹ considered, a mild 5 percentage point decrease over a 32 year period is registered.

In 1955, of those women who worked, 17 percent of them did so within the "over-time" category (table 3b). This figure dropped to its all time low in 1976 of 5 per cent, to finally increase to the 1987 estimate of 8 per cent. This represents a 9 percentage point drop in "over-time" employment from 1955 to 1987.

We could conclude from this overview of the three "time-categories" that of the 19 percentage point increase in "part-time" work for men, 14 percentage points have been deducted from the "full-time" group while only 5 percentage points originate from the "over-time" category. The picture, as far as the women are concerned, is much amplified. The 33 percentage point increase in "part-time" work has been accompanied with a large 24 percentage point decrease in the "full-time" category, plus, the proportionately vast decrease (over time reduced by more

²⁹ I refer to here, in particular, to the contrasting changes in the other two categories. Also, one would expect in this age of leisure to find a more proportional drop in "over-time" work as compared to the "full-time" category.

than half) in the "over-time" group which is at the 9 percentage point level.

The picture which can be drawn as a result of these figures would reveal two different patterns. First, the 1955 male working population was "traditional", at least as far as our popular expectation would lead us to believe. Indeed, a large proportion of working men were "full-time" workers. As tradition would have it, an equally large group of men worked "over-time". Needing "full-time" employment to survive,³⁰ few men were involved in "part-time" work. The distribution of male workers on a "normal curve" would see this "curve" skewed to the left, to the "full-time" and "over-time" level (figure 1a, page 36).

As figure 1a also shows, this "skewed" distribution of male workers ultimately changed by 1987, representing more of a "normal" distribution of workers along the three time-categories. By 1987, virtually as many men work part-time as there are over-time workers. Moreover, a strong majority of male workers remain within the full-time category.

³⁰ Implicit here is the notion that the 1955 male was financially responsible for the family. That is, since few women were paid to work, the responsibility of earning the required minimum of money was that of the male.

Figure 1a): Percent of Males By Time Categories 1955 / 1987

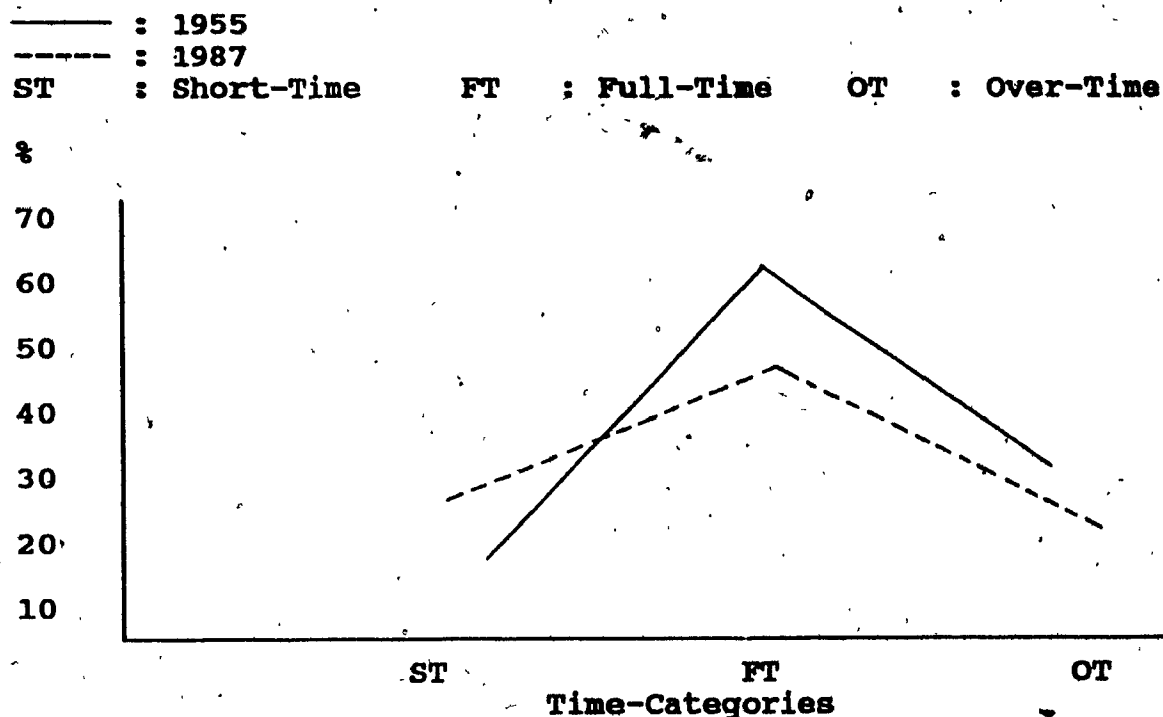


Figure refers to data from table 3a)

Figure 1b (page 37) shows two very distinct patterns emerging within the female working population. However, this time the order of the change is different from what we have seen for the men. What we can observe here is that a balanced distribution for working women did exist at the base time frame, that is, 1955. Here the symmetry is almost perfect with a 16 per cent part of the female work force within the "short-time" group; 67 per cent distribution in the "full-time" group and; a 17 per cent fraction of the working female population grouped within the "over-time" section.

Figure 1b: Percent of Females by Time-Categories 1955 / 1987

— : 1955

- - - : 1987

ST : Short-Time

FT : Full-Time

OT : Over-Time

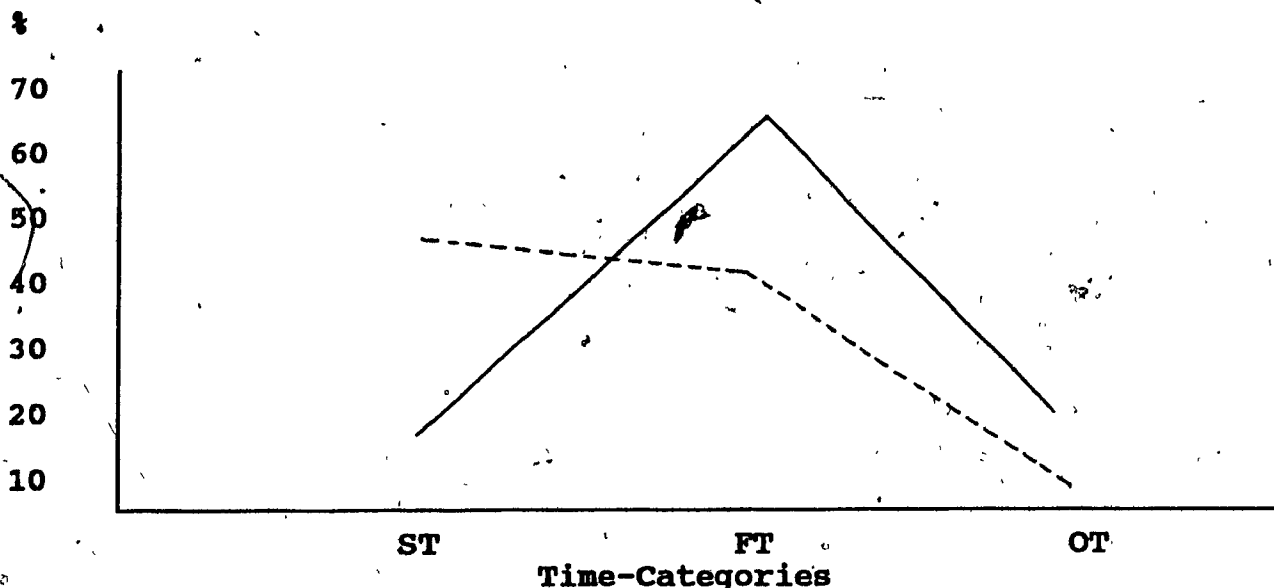


Figure refers to table 3b)

Contrary to the "male" working population, the curve for females becomes progressively distorted (compared to the 1955 estimates) culminating to this, the current 1987 representation (figure 1b).

Here, the curve is heavily skewed towards the "over-time" dimension. A complete reversal of what is apparent within the "male" working groups. In 1987 the female work force is distributed as follows: 49 percent of those women who work are part of the "short-time" section; 43 percent belong to the "full-time" category while only 8

percent remain as "over-time" workers (these percentages are listed in tables 3a and 3b).

As we have seen, the rate of this progressively changing pattern is such that for the first time, in 1985 more employed women worked "short-time" than did women who worked "full-time" (47% short-time / 46% full-time). Figures 2a and 2b (page 43) graph this process. As these figures show, (figures 2a and 2b relate to tables 3a and 3b) this majority of part-time workers within the female working population, will also be apparent in the latest year dealt with in this study; 1987.

While many investigations have shown that as many as 70% of part-time workers are women (White, 1983; Statistics Canada, 1955-87; Beechy, 1987), here we find that 49 per cent of women who work do so in the "short-time" category.

Part of the reason why this "three category" approach becomes more informative is attributable to these dramatic shifts which it highlights in the distribution of the working population, and this, simply by changing³¹ the

³¹ It might be more appropriate here to use the term "maintaining" as opposed to "changing" since the data which I use here from 1955 to 1987 are consistent as opposed to the changing statistical limits from Statistics Canada

limits of the time-categories. What we see here is a completely different picture than what the traditional "full-time", "part-time" dichotomy allows us to see.

Opposed to this perspective of a three-part model, we can demonstrate how a dichotomous model can limit the perception of labour market activity. Indeed, table 4 displays the general statistical emphasis placed upon the full-time category which is characteristic of a two-part model.

As the results make clear (table 4, page 40) much of the emphasis of this statistical labour force bisection is now within the "full-time" half of the dichotomous model (compared to the results in tables 3a and 3b). Consequently, from 1955 to 1987, the male part-time component has increased only slightly from its original level of 1.9 per cent (of those males who worked in 1955) to the current 7.6 per cent value. Obviously, this would indicate that a persistently massive portion of the male labour force remained within the full-time section (92.4 per cent in 1987, see table 4).

Table 4: Percentages of Non-Agricultural Workers by Full and Part-Time and Gender

Year	Male			Female		
	Full-Time	Part-Time	N:	Full-Time	Part-Time	N:
	%	%		%	%	
1955	98.8	1.9	4149	88.3	11.7	1236
1956	98.1	2.3	4329	87.6	12.4	1320
1957	97.7	2.3	4329	96.4	13.6	1402
1958	97.2	2.8	4263	94.2	15.8	1442
1959	97.1	2.9	4363	83.9	16.1	1507
1960	96.9	3.1	4368	83.3	16.7	1597
1961	96.3	3.7	4381	81.1	18.9	1674
1962	96.2	3.8	4488	81.2	18.8	1737
1963	96.1	3.9	4567	80.3	19.7	1808
1964	95.8	4.2	4698	79.1	20.9	1911
1965	95.7	4.3	4841	77.9	22.1	2019
1966	95.7	4.3	4984	78.5	21.5	2169
1967	95.3	4.7	5083	78.0	22.0	2296
1968	94.8	5.2	5146	76.5	23.5	2391
1969	94.4	5.6	5272	75.8	24.2	2508
1970	93.7	6.3	5310	75.1	24.9	2570
1971	93.6	6.4	5392	75.2	24.8	2687
1972	93.8	6.2	5533	75.1	24.9	2796
1973	94.0	6.0	5767	75.4	24.6	2992
1974	93.8	6.2	5976	74.8	25.2	3161
1975	94.9	5.1	5903	79.7	20.3	3381
1976	94.9	5.1	5964	78.9	21.1	3514
1977	94.6	5.4	6032	77.9	22.1	3619
1978	94.5	5.5	6157	77.4	22.6	3831
1979	94.3	5.7	6362	76.7	23.3	4033
1980	94.1	5.9	6459	76.2	23.8	4249
1981	93.7	6.3	6559	75.8	24.2	4447
1982	93.1	6.9	6254	74.9	25.1	4390
1983	92.4	7.6	6240	73.8	26.2	4495
1984	92.3	7.7	6367	74.1	25.9	4633
1985	92.4	7.6	6507	73.7	26.3	4804
1986	92.2	7.8	6657	74.1	25.9	4978
1987	92.4	7.6	6793	74.7	25.3	5162

Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Cat. No. 71-001

Although this dichotomous method of dividing the data shows that women do participate to a much greater degree within the part-time section (as compared to men), much

relevant information concerning part-time work is lost. Indeed, when compared to our data which show that a majority of women are now working part-time (see tables 3a and 3b on pages 31-32, also figures 1a and 1b pages 36-37) we find that table 4 represents a different statistical reality. Notwithstanding the fact that the proportion of part-time women to full-time women is more than three times greater than for males in the same period (proportion of male part-time 7.6 per cent in 1987 / proportion of female part-time 25.3 per cent in 1987), still we see that a relatively strong majority of women are found to be working full-time according to this method of sampling and data computation.

The difference between this dichotomous model (table 4) and the three part model proposed here (tables 3a and 3b) is apparent. We have found a majority of women located within the part-time component by using our method of "splitting" the labour market into three parts. A dichotomous model persists in maintaining a strong majority of "full-time" employment for both males and females.

This underestimation of the short-time component (for both males and females) is graphed and compared in figures 2a and 2b on page 43 and figures 3a and 3b found on page

44. Looking first at the graphs which illustrate the composition of our three part model³² (short-time / full-time / over-time) we find that the short-time trend for males is increasing. In this case (figure 2a) we find that although a relatively large majority of men are working full-time we see that more men work part-time as compared to those in the over-time category.

Figure 2b depicts a different situation for females. In fact, our three part model here shows that, compared to men, the share of full-time working women (as compared to all women who are paid to work) has tremendously eroded. The data, in this case, demonstrate that, as opposed to men, the part-time factor has not "overtaken" the over-time component (figure 2b). What we find instead is that, the female short-time category is now numerically superior to the full-time segment.

³² When defining the method used here as a "three part model" this does not only imply that we have simply added an over-time category to the traditional full and part-time dichotomy. Three part model also signifies what we have described earlier, that is; objective criterion are used, only paid, non-agricultural workers are included and, those "employed" but working "0" hours are considered as part-time workers. Also, this "three part model" will mean that our cut-off mark for short-time is established at the "less than 35 hour work per week" level.

Figure 2a) Percent of Males by "Time-Category"

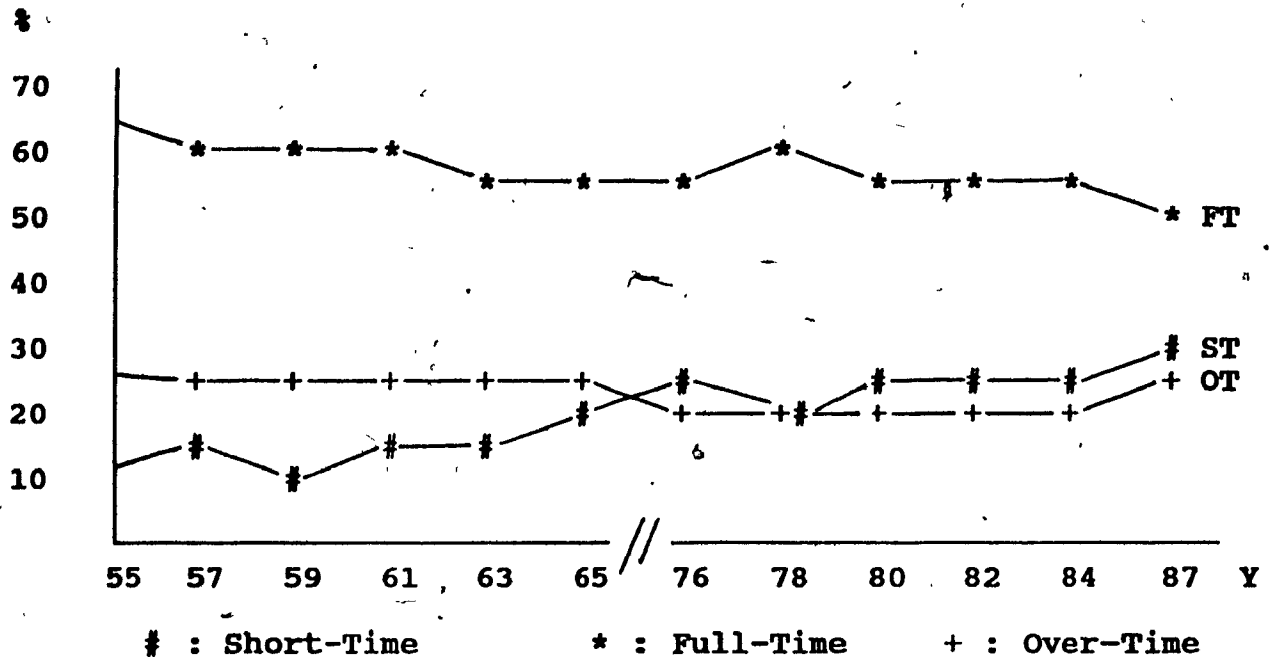
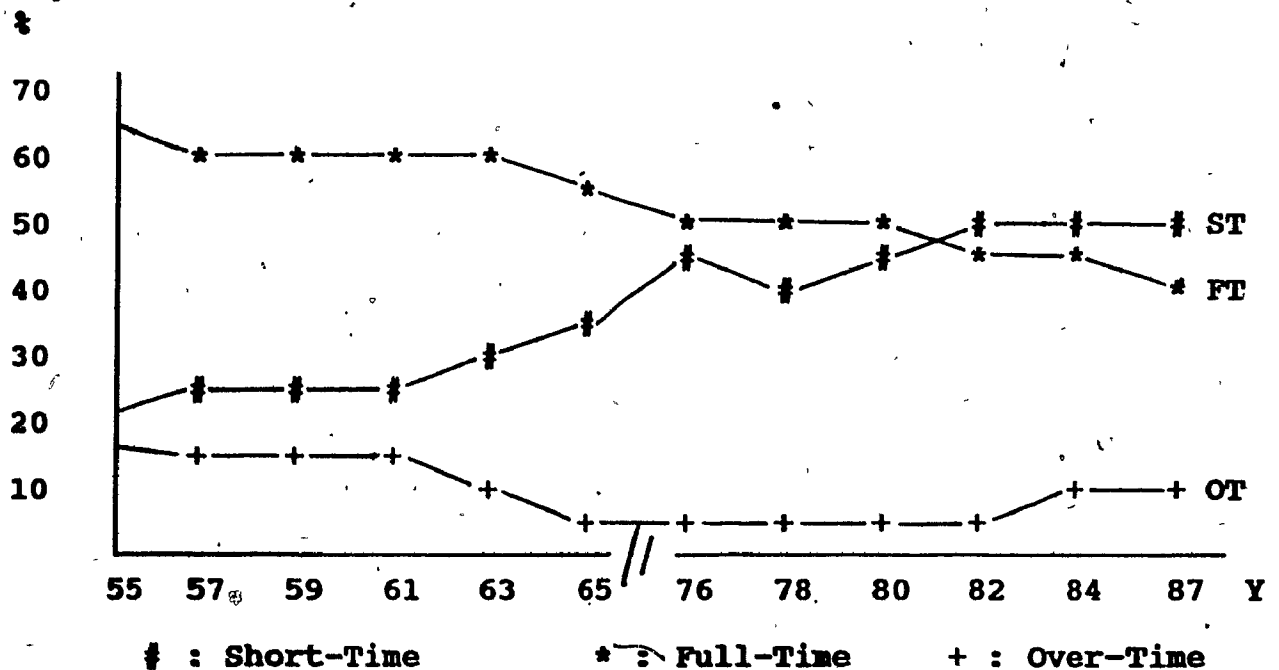


Figure 2b) Percent of Females by "Time-Category"



Figures 2a) and 2b) are based upon data from tables 3a) and 3b)

Figure 3a): Percent of Males by "Part" and "Full-Time" Categories

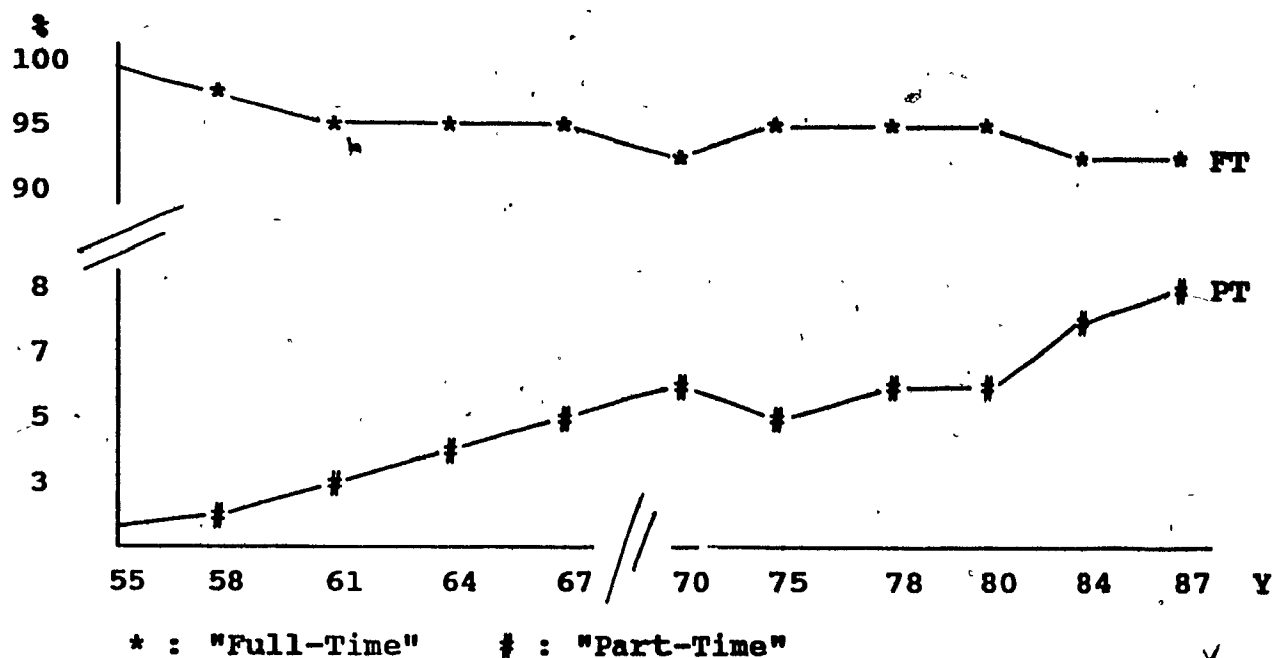
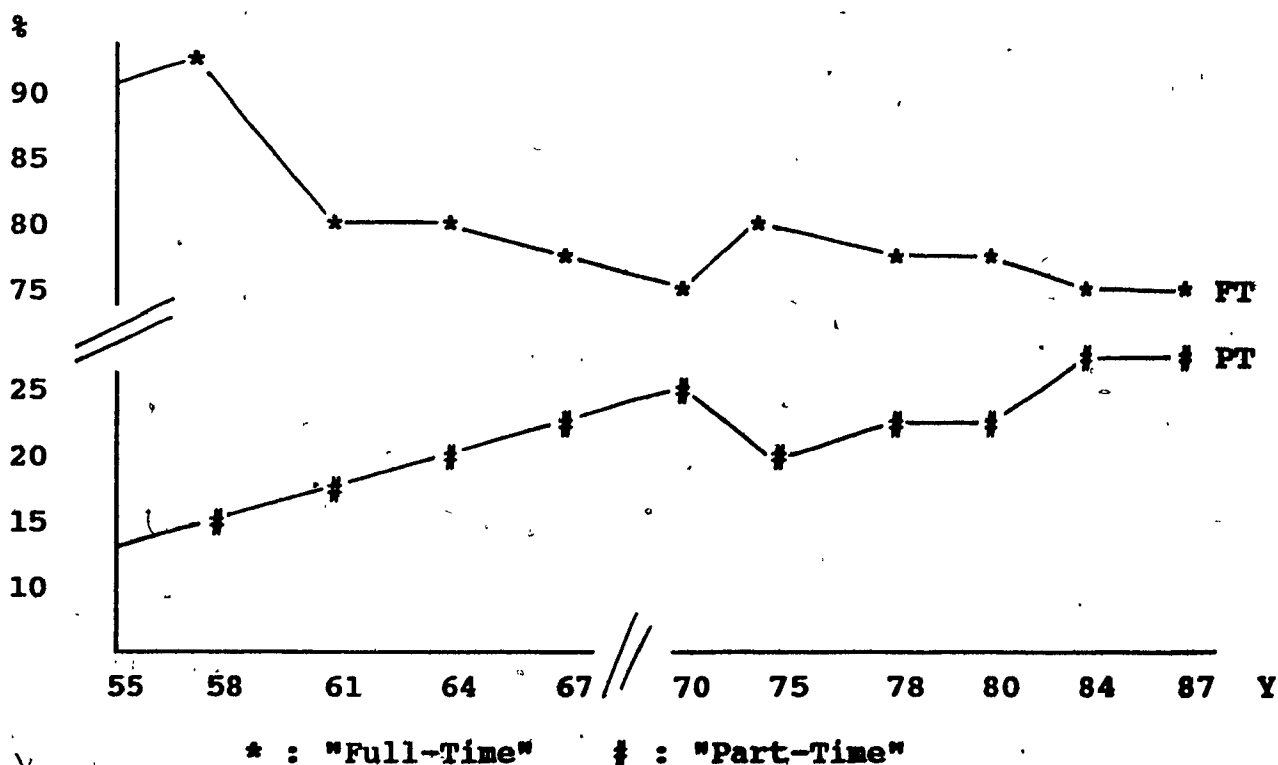


Figure 3b): Percent of Females by "Part" and "Full-Time" Categories



1955-75: Part-time = Less than 35 hours per week
 1975-87: Part-time = Less than 30 hours per week

Figures 3a) and 3b) are based upon data from table 4

We can conclude from these four figures that the male full-time component has remained generally stable over the last thirty years (regardless of the sample base or method of analysis). The case is not similar for females where we find that the full-time section declined at a rapid pace starting in 1963 (figure 2b) while the short-time component grew at an equally fast rate.

The question which we must ask ourselves at this point is whether or not the method employed here (three part model) adds anything of value to our perception of labour market dynamics. The data presented in table 5 (page 47) begin to answer this question by outlining changes apparent in both the traditional (two part model) and current method used here (three part model). What we find in table 5 is a simple comparison of the proportions estimated by both sample characteristics.

The basic distinctions which must be made within the data of table 5 have to do with the unique variations between what is labelled as "block A" and "block B".

The data found in what is identified as part-time (PT) represents the percentage of workers within this sector when the "two-part model" (traditional part-time) is used (Statistics Canada sample). The numbers listed

under the short-time (ST) listing are those which represent the proportions of short-time workers within the "three part-model/sample" which we elaborated upon.

Therefore, both columns in the "male" and "female" sections represent the relative size of the part/short-time labour force depending upon the definition used. As a result we find that the short-time (ST) sample represents a larger sized part-time (or as it should be termed in this case; short-time) population. In general an average 22 percentage point increase is evidenced in 1987 by the change in the sample base (males PT = 7.6% / ST = 28.0% ; females PT = 25.3% / ST = 49.0%).³³

³³ Once more, for the sake of clarity, we will outline the variations in definition/sample characteristics. The traditional part-time definition (two part model) includes within its sample:

- Paid and non-paid workers
 - Agricultural and non-agricultural workers
 - Objective and subjective criteria for categorization within the part-time section
 - Excludes those categorized as employed while working "0" hours per week.
 - Change in cut-off point for part-time category from 35 hours and less to 30 hours and less
- The sample base which we use within short-time sample (three part model) includes within its sample:
- Paid workers only
 - Non-agricultural workers only
 - Objective criterion for categorization within the short-time section
 - Includes those categorized as employed while working "0" hours per week
 - Consistent cut-off point for short-time category set at the 35 hours per week or less mark.

Table 5 Comparison of Part-Time and Short-Time Definition Results

PT : Traditional Part-Time including non-paid as well as agricultural workers; objectively and subjectively defined part-time workers / Excluding employed with "0" hours work
 ST : Short-Time which includes only paid, non-agricultural workers; includes only objectively defined part-time workers / Includes employed with "0" hours work as "part-time"

Years	% of Males			% of Females		
	PT	ST		PT	ST	
1955	1.9	9.0	Block "A"	11.7	16.0	Block "A"
1957	2.3	16.0		13.6	26.0	
1959	2.9	13.0		16.1	24.0	
1961	3.7	14.0		18.9	25.0	
1963	3.9	16.0		19.7	29.0	
1965	4.3	20.0	Block "B"	22.1	35.0	Block "B"
1976	5.1	27.0		21.1	46.0	
1978	5.5	22.0		22.6	42.0	
1980	5.9	24.0		23.8	45.0	
1982	6.9	27.0		25.1	48.0	
1984	7.7	26.0		25.9	46.0	
1986	7.8	25.0		25.9	46.0	
1987	7.6	28.0		25.3	49.0	

For PT (part-time) the definition is, according to Statistics Canada, as follows:

1953-75 : Part-Time (PT) = Less than 35 hours per week = Block "A"
 1975-82 : Part-Time (PT) = Less than 30 hours per week = Block "B"

For ST (short-time) the definition is as follows:

1953-87 : Short-Time (ST) = Less than 35 hours per week = Block "A"
 = Block "B"

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, Cat. 71-001

As noted, we must concentrate much of our attention to the differentiation of both "blocks" which are highlighted in table 5. The groups in "block A" in both the part-time (PT) and short-time (ST) categories are based upon the same "hours". That is to say that "hours of work", as a sample characteristic, is established at

the "35 hours or less" mark in each group (short-time and part-time).

Simply said, "hours" are held constant. All variation between the results in PT and ST, within "block A", is accountable for the other variables which we outlined above (see footnote 33).

As a result, we find that in "block A", a 15.7 percentage point difference between PT and ST is apparent in the "male" section for 1965 (table 5). As far as females are concerned, a 12.9 percentage point increase in short-time (ST) over part-time (PT) work is also apparent in 1965.

Results in "block B" show a different picture. Indeed we must realize that the part-time (PT) sample now uses the "30 hours and less" cut-off for part-time inclusion.³⁴ Consequently we find that the variations between short-time and part-time in "block B" are proportionally greater than in "block A".

³⁴ As we noted before, beginning in 1975, Statistics Canada altered their sample base. As a result, those now working "less than 30 hours" were considered as part-time. Prior to 1975 those working "less than 35 hours" were categorized as part-time. In table 5, the 35 hour mark is used throughout the short-time category. As a result, the figures in "block B" will be altered compared to those in Block A.

As is shown by the results in table 5, we find in 1987 that 28 per cent of males are considered as "short-time" (ST) workers. This contrasted to the much smaller proportion registered in the part-time (PT) section of 7.6 per cent, indicates how much variance can be attributed to a different sample base (30 versus the 35 hour cut-off).

The same phenomenon is true for females where a relatively large part-time (PT) group is represented at the 25.3 per cent level as compared to the much larger 49.0 per cent figure for short-time (ST).

As we noted above, it is perfectly acceptable to discuss issues dealing with part-time work using either of these two samples (part-time or short-time). Indeed, by looking at the results found in table 5 it may be useful to maintain a consistent definition (consistent 35 hour cut-off) in order to perceive consistent chronological change. By using the results of the short-time sample in "block B", a true measure³⁵ of the progression of part-time, or as it should be termed in this case, short-time work in Canada, is perceptible.

Nevertheless, if we seek to reduce the disparate

³⁵ "True measure" in the sense that the sample base is consistent (using the 35 hour or less cut-off) from 1955 up to 1987.

results produced by the definitional variance, based upon the cut-off point for "hours worked", we must "control" for "hours" in "block B". As a result we will consider only the other sampling alterations (see footnote 33) which we have incorporated within the short-time model. Table 6 (page 51) applies this transformation to the data of "block B" (from table 5) by controlling for "hours worked". In other words, the part-time (PT) and the revised short-time (ST)³⁶ categories both use the "worked less than 30 hours a week" cut-off as a criterion for part or short-time inclusion.

As table 6 demonstrates, by maintaining "equal" time-limits, the revised short-time (ST*) method persists in showing an increase in the proportion of short-time workers as compared to the part-time sample base (1977 men: (PT) = 7.6% / (ST*) = 17.2%][1977 women: (PT) = 25.3% / (ST*) = 35.7%). In other words, while controlling for "hours" we find that an average of approximately 10 per cent can be added to the relative size of the revised short-time group as compared to the part-time category.

Therefore, controlling for "hours" does not eliminate the increase in the estimation of short-time work over the

³⁶ "Revised short-time" because we are now using the "30 hours work or less per week" cut-off point for short-time as does Statistics Canada for part-time.

results obtained through the part-time sample.

**Table 6: Percent of Workers by "Part-Time" And Revised
"Short-Time" Category and Gender**

Years	Males		Females	
	Part-Time	Short-Time*	Part-Time	Short-Time*
1976	5.1	15.9	21.2	32.8
1977	5.4	15.4	22.1	33.1
1978	5.5	14.9	22.6	31.8
1979	5.7	15.4	23.3	32.1
1980	5.9	15.9	23.8	33.5
1981	6.3	16.6	24.2	34.8
1982	6.9	17.1	25.1	35.3
1983	7.6	17.1	26.2	35.3
1984	7.7	17.3	25.9	35.1
1985	7.6	16.8	26.3	35.3
1986	7.8	17.4	25.9	34.9
1987	7.6	17.2	25.3	35.7

Traditional Part-Time = Includes non paid, agricultural workers/
Includes "subjective" classifications/
Less than 30 hours per week/

*Revised Short-Time = Excludes non-paid, agricultural workers /
Excludes "subjective" classifications /
Less than 30 hours per week

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, Cat. 71-001

This ten per cent variation (between the part-time and revised short-time results) accounts for the fact that we are only taking paid, non-agricultural workers into consideration in the revised short-time sample. Also, this represents the change which occurs when only "objective" factors are included. And, finally, much of this 10 percentage point increase in the estimation of short-time workers is attributable to the fact that "employed" people with "0" hours worked are included

within the revised short-time definition/sample base.

We can conclude that most of the variance between these two definitional models (the Statistics Canada sample for part-time compared to our sample for revised short-time) is attributable to two factors. Those are the 35 hour cut-off point within our short-time sample, and; the inclusion of employed individuals with "0" hours worked within the short-time sample. Table 6 has shown the effect which the 35 versus 30 "hours per week" cut-off has upon the results. At this point, we shall now consider the effects which the inclusion of employed individuals with "0" hours of work, have upon the variations in percentage between the part-time and short-time categories.

As table 7 shows, for the year 1987, in the "male" category, only a 2.5 percentage point difference exists between our neutral short-time sample (STⁿ)³⁷ and the traditional part-time group used by Statistics Canada (PT). As far as the situation is for "females", an

³⁷ "Neutral short-time" means that our short-time category has now been transformed to include workers which have worked a minimum of 1 hour per week and a maximum of 29. As a result, the only variance which persists between the traditional dichotomous part-time (PT) model and this neutral short-time model is the fact that the former only includes "paid", "non-agricultural" workers which are included within the sample based upon "objective" criterion. All else is equal. (hours worked).

equally modest 1.9 percentage point variance is accounted for in the "neutral short-time" (STⁿ) category. We must, therefore, conclude that much of the statistical increase in the proportion of "short-time" individuals is related to our definition/sample selection, specifically, our inclusion of "employed" workers with "0" hours of work.

In considering the findings displayed in table 7 for the years 1976 through 1987, I conclude that the most useful and revealing method of accounting for part-time work is that of the "revised short-time" (ST*) method shown in table 6.³⁸

Recapping the variety of options discussed so far will show that, first; consistently maintaining the 35 hour limit increases the population of the short-time category by an average of 20 per cent, and does in the process, increase the relative size of this group (see block "B" in table 5, page 47).

This "increase" outlined in table 5 is, nevertheless, a valid interpretation of the statistics. The fact that

³⁸ The "revised short-time" sample uses the 30 hour cut off and includes the employed with "0" hours worked. This sample is deemed superior to the traditional part-time sample of Statistics Canada because of the inclusion of the "0" hour category which was outlined earlier in the text.

the hour "cut-off" point is maintained allows for the tracking of change through time and the sample is, because of this, valid and useful.

Table 7: Percent of Workers by Traditional Part-Time, Short-Time, and Neutral Short-Time Categories and Sex

Years	Males			Females		
	PT	ST	ST ⁿ	PT	ST	ST ⁿ
1976	5.1	15.9	8.8	21.2	32.8	25.1
1977	5.4	15.4	8.7	22.1	33.1	25.4
1978	5.5	14.9	8.0	22.6	31.8	24.3
1979	5.7	15.4	8.0	23.3	32.1	24.2
1980	5.9	15.9	8.6	23.8	33.5	26.0
1981	6.3	16.6	9.3	24.2	34.8	27.0
1982	6.9	17.1	10.2	25.1	35.3	28.0
1983	7.6	17.1	10.1	26.2	35.3	27.3
1984	7.7	17.3	10.1	25.9	35.1	27.0
1985	7.6	16.8	10.0	26.3	35.3	27.1
1986	7.8	17.4	10.2	25.9	34.9	27.0
1987	7.6	17.2	10.1	25.3	35.7	27.2

- (PT): Traditional Part-Time = Includes non-paid, agricultural workers
Includes "subjective" classifications
Less than 30 hours per week
Excludes "0" hours worked per week
- (ST) : Short-Time = Excludes non-paid, agricultural workers
Excludes "subjective" classifications
Less than 30 hours per week
Includes "0" hours worked per week
- (STⁿ): Neutral Short-Time = Excludes non-paid, agricultural workers
Excludes "subjective" classifications
Less than 30 hours per week
Excludes "0" hours worked per week

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, Cat. 71-001

In addition, we must consider the results found in

the revised "short-time" category in table 7. It is vital to consider people who experience times of no employment at regular or irregular intervals as "part-time" workers (employed with "0" hours). By not including these people we now realize that an average of 10 per cent of the working population is not accounted for (as part-time workers).

Therefore, our short-time model, which includes the workers with "0" hours with the 30 hours per week maximum cut-off is the most accurate measure of part/short-time work (for 1975 to 1987) so far (see table 6, page 51). Accurate not because it reveals more of the "truth" about short-time work, but because it eliminates the discrepancies of results based on the "hours" sampling. In other words, both the short-time sample and the part-time one use the 30 hour cut-off point from 1975 to 1987.

Consequently, most of the increase in part-time work estimates which is reflected by this sample base, is the effect caused by the inclusion of employed individuals with "0" hours of work. The residual (approximately 3 per cent average increase in short-time over part-time) change in percentages is attributable to the fact that only paid, non-agricultural workers were selected within the sample (see table 7). As well, this remaining difference in

percentages between the part and short-time estimates, which is reflected in the results of the "neutral short-time" (STⁿ) group in table 7, is a reflection of our "objective" only sampling base (inclusion based on hours worked, subjective criteria excluded).

Conclusions of Data Results

We have learned so far that part-time definitions can vary, and, depending upon the sample selection different proportions of part-time workers can be found to exist within the Canadian economy. Relying upon the sample base chosen here we find that the proportional frequency of traditional part-time work is underestimated by a margin of approximately ten percentage points. However, what does this tell us about the state of the workforce? How useful is this information to questions of labour force participation and equity?

Part two of this text attempts to answer these questions by reconstructing the theoretical path which leads us to a useful and pertinent explanatory framework. Indeed, by applying a "labour market segmentation" approach to these results a balance between macro (structural) and micro (individual volition) perspectives will be sought in the hope of providing a more complete panorama of possible explanatory schemes.

PART-TWO: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

In part one of this paper we have attempted to clarify the data concerning part-time work by redefining the sample base. The purpose was to illustrate how conventional data sources (Statistics Canada) have restricted the scope and perspective of available information concerning part-time work.

In this section we will present a theoretical argument which seeks to demonstrate how these labour market transactions must be viewed from a two dimensional approach, namely the micro and macro dimensions. The previously reviewed issue of part-time work will obviously serve as a backdrop to this discussion.¹ Indeed, the question which we must ask is whether or not individuals (in this case the focus will be upon women) are likely to be pressured into part-time jobs, or if part-time jobs help in providing people with options in regard to employment. In this sense, this specific question is one which seeks to identify the level of voluntarism within the labour market.

In order to arrive at our theoretical conclusion,

¹ Indeed, the whole purpose of part-one was to establish clear parameters of part-time work estimates which were not limited to the idea of a simple "dichotomous" model of labour market participation.

which will insist upon a combination of a micro and macro approach, we will survey the explanatory merits of selected, and pertinent, "macro" and "micro" frameworks. The first "macro" view will be comprised of a feminist application of the "reserve army of labour" theory developed by Connolly (1978). Allied to this essentially economic perception will be two "cultural/economic" feminist views as defined by Beechy (1987) and Schwartz (1989).

Following these discussions of female part-time work, a consideration of the "labour market segmentation" approach will complete the essence of this "macro" perspective. In order to initiate our overview of Connolly's application of the reserve army of labour theory, a review of this concept's marxist roots will be presented in order to clearly identify the structural emphasis used.²

Following this presentation, the micro perspective developed by Charles Sabel will be outlined. Forged out of the traditional segmentation approach, this "typology"

² However, prominence will be given to the conventional segmentation approach because of its capacity to view the labour market at both the "supply" and "demand" levels. In this sense, this marks the first step towards a more balanced (micro/macro) approach to interpretations of labour market trends.

of workers will be outlined in order to demonstrate the usefulness of a macro/micro combination.

We now begin our discussion of the data in part one by establishing the analytical roots of our selected feminist approach which is based upon Marx's view of the reserve army of labour. This is the first step in our overview of the macro approach to worktime.

Chapter Three: Macro Perspectives

Based upon an understanding of part-time work which is centered around the data presentation found in part-one, I shall now begin to develop a theoretical argument which is comprised of a variety of perspectives. Specifically, in chapter three, the focus will revolve around particularly "structural" or "macro" views of society (labour market) starting first with an overview of Marx's theory of the reserve army of labour.

Marxist Roots: Class, Work And Time

The modern notion of "time" and, the idea of "worktime" itself is a social construct which originated in the industrial era. Prior to this point, any distinction between leisure time or worktime would not have been logical (or useful) since both activities were not conceptually unique. In fact, within the pre-industrial context, nature would serve as the guide for specific actions and clocks were mere novelties of the aristocracy (Burke 1985; Hopkins 1982).³ It is only with

³ Marx was more specific in dealing with the "economic" and "philosophical" dimensions of the capitalist's notions of worktime. Indeed, the notions of "worktime" and "nature" themselves would serve to alienate people from their own work and time...

"...With the development of the specifically capitalist mode of production, it is not only these directly material things (all products of labour; considered as use-values, they are both material conditions of labour and products

the advent of industrial modes of production that the new inhabitants of the cities, these "proletarians" and "bourgeois", began to respect the rules of artificial time boundaries. Indeed, Marx himself accepted the modern "capitalist" notion of time segmentation by stating that all contemporary ideas of "economics" can be reduced to considerations of "time".⁴

The industrial revolution and the invention of steam powered machines, which did not require any care beyond prescribed maintenance and service needs, could produce around the clock. And, with the advent of the French Argand lamp that produced ten times more light than was possible before the turn of the nineteenth century, people were now

of labour; considered as exchange values, they are materialized general labour time or money) that get up on their hind legs to the laborer and confront him as 'capital', but also the forms of socially developed labour--co-operation, manufacture (as a form of division of labour), the factory (as a form of social labour organized on machinery as its material basis)-all these appear as forms of the development of capital, and therefore the productive powers of labour built up on these forms of social labour-consequently also science and the forces of nature-appears as productive powers of capital."

(Marx, 1977:393).

⁴ Marx noted: "The less time society requires in order to produce wheat, cattle, etc., the more time it gains for other forms of production, material or intellectual. As with a single individual, the universality of its development, its enjoyment, and its activity depends on saving time. In the final analysis, all forms of economics can be reduced to an economics of time." (Marx, 1977:361-62).

recruited for around the clock shift work (Burke, 1985: 192).

This marks the point at which the most famous critic of capitalism, if not the industrial revolution, began his analysis of capitalism. Karl Marx's views on the capitalist mode of production are the first, and basic⁵ perspectives, which we shall consider for the understanding of our data on worktime in Canada.

For the purpose of this study we can identify and isolate, as the basic element of Marxist thought, the structure of class divisions. The essence of this view identifies two fundamentally distinct groups which are mutually antagonistic and essential to each other's existence. This dichotomy is comprised of the bourgeois and the proletarians. In its simplest forms, we could describe these groups as those who own the means of production (the bourgeois class) versus those who must sell their capacity to labour (the proletarian class). Of course, this feature of Marxist analysis takes on a primary function once we consider the fact that "work", according to general Marxist principles, constitutes the

⁵ Basic in terms of the influence which Marxist analysis has had upon the "macro" theories discussed in this text.

essential part of a person's "being".⁶

This assumption provides us with a starting point for assessing the explanatory merits of a specific feminist perspective on worktime; the reserve army of labour theory.

The Reserve Army Of Labour:

The concept of "the reserve army of labour" is one upon which Marx elaborated very little. It rests upon the distinct "nature" of modern western industrial societies. From this point of view, the purpose of "capital", as such, is "investment". Indeed, no value (capital or human) must rest, that is, remain unproductive. Allied to the perception of an ever rising standard of living (as Marx could have described his "fetishism of commodities"), capital expands in all directions. This "capital-expansion" has a specific effect upon two primary factors within the proletariat.

⁶ A contemporary Marxist, James W. Rinehart, describes it as such: "Work has always been a central human activity and one which differentiates mankind from all other forms of life. Only humans can take raw materials from the environment, transform them, and in the process change their own conditions of existence. By changing the world they live in through labour, human beings at the same time alter their own nature, for the lives of people are influenced both by what they produce and how they produce." (Rinehart, 1986;1).

First, the wage rates are transformed depending upon the demand for labour (based upon the elasticity of the labour demand, that is, capital expansion) and; second, employment itself is modified by this level of "capital-expansion". The first concept is a well known correlation. The economic laws of supply and demand simply state that high demand will entail high prices and, inversely low demand will be accompanied by equally low prices. The second hypothesis is related to the first, that is, on the demand side high wages imply low employment and as logic dictates, low wages initiate high levels of employment. This is the encapsulation of the reserve army of labour theory. We will now consider how this social/economic mechanism operates.

In the case of supply (proletariat), the reserve labour force drives the wage rate up or down proportionately to the size of the reserves of labour power. If this supply becomes scarce, wages should rise as competition for jobs decreases. However, as the labour supply becomes more plentiful, along with the increase in competition, wages would diminish. The dynamics of this "supply and demand" feature are what Marx considered. From his point of view, Marx believed that workers had few options since the "level" of the reserve army of labour would, for the most part, be controlled by the capitalist

class itself.

According to this position, Smith's "invisible hand"⁷ is replaced by Marx's "law of capitalist accumulation", Marx describes this process in these terms:

The law of capitalistic accumulation, metamorphosed by economists into a pretended law of Nature, in reality merely states that "the very nature of accumulation excludes every diminution in the degree of exploitation of labour, and every rise in the price of labour, which could seriously imperil the continual reproduction, on an ever-enlarging scale, of the capitalistic relation. It cannot be otherwise in a mode of production in which the laborer exists to satisfy the needs of self-expansion of existing values, instead of, on the contrary, material wealth existing to satisfy the needs of development on the part of the laborer. (Marx, 1977: 479)

⁷ Smith did recognize, however, that "capitalists" or as he would designate them "masters", had power to collude and "combine" to reduce wages below their "natural" (equilibrium) value. On the other hand, he wrote of laws which limited this "right to combine" for "workmen". Also mentioned are the vain struggles lead by these "workmen" and the unfair advantages gained by the "masters" through the control of law. "...Masters, being fewer in number, can combine much more easily; and the law, besides, authorises, or at least does not prohibit their combinations, while it prohibits those of the workmen...Masters are always and everywhere in a sort of tacit, but constant and uniform combination, not to raise the wages of labour above their actual rate...Masters, too, sometimes enter into particular combinations to sink the wages of labour even below this rate." In the end, Smith did believe that "masters" needed to be, and indeed, were superior to the "workmen". However, benevolence was required in order to maintain some social peace: "...In disputes with their workmen, masters must generally have the advantage, there is, however, a certain rate below which it seems impossible to reduce, for any considerable time, the ordinary wages, even of the lowest species of labour." (Smith, 1986:169-170)

This "price" or "wage fixing" is facilitated by two factors. First, the level of technology or capital investment by the capitalist, increases productivity and reduces wages for those now jobless due to the redundancy of their tasks.⁸ And second, by the demands of the laborers themselves. Simply stated, labour would act as the initiator of the former mechanism. Consequently, as pressure for wage increases would grow (or appear to do so), the impetus for capital substitution would become evident to the capitalist. Wages (prices) are, as a result, forever stable (presumably low) due to the very structure of the labour market, that is, the reserve army of labour controlled by the capitalist class.

The industrial reserve army, during the periods of stagnation and average prosperity, weighs down the active labour-army; during the periods of over-production and paroxysm it holds it pretensions in check. Relative surplus population is therefore the pivot upon which the law of demand and supply of labour work. It confines the field of action of this law within the limits absolutely convenient to the activity of exploitation and to the domination of capital... (Marx, 1977: 481)

In her book, Last Hired, First Fired, Connelly

⁸ Marx expresses this growing tendency as follows: "The fact that the means of production, and the productiveness of labour, increase more rapidly than the productive population, expresses itself, therefore, capitalistically in the inverse form that the labouring population always increases more rapidly than the conditions under which capital can employ this increase for its own self-expansion." (Marx, 1977:482).

(1978) uses this Marxist notion in order to elaborate an explanatory framework which could deal with the role of women within the Canadian labour market. The conclusions reached by this author are the subject of the remainder of this section which deals with this notion of a reserve army of labour.

Connelly's Perspective:

Connelly defines women as being members of the reserve army of labour, however, this particular "army" is specifically described as being primarily comprised of married women. In fact, this author contends that women do not compete within the labour market with men for a variety of jobs, but rather, compete with other women for the chance to occupy segregated occupations. Furthermore, according to Connelly, wages are not only compressed by the "competition" factor, but also "because part of the value of their labour has been included in the price of their husband's or future husband's labour. Women without husbands have not been able to, and still cannot, support a family adequately...women under capitalism have little alternative but to marry". (Connelly, 1978: 74).

Connelly concludes that our modern capitalist modes of production have succeeded in reaching all spheres of

the population by exploiting the family as a whole. Women's unpaid work, as well as their professional labours, are used to extrapolate greater surplus value. Indeed, the reserve pool of potential female workers, according to Connelly, are housewives which are pressured (economic pressures) into the paid labour market. This movement of married women into the traditional sphere of the "active labour force" is, therefore, adding to the workload of these women by maintaining one role (domestic work) while adding another (paid work force).

The difficult problem to contend with, in this case, is the question of "initiative" or "human agency, that is, what was the degree of initiative on the part of married women to seek employment beyond the traditional domestic sphere and what effect did this have upon the source of "economic pressures" discussed in Connelly's work?

Reserve Army, Female Army

Connelly, in keeping with the macro perspective, concluded that the reserve or, "inactive labour force"⁹ was activated by a decrease in men's wages. In other words, this process (the activation of the reserve army of

⁹ "Inactive labour force" used here, refers to unemployed married women.

labour) is perceived as a reaction for the need to compensate for shrinking male wages. She states:

If the husband's wage is insufficient to buy the commodities necessary to meet a reasonable standard of living in Canada, then the housewife has two alternatives to prevent the family's standard of living from declining. First, she can intensify her labour in the home; that is, she can cook more use fewer of the costly prepared foods, mend rather than buying new things, shop more carefully, and generally try to stretch her husband's wage. Second, she can seek employment outside the home if jobs are available...An increasing number of married women are taking the alternative of working outside their homes rather than intensifying their labour in the home... (Connelly, 1978: 63-64)

As a result of this perception, that is, the idea that a reduction in men's wages forced women into the labour market, a particular view of the economy is applied. Indeed, a form of economic determinism is obvious within this specific portrayal of female labour force participation. We can begin to understand how this view can be challenged when a different order is imposed upon the rationale used by Connelly.

Going back to Connelly's argument we find that, according to that author's point of view, women were pulled into the labour market in response to a diminution in men's wages. An equally pertinent perspective would view the same phenomenon in a different order. Here we must first understand why men's wages are depressed?

If a strict interpretation of the "reserve army of labour" theory is used, a single factor can account for the reduction in men's wages, and, that "factor" must be an increase in competition for jobs. Consequently, it is possible to assume that females, who progressively joined the labour market in greater numbers, depressed men's wages. Much has been said about how or why women did decide to integrate within the paid labour force, however, we must assume that theories dealing with the recruitment of women into the labour force during both world wars has some relevance to the discussion here (Alexander, 1976; Braybon, 1981; Summerfield, 1984). Of course, this nuance does not restrict the importance of Connelly's insight into the labour market mechanisms. What we discover, instead, is a modification of Marx's original statement concerning the theory of the "reserve army of labour".

In fact, according to Connelly's logic, the reserve army did not operate according to traditional Marxist principals. Instead, this author perceives the labour market (or the capitalist class) as a more sophisticated mechanism of "price" or "wage fixing" which we discussed above. Here, not only do we find a reaction of "capital" vis-a-vis competing employment candidates, which is inclined to reduce wages, but, added to this feature of

price control we find the institutionalization¹⁰ of a specific reserve labour force. This is the female reserve.

The argument put forth in Connelly's work, that is the notion of a specifically female reserve, can be further considered to include more than "wages" and "participation rates" as variables within the analysis. As Connelly points out, the types of occupations and the structures of "capitalism" itself transformed so that a redistribution of the labour force was set in motion.

...As capitalism has developed in Canada it has brought about changes in the industrial and occupational structures which have favoured the growth of those occupations defined as "female". As "female" occupations have expanded, the demand for women workers has increased. This increase in turn has contributed to the activation of the institutionalized inactive reserve in Canada. (Connelly, 1978:62)

Connelly's argument implies that as "technology" routinized the task of the clerical worker¹¹ (who were predominantly male), these less "challenging" chores were left for females to handle. To illustrate her argument a set of statistics are presented in order to show that, in

¹⁰ "Institutionalized" in terms of the growing tendency of the employers to isolate, identify and reserve certain occupations and tasks as "female" (Lowe, 1987).

¹¹ Connelly points out that the major growth sector in employment for women was in "white collar" clerical work.

1971, the "white-collar" portion of the female labour force had grown to 59.8% (compared to the 1901 census data which was established at 23.6%).¹² Conversely, she points out that the male portion of the labour force was only employed in the "white-collar" sector at a rate of 33.1% (compared to the 1901 census data of 14.1%).¹³

Based upon this neo-marxist principle of a female reserve, we are now faced with the perception of a divided proletariat which is sectioned along the lines of gender. Presumably, two "reserves", one female and one male, are available to staff the needs of an equally divided capitalist class (divided due to their labour needs and

¹² According to Lowe by 1981, 77.7 per cent of women were classified as "clerical workers" (Lowe, 1987:57).

¹³ This is part of the justification used by Connelly to demonstrate how the "reserve" within the female sector is segregated from the male constituent of the labour force. This argument loses some of its strength when two factors are taken into consideration. First, both the male and female "white-collar" sector more than doubled in the period covered by her census data indicating a relatively effervescent level of activity for both males and females (within this white-collar sector). Second, in 1971, which is the last year in review in Connelly's work, men still outnumbered women in the (paid) labour market in general by a margin of nearly two to one. (frequency of men in labour force in 1971 = 4,475,000 / frequency of women in labour force in 1971 = 2,453,000). Therefore, although women were, as a group, over-represented in certain sectors, the greater numerical abundance of males still allowed for a relatively balanced "mix" of genders within the "white-collar" sector (33.1 per cent of 4,475,000 = 1,481,000 males // 59.8 per cent of 2,453,000 = 1,467,000 females).

capacity to afford labour).

In dealing with the data presented in section one we can begin to discern some of the problems which the use of this revised "reserve army of labour" theory can pose. Indeed, if "employment" is the main criteria for differentiating an inactive from an active member of the labour market, then, according to Marx or Connelly's argument, the present state of the labour market is in a state of vigorous demand for female labour. Indeed, according to table 2 (page 26), the female portion of the labour market has grown from 28 per cent in 1955 to its 1987 level of 44 per cent of all workers.¹⁴ This thirty year span represents almost a doubling of female employment. However, what the data in tables 3a and 3b show (pages 31 and 32) is the growing "part-time" nature of this increase in employment of females. As a result, what appears to be a "booming" market demand for female labour is, in fact, a recruiting drive for specifically short-term or short-time employment of women.

The key here is not in determining whether or not

¹⁴ This includes all of the characteristics which we allowed our sample to incorporate. Therefore, employed individuals with "0" hours worked are included. As well, only paid, non-agricultural workers are considered. Refer to the outline of sample characteristics in chart 1, page 7 for a complete description.

Connelly's argument about the "reserve" is valid or not, but rather, that a new and growing "réserve" is maintained constantly "active" through part-time labour. In this sense, the labour market fluctuations are less dramatic since the labour force is divided between those who work full-time and those who work at what is left, that is, the part-time corp of workers.

However, it is difficult to manipulate Connelly's thesis in order to accommodate the effervescent part-time trend in the Canadian economy. At this point we can look at specific frameworks designed to explain the issue of part-time.

Beyond The "Reserve" Theory:

Other feminist theorists have attempted to deal specifically with this growing "part-time" element within the female labour force. One of those concerned with the growth of this part-time demand is Veronica Beechey (1987). Some of her conclusions are useful for the understanding of the data reported here.

After reviewing a variety of theoretical frameworks which are, more or less suitable for the study of worktime, Beechey arrives at a somewhat different

conclusion concerning female employment in Britain. This author reckons that the circumstances which female workers must face can be understood, and indeed, will only be understood in terms of a person's or group's relationship to both work and family. By discussing the relative shortcomings in different varieties of frameworks available for the study of worktime she concludes that a useful framework needs:

To theorize the ways in which gender enters into the organization of production, and it also needs to analyze the relationship between state policies and the family and to explain why in Britain women have participated in the labour market in a particular way. That is, it needs to provide a theoretical analysis of gender relations both within the sphere of production and the sphere of reproduction. We still do not have anything like an adequate theory of gender... (Beechey, 1987: 145)

We have now stepped beyond a purely "economic" analysis of female labour force participation. According to Beechey, employers do not evaluate potential employees based on gender-free criteria. Indeed, this author contends that there exists a predetermined bias against women and the variety of tasks which they are expected to perform. As a result, women are perceived as having few skills relevant to the labour market (or any skill which they possess is systematically undervalued or ignored by the employer) and relegated to jobs which have low wage rates and little mobility channels. She goes further by

stating that employers will also perceive women as being more difficult to train (this may relate to the belief that investing in the human capital of a woman, for the employer, is bad risk since the candidate's tenure might be interrupted for family reasons).

Our research revealed that it simply was not the case that employers used sex-blind criteria in their hiring practices, or in selecting people for training schemes, or in their definitions of what constitutes 'skill' or appropriate qualifications, but that they held very definite conceptions relating to gender.
(Beechey, 1987: 145)

In this vein, Beechey's argument can be related to a modified version of Spence's (1974) signaling theory.¹⁵ Therefore, an employer who cannot comprehend the extent of a women's experience and potential (and actual) talents¹⁶

¹⁵ The signalling theory, briefly stated, hypothesizes that an employer relies upon specific "signals" which an employment candidate might or might not possess. Specifically, an individual's "human capital" that is, a person's skills are not evaluated by the employer. Rather, a person's potential for success is estimated in regards to the "signals" which an individual gives. In this case, education is not important for the sake of the information acquired, but instead, judged in terms of an individual's capacity to achieve an education...to go beyond the barriers which schooling represent. This limits any person's capacity to "sell" their unique experiences and potential which might not be understood by the employer's search for specific signals (Spence, 1974)..

¹⁶ Many Canadian researchers have documented the traditional ignorance of employers vis-a-vis women's work in the home. In this case, only "paid employment" is considered "work" (Pearson, 1979:20; Oakley, 1974:3; Gavron, 1966:131). Others have highlighted the "invisible" nature of domestic work (Proulx, 1978).

will not risk the investment required in hiring and training a female candidate.

So according to this point of view, there exists a "real" and "perceived" set of outlooks concerning women's employment potential. Employers will exaggerate the likely interruptions in a female's career while over-emphasizing the problems (to the employer) which these interruptions may cause. However, as the author shows, where institutional structures are set in place to relieve the burden of responsibility (caring for the young and the old family members) which women face, a greater equity in employment practices will occur. It is this link between the role of the state (policies) and the family which Beechey emphasizes.

Beechey uses this link, the one unifying the functioning of the employer's perspective vis-a-vis women's role within the family and the state's role in supporting women's functions within the family, to look into the growth of the part-time component of the female labour force.

In order to analyze why married women with dependents to care for so often work part-time, it is necessary to analyze not only the domestic division of labour within the family, but also the ways in which this has been shaped through the operation of state policies. (Beechey, 1987: 146)

The theory here is summarised by what Beechey refers to as a specific form of "gender ideology", that is, the "ideology of domesticity" which she attributes to the emergence of bourgeois society. It is this pattern of social perception which has served to "provide a moral justification for the forms of job segregation which emerged during the process of industrialization and was taken up by middle-class reformers who were concerned to protect women and children from the effects of industrial capitalism by legally restricting their hours of work." (Beechey, 1987: 148). This perception has, according to Beechey, survived to this day so that we still believe that a women's primary function is to the family and that work is acceptable as long as this "outside" role does not interfere with the domestic duties. It is at this point that the author ties these factors into the growth of the part-time female sector.

It is thought to be acceptable for women to be in the labour market so long as their paid work does not interfere with their main task, that of caring for their children, and part-time work has emerged as a major means of enabling women to combine these tasks. Because their main task is defined as a familial one, part-time women workers are defined as marginal workers. (Beechey, 1987: 148)

Beechey's conclusions are that women have been framed within a particular "marginal" typology which pre-defines the role and potential of a female employment candidate.

As she notes, not all women will "interrupt" their professional careers, nor prefer part-time work. "It is the case, however, that all women are defined as if there were a conflict between their paid work and their domestic responsibilities and all women working part-time are defined as marginal workers, no matter what they actually do." (Beechey, 1987:148).¹⁷

Therefore, if we are to apply Beechey's argument to our data results in part-one, we must assume that the structural impingements to female labour success rest not only within the "industrial" context, but are also disseminated through by the general culture of the society in which "industry" exists. In other words, the employer is a product of his/her society and simply reflects, as such, its preconceptions and beliefs. The problem of "part-time" work is not, as a result, a "problem" but rather a symptom of deeper cultural gender ideology.

Schwartz's Perspective

The fact that most employers will accept this "latent" conflict of roles as being forever present,

¹⁷ This, she goes on to remark, is in contrast to the male situation which: "are defined as if they have families to support, no matter what their actual situations may be." (Beechey and Perkins, 1987:148).

reduces the chances for women to accede to top positions within most organizational hierarchies.¹⁸ This is the focus of discussion in Schwartz's (1989) work where the notion of a "glass ceiling" is analyzed. Briefly defined, the idea of a "glass ceiling" refers to Beechey's perception that all women are considered as potential "mothers" and will, as a result, interrupt the course of their careers. Management's reaction limits access to top level occupations for women. The logic used by the employer is one of economic security, basically, not to invest too great an amount of time and capital in a person's talents when the investment is perceived as "high risk".

So far, Schwartz's argument does not vary much from what was discussed in Beechey's work, however, one point sets them apart. Having identified the problem, that is, the apparent existence of a "glass ceiling", Schwartz tackles the problem directly by supporting the idea that employing women does represent an increased cost to the organization. However, the argument is not limited to

¹⁸ Although this idea of access for women to these elite positions refers to the very smallest minority of women within the labour market, it remains an important aspect. Indeed, one woman in a position of power can allow for many others to compete with men by allowing for structural barriers to disappear. It does not refer to any policy of "affirmative action", but simply, to organizations which do not have the preconceptions, as defined by Beechey, built into the system.

"cost" factors, but rather, to productivity and investment questions.

The key element in Schwartz's view is to clearly identify differing types of women, that is, those who will place more emphasis on family goals (termed "career-and-family women"), and, those who identify work as their main interest in life (identified as "career-primary women").¹⁹ Nevertheless, both these "types" are described as being useful to the organization given that they are recognized at an early stage in the development of their respective careers.

"Career-primary women" are "typed" as having the same qualities as career-primary men. Therefore, the key in maintaining a productive association between the firm and these "career-primary women" is the dismantling of all "real" and "perceived" barriers to mobility. Once this is achieved, these women can add an extra edge to their value to the firm and other women. In this sense, they can act as motivators to a variety of women who will perceive "others" (career-primary women) as a clear indication of possible mobility.

¹⁹ In other words, similarly to how males are judged in the course of their careers. That is, not to assume that all women will "retire" early, but that different women will have different aspirations and goals which an organization can benefit from.

...Career-primary women have another important value to the company that men and other women lack. They can act as role models and mentors to younger women who put their careers first. Since upwardly mobile career-primary women still have few role models to motivate and inspire them, a company with women in its top echelon has a significant advantage in the competition for executive talent. (Schwartz, 1989:70)

The other "type" of women workers are those who are most undervalued according to Schwartz. These "career-and-family women" outnumber "career-primary women" but can, nevertheless, provide much productivity if barriers are eliminated. The initial step which needs to be overcome is the recognition that these "career-and-family women" want to, in most cases, retain both dimensions of their world. Simply said, they want the capacity to work while having a family.

These women are a precious resource that has yet to be mined. Many of them are talented and creative. Most of them are willing to trade some career growth and compensation for freedom from the constant pressure to work long hours and weekends. (Schwartz, 1989:70)

Two advantages for the firm are listed in regards to the retention of "career-and-family women" within the organization. The first advantage relates to the productivity of these individuals and, the second benefit can be associated to the economic returns which are possible when these women are hired and maintained as employees. We will deal with the "productive" aspect

first.

According to Schwartz, these "career-and-family women" are perfectly suited to middle management positions. The logic behind such a statement is a simple one. Highly talented and trained individuals (career-and-family women) who enjoy their jobs will, more than likely, perform at a higher level than those who have stalled in their progression to upper management positions. In other words, it makes more sense to the employer to have middle managers who are satisfied with their position than to retain a group of less talented and disenchanted people at the same position.

The possibility of having a pool of talented and motivated middle managers brings us to the second advantage, the capacity for the firm to gain from the increased productivity of these new workers. Schwartz summarizes this by stating that;

'If you have both talent and motivation,' many employers seem to say, 'we want to move you up. If you haven't got that motivation, if you want less pressure and greater flexibility, then you can leave and make room for a new generation.' These companies lose on two counts. First, they fail to amortize the investment they made in the early training and experience of management women who find themselves committed to family as well as to career. Second, they fail to recognize what these women could do for their middle management. The ranks of middle managers are filled with people on

their way up and people who have stalled. Many of them have simply reached their limits, achieved career growth commensurate with or exceeding their capabilities, and they cause problems because their performance is mediocre but they still want to move ahead. The career-and-family woman is willing to trade off the pressures and demand that go with promotion for the freedom to spend more time with her children. (Schwartz, 1989:71)

This leads Schwartz to a discussion of "part-time" work. It is discussed as a source of possible alternatives for women who have decided to invest time in their families. Part-time work is described as the bridge which can allow women to participate within the labour force at a rate comparable to men.²⁰

Part-time employment is the single greatest inducement to getting women back on the job expeditiously and the provision women themselves most desire. A part-time return to work enables them to maintain responsibility for critical aspects of their jobs, keeps them in touch with the changes constantly occurring at the workplace and in the job itself, reduces stress and fatigue, often eliminates the need for paid maternity leave by permitting a return to the office as soon as disability leave is over, and, not the least, can greatly enhance company loyalty. (Schwartz, 1989:73)

²⁰ She describes this fact in these terms; "What if she wants or needs to go on leave for six months or a year or, heaven forbid, five years? In this worst-case scenario, she works full-time from age 22 to 31 and from 36 to 65 - a total of 38 years as opposed to the typical male's 43 years. That's not a huge difference. Moreover, my typical example is willing to work part-time while her children are young, if only her employer will give her the opportunity." (Schwartz, 1989:71).

We can conclude this revision of these specific feminist perspectives by stating that first; based on the work of Connelly, there exists a general female reserve of labour which has been particularly active since the fifty's, and that this integration within the labour market has depressed wages (in general) and served to perpetuate the recruitment and active job searches of women within the labour market.

Second; we can infer from Beechy's argument that a large portion of this "activated reserve" (married women) has been recruited and, restricted within the "marginal work world", that is, the part-time sector (included also are those full-time female workers which are caught in low-paying, insecure jobs). This "restriction" is based primarily on the popular conception of women's role within society (family and work) in general.

And, lastly, we can assume that this brand of "gender typing", that is, marginalizing female employment, is also maintained within the upper echelons of management positions. Although remedies are discussed, the problem is perceived as being prevalent throughout "business" in general.

What we shall now consider is a closer look at this

"marginal work" world. How it may function, why it does so and for who's benefit it persists. In order to do this, we shall now consider the theory of segmentation; its limits and analytical resources.

Segmentation Perspective on Female Employment:

Better known as the theory of "dual labour markets", segmentation theory will allow us to deal with a more complete vision of the labour market. Specifically, segmentation theory can provide us with the capacity to handle both the employer's perspective and the worker's situation within the larger societal (education, culture, race, ethnicity, gender) background.

Examined in this context, analysis based upon a segmentation viewpoint will, ideally, breakdown into three parts. First; a study of the demand side, that is, what is the relative position of the employer vis-a-vis the larger economic context. Second; how does the individual or group of "like" individuals contend with their social/economic realities.²¹ The third dimension of a "segmentation analysis" is the most important and, to

²¹ In this case, how do individuals or group of individuals react or adjust to their educational, occupational or social characteristics. In terms of "social characteristics", the question could simply state, how best do they react to discrimination or arbitrary control.

certain extents unique, that is, how will both of these "strata" of the labour market (supply and demand) fuse and result in what is the overall "macro" perspective.

It is a study of these questions which will be the subject of the remainder of this paper. First, we will include an analysis of the "Marxist roots" of segmentation theory in order to isolate what it is that we can perceive as innovation compared to the more traditional points of view which still dominate. Secondly, we will look into the demand component of this perspective followed by the more prevalent perspective on the workers, that is, the supply for labour. After completing this review of the theory we shall appraise the usefulness of a segmentation theory analysis to our data in section one.

Having reached that point we will go beyond traditional segmentation theory and ponder the applications of a "micro" perspective of segmentation theory which we shall further discuss at that point. We shall now look into the workings of the "demand side" perspective of segmentation theory.

Segmentation: The Demand Component

Marxist theory's most basic asset is the study of

class struggle. Indeed, as was noted in the section dealing with Marxist concepts, Marx himself viewed this feature of "bourgeois" society (capitalist society) and indeed, of history itself, as the primary engine of dialectical evolution.²² This analysis of "class struggle", which Marx documented and analyzed is, however, concentrated upon the understanding of the worker's plight in regards to the capitalist's might. Indeed, central to Marx's outlook is the effects which industrialization had upon the working class.²³

²² It is at the beginning of the Communist Manifesto which Marx outlines this position: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman - in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes." (Marx, 1977:222).

²³ An exception to this feature of Marxist analysis is the argument which Marx outlined in Capital. Indeed, this perception of "the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation" would not see "exploitation" end with the proletariat's submission to capital but would continue to erode the capitalists themselves through competition. "...As soon as the laborers are turned into proletarians, their means of labour into capital, as soon as the capitalist mode of production stands on its own feet, then the further socialization of labour and further transformation of the land and other means of production into socially exploited and, therefore, common means of production, as well as the further expropriation of private proprietors, takes a new form. That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the laborer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many laborers...One capitalist always kills many." (Marx, 1977:487).

This is where we begin our presentation of segmentation. Indeed, segmentation theory would accept a notion of "class" similar to that which Marx described, however, the purpose in the case of segmentation theory is to add "panorama" and nuance to the pre-established Marxist dichotomy of worker and employer. Segmentation seeks to add and elaborate upon other traits which differentiate the workers from the capitalists and to use those as a basis for understanding the labour market.

...As we tried to view the patterns of segmentation we were studying through the lens of class, we found that a significant part of the phenomena we sought to explain fell outside the range of vision. The differentiations within the working class and within the class of capitalists, though acknowledged by Marxists, are not central to their explanatory scheme and, in fact, often must be discussed as problems of "false consciousness" or as transitory divisions that will disappear with the full maturation of capitalism. (Berger and Piore, 1980:5)

Consequently, part of the basic difference between Marxist analysis and segmentation theory rests with the degree of "types" which may be allowed to exist within the framework. In this case, segmentation "types" are described both at the demand level as well as at the supply level. We shall now consider some of the "types" which characterise the "demand" side of the labour market, that is, the employer or capitalist.

The study of segmentation at the "demand" level was

first developed by Robert T. Averitt (1968).²⁴ By shifting away from "solid" and invariable definitions, which are characteristic of Marxist dispositions, the purpose of segmentation at this level now develops a series of "types" which might better describe the variety of employers within a capitalist economy. These typologies have, according to Averitt's initial study, two basic components (within the "demand" sphere). This "duality" is composed of the "center firm" and the "periphery firm". We will now discuss further Averitt's perception of what is a "center firm" type.

The Center Firm:

These "center firms" are typified by such industrial giants as General Motors, IBM, Dupont, etc. Two basic components are generally present within these particular structures. First, the company or corporation will rely upon high levels of mechanization (automation technology) and division of labour.²⁵ Second, the company will

²⁴ Averitt did not use the term "segmentation", instead, the name used to describe what it was he developed was the "dual economy" perspective. As it is made clear by the title of his book; The Dual Economy The Dynamics of American Industry Structure (Averitt, 1968).

²⁵ Division of labour in terms of the level of "task repartition" or productive designs as exemplified by production line systems. We could, however, include as a definition "division of labour" according to the Marxist notion of separation of capital from production. Both of

usually rely on a large production structure based upon the development and growth of economies of scale. A third, and often neglected feature implies that the goods produced are highly standardized (Sabel, 1982).

These organizations will usually be comprised of a massive work force. In many cases these workers will be unionized and standardized working conditions will prevail (Freeman and Medoff, 1984). A large portion of the workforce, within the "center type firms" may also not benefit from union representation. This, however, does not hinder their capacity to profit from a variety of plans and programs to help this workforce to acquire sufficient wage rates and mobility. These workers would be part of the "primary sector".

A large group of workers would also exist in the margins of this privileged "primary sector", these are the individuals of the "secondary sector". We will discuss these "supply" components at length in the following section.

These producers (center firms) will, more often than not, be greatly involved in research and development and need to concentrate upon the increased distribution of

these facets are present within the "center firms".

their various commodities by developing sophisticated marketing strategies (Miles, 1985; Ashton and Maguire, 1984). Finally, most of these firms will be operating within the structures of capital intensive organization. Indeed, much of the impetus for growth was initiated by the need to lower costs.²⁶

These structural features imply that "specific effects" upon the labour force will be visible. One of these effects will imply that such "giants" will be better able to invest in their employee's capacities and talents. In economic terms, this implies "general and firm specific human capital investment"²⁷, that is, training. Here, the

²⁶ Averitt describes this phenomenon as follows: "The center economy is composed of those firms whose long-run average cost curves potentially rise as capacity increases, but may not actually do so. Center firms have thwarted potential increases in their long-run costs in several ways. They have circumvented the diseconomies of greater-than-optimum plant size by duplicating plant facilities; a single product can be produced in many plants as firm output increases, with every plant approaching the size of operations giving optimum efficiency." (Averitt, 1968: 105-106)

²⁷ The distinction here between "general" and "specific" training is an important one. The term "general" is meant to define skills which can be used to negotiate employment in a variety of employment settings. In this case, the time invested by the firm into this "general training" is more of a risk to the "investor" since they are, simultaneously, augmenting the individual's labour market value. However, it is presumed, that the complexity of the tasks required necessitate this brand of knowledge by the employee/employer to be productive. As a result of this "risk" it is presumed that this capacity to train workers for the performance of "general" skills will be reserved

logic suggests, that the company or corporation (within the center) will be more likely to train their employees since they will have the resources available to do so.

This "training" implies that such firms often require more from their workers. In this sense, "center firms" demand more highly educated employment candidates. Their work force is, therefore, more productive and specialized. These traits are characteristic of those who occupy technical and managerial positions (Filer, 1981; Wise, 1975).

The regular (skilled and semi-skilled employees) work force is often protected from the arbitrary decision making of the firm by its union.²⁸ Here, the great number of workers needed to produce under these conditions can

for the capital rich, "center firms" which can afford the gamble. "Specific training" relates to the kind of knowledge which is specific to one particular setting (one machine, one product) and, as a result, cannot be used in a different firm. This is believed to be the hallmark of training practices within smaller "periphery firms". This "specific training" will also take place in the "center firms", however, this brand of training will be reserved for workers of the "secondary sector" (Becker, 1964; Johnson, 1970; Wray, 1984).

²⁸ Of course, this applies to firms which deal with unionized workers, however, some research shows that much of the same behaviour is apparent where the employees of the "primary sector" are not represented by union leadership within "center firms". In such cases, rules and regulations, as well as standards for employee safety are regulated and maintained (Edwards, 1973).

often create a relatively strong "rapport de force" (established and maintained by the need for trained personnel) which establishes itself between management and labour. This may, in turn, buffer some of the problems facing most workers. Among some of the advantages which this kind of process includes are; relative job security obtained through seniority rights; wages guaranteed through contracts negotiated by the union representatives; benefits such as medical and dental plans, pensions, paid vacation time, employee investment programs, etc (Freeman and Medoff, 1984).

The "center firm" also benefits from stable demand (in this case, demand for the goods produced vary according to planned economic forecasts).²⁹ This stability allows these firms to grow at a consistent rate (perceived as secure borrowers by financial and governmental institutions) (Piore, 1972). Distinguished on the basis of these features, "center firms" have little or no problems in terms of their economic success. This operational schematic, however, neglects to consider a

²⁹ This is part of the elementary distinction between a "center firm" as opposed to a "periphery firms". The stable component within the market for commodities is filled by the "center firm" while the flux in demand will either starve or feed the "peripheral firm's" production capacity. This is part of the discussion dealing with "dualism as a response to flux and uncertainty" by Piore and Berger (Berger and Piore, 1980:23).

very important "cog" in the "giant's" mechanism. This "cog" is visible only once we look at the firms which exist in the periphery, for the "cog" is, the periphery firm itself.

The Periphery Firm:

Two basic traits will characterize the "periphery firm". First, there will be a "propensity to produce a single line of goods" (Averitt, 1968:86). Second, the scope of foreseeable growth and planning is typically, short-run. That is, their own capacity for rapid expansion is circumscribed by the level of economic investment which is possible. And, as the reverse would also occur, economic downturns will more than likely effect the capacity for these more sensitive businesses to endure negative economic pressures. These "periphery firms" are further sectioned by Averitt into what we shall call "periphery A firms" and "periphery B firms". We shall start by a definition of the "A" type firms.

"A" Type Periphery Firms:

Small companies which have a small work force (Averitt uses as a rough indicator an average of ten workers) and that rely on a small amount of capital

investment, are those found within the "periphery" of the "demand side" for employment. These firms will, typically, provide specialized goods which would be difficult to produce within highly mechanized structures. However, these "small employers", will often rely upon unstable demand and suffer from economic downturns. There is little capital available and, as we mentioned above, production is short term (based upon the flow of obtainable "orders" from the client list).³⁰

One of the functions which these small businesses fulfill is in service to the "center firms". Many of these small companies would supply the basic materials needed by the large firms to assemble the commodities which they, in turn, supply to the commodity market (Economist, 1989:67). The problem for the smaller firms, in this case, occurs in this context. Basically, the "center's" monopoly of production implies that many "periphery" firms must compete for the privilege of

³⁰ Averitt describes the "periphery firms" as follows: "In many cases they own technically inferior equipment. They are relatively poor credit risks more dependent on local credit sources, less able to depend on internal financing. Security markets are often too expensive for their use. Periphery entrepreneurs have a lower average level of education, yet management decisions are more dependent on a single individual, reflecting his limitations and mistakes. Expansion is usually dependent on local market growth, but when the local market grows too rapidly, the possibility of center firm invasion increases." (Averitt, 1988: 86)

supplying the larger companies (Sabel, 1982; Tolbert, 1980). Prices are therefore consistently driven down. A second problem is faced by these small business people from foreign competition.

These structural features all have an effect upon the labour demands of the "peripheral firms". First, low wages will be the "norm" since few of these workers belong to unionized shops, and fewer still are trained or educated at a level which would allow them to "pressure" employers to increase benefits.³¹ "On the job training" is often simplistic and "firm specific".³² Since little skill is involved in the production of these goods, and that training is rudimentary, the employment turnover is rapid. Few workers maintain their jobs with the same employer for long periods of time.

³¹ This feature of being employed within the periphery relates back to our discussion on general and specific training. Here, the worker has "specific" training which dulls his or her capacity to bargain for better wages. The employer has invested little in the worker and, the same worker has little to offer a contending employer.

³² "Firm specific" is defined, in these circumstances, as follows: The relative size of the employer allows only a training period which is germane to the work immediately needed from the worker. The machines which are used by few other employers are explained in terms of their operations and "shop routines" are informally taught. The implications of all these facts mean that whatever it is a worker learns from these operations and duties, he or she will not be able to use as a source of personal capital in order to "sell" their services to other employers.

Some of the firms which are likely to be found within this sector would include: retail shops; small "parts manufacturers"; textile producers; etc. There exists, however, a totally different type of employer and worker within what Averitt called "the pioneering small firms". This is a different type of "small enterprise" or "periphery firm" which we shall now turn to.

"B" Type Periphery Firms:

The capitalistic approach to economic growth has lead many large "center" firms, as well as a growing and sophisticated commodity market, to rely upon smaller industries, not for the cheap resources which they can supply, but rather, for the flexible and efficient services which they can render.³³ The difference between these more aggressive and lucrative enterprises and, those smaller periphery firms which supply goods to the "centre firms" (and the market in general in times of expansion), has to do with the products they are selling (and the

³³ As pressure increases for "variety" in consumerism, the need for efficiency has helped to propel small enterprises to peak levels of production. "Small firms' agility and innovation are needed not just to cope with sudden shocks but also to satisfy customers' seemingly ever-increasing demand for variety. Take for instance, the well-established aversion of baby-boomers to mass-produced wares. This puts a premium on diversity. American supermarket owners claim to stock twice as many items on their shelves as they did a decade ago." (Economist, 1989:67).

production techniques required to produce).

Here the distinction is usually clear, for those "periphery firms" described as "A", their commodities are basic "goods" which are relatively simplistic and cheaply produced. However, the "B" type "pioneering firm" sells goods and services. These are the consultant agencies and the service oriented shops; the high-tech software firms and small computer research plants which cater to the needs of "big" industry and the public at large. These new entrepreneurs³⁴ are those which are, to a large extent, employing many of the new university graduates.

The quality of the jobs available within this type of peripheral firm is considerably superior to what is found within the typical "A" periphery firm. The "B" firms will

³⁴ Many of these new entrepreneurs, are women which found it difficult to rise up the male oriented hierarchy. The limited mobility prospects of these employees have lead them, in many cases, to invest their energies in private interests; "Although statistics on women entrepreneurs are sketchy at best, it is apparent from the data available that women own and operate more small businesses than ever before. Revenue Canada taxation data indicate that, between 1975 and 1985, the number of women business proprietors more than doubled from 74,819 to 170,075. The majority of women-owned businesses are in the service sector, particularly in community, business and personal services, and in retail trade. Recent Statistics Canada data show that, in the last decade, the number of self-employed women increased by 118 per cent from 191,000 in 1975 to 415,000 in 1986. In Comparison, the number of self-employed men increased by 39 per cent during this period." (Canada, 1988; Kanter, 1977; Kanter, 1983; Lowe, 1987; Economist 1989).

employ highly trained and educated personnel. The jobs will, typically, involve initiative and creativity.

We could summarize these descriptions of those who belong to either "camp" of the demand side in the following way. First, we find the "center firms" which can control prices, markets and, to a certain extent, future orientations (planning and research). These industries have a stable demand for their goods and use standardized methods of production relying upon sophisticated methods of the division of labour. The production process is highly mechanized.

Second; we have the periphery firms which vary between two "types". On one extreme we find the firm which supplies the "center" with goods which require little training or skill on the part of the work force. These "goods" are produced under little mechanized techniques or by outdated machinery. In certain cases, this old machinery would be used in order to avoid additional "fixed costs". In other cases, the goods required would need the manipulations which only humans can provide. The system here would either function under "piece rate" remuneration concepts or by hourly wage and quota principles. Either way, the job would be tedious and repetitious. Labour turnover would be great, unions

non-existent and benefits unlikely.

The second "type" of periphery firm supplies commodities as well as services to the "center firms".³⁵ Wages would be superior, unionization unlikely and benefits probable.

Having described these two "types" which Averitt elaborated, we can now consider how these may have evolved, and, how the theory may have adjusted to allow for change within this rapidly transforming industrial society. Much of the theoretical transformations have been recently discussed by Cohen and Pfeffer (1984), as well as Carter and Keon (1986). Two important conclusions can be drawn from their work. First, it is highly unlikely that the "types" elaborate by Averitt have resisted to change in the last twenty years. Second, much

³⁵ Related to this topic is the growing tendency of large "center type" firms to rely upon larger numbers of subcontractors. This association between the center firm and the periphery "B" type firms is formalized in the "technopole" strategies which link the smaller suppliers to one particular giant. This strategy (technopoles) has been discussed as being one of the development of the high-technology industries. Exemplifying this method of cooperation between center and periphery firms is the Oerlikon Aerospace company located on the south-shore of Montreal. According to Oerlikon officials, this company alone deals with 520 subcontractors (suppliers of goods and services). This illustrates the growing interdependence of both types of production (large scale versus flexible). (Le Point, 1989).

of what constitutes a "type", at the moment, can be based upon a different set of variables.

In regard to the former revision, the authors of the article focus on the "simplicity" of the elementary characteristics of the typology formerly employed. Instead, they point to the growing use of "subcontracting" as a means to reduce employment within the "core" (center) sector of employment. In this sense, labour costs are reduced and the employer's responsibility ends with the fulfillment of the contract.³⁶ What the research by Cohen and Pfeiffer also revealed was that "employment criteria" was not affected by the "type" of employer (center or periphery).³⁷

The second argument put forth by these authors described the nature of a "type". According to their results, technology, that is, the level of technical sophistication employed by a firm to produce or to sell, is the key determinant in the elaboration and recognition of a firm's typology. However, what is important to

³⁶ This argument may well retain some of the reasoning from Averitt's thesis, that is, the "pioneering type firm" or what we termed the "B" type periphery firm. Although contracts for various customers may be limited, overall employment may be consistent and lucrative.

³⁷ Once again, we will show that this distinction was also "latent" in Averitt's work since we concentrate later upon the employment practices of "A" versus "B" type firms.

retain from this particular study is that no one indicator can lock a firm within a "type". Indeed, as Cohen and Pfeiffer noted;

It may be argued that to the extent economic dualism exists, it is firm size, technology, geographical location, and the nature of the environment, rather than industrial classification, that determine firms' sectoral location (Cohen and Pfeiffer, 1984)

Of course, this discussion of the firm is important to us because of its effects upon employment. Therefore, we will now look into the workings of segmentation theory from the "supply side", that is, the worker's perspective.

Segmentation Theory, Supply Side:

Most discussions dealing with the perspective of segmentation consider the issue from the supply side. This outlook, which is concentrated upon the division of jobs and workers, considers the supply of labour to be fragmented between the "primary sector" and the "secondary sector". We shall commence our discussion of this facet of segmentation theory by looking into the workings of the primary sector.

The Primary Sector of Employment:

Workers who are part of the "primary labour force

market" are more than likely to have most of these features working in their favour. First, they have a higher than average educational background, which in many cases includes university experience. Second; these workers are either managers, craftsmen, or unionized employees. And third; their employment is relatively secure, in other words, they are rarely the victims of layoffs or dismissals.³⁸ Moreover, workers of the primary sector are expected to be shielded from economic downturns by the secondary sector which is designed to absorb economic variances.

The most salient characteristic of the dual economy is that it adjusts to and accommodates the state of development of the larger, dominant, non-poor element, to the absolute as well as the relative disadvantage of the poor. (Tussing, 1975:17)

The description above can be synthesized into two definitional categories which will include "training" and "security". First we will deal with the aspect of "training".

In a segmented economy, or market for labour, educated or trained individuals represent an asset, and

³⁸ M. Piore describes the primary sector as follows: "...the primary market 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 chances for advancement." (Piore, 1971:91).

also, an investment. As was discussed above, this training factor can be further divided between "specific" and "general" training. It is the case that for workers of the primary sector, a general "type" training or evolution will take place. From this position the employer or employee has invested time and capital to the formation and development of skill. If this training was achieved privately, that is, if the general skills were acquired at school, which represents a personal and social cost, the employer will have to recruit and encourage the candidates through increased wages and benefit packages.³⁹

The fundamental aspect of segmentation, as it regards the primary sector, is that the worker represents an investment for which a return is possible in the long run. Employment stability and mobility paths exist, in this sense, because the employee represents value that can be capitalized through time and, of course, repeated use. The cost of recruiting and training⁴⁰ these individuals justifies their higher costs in times of economic stagnation. In other words, it is logical for the firm to

³⁹ Many have drawn the obvious links which exist between education and income. Some of those who specifically couched their remarks within a "segmentation" context are; (Thurow, 1971; Piore, 1973).

⁴⁰ Regardless of the formal education of a candidate, much training is required to achieve satisfactory levels of productivity.

maintain a certain minimum amount of "variable capital" (workers) during times of economic downturn rather than reducing costs at one time while having to reinvest at another (economic expansion). To do so would forfeit the "investment" feature inherent to "general training" by transforming all training into a "cost" element (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Berger and Piore, 1980; Tolbert, 1980; Buchele, 1983).

The maintenance of this type of employment pattern can only be perpetuated through the use of its antithesis. It is at this point where we now discuss the dynamics of the secondary sector of the employment market.

The Secondary Sector Of Employment:

Low wages and employment instability are the hallmarks of jobs found within the "secondary sector". Those who participate within this group are usually under-educated (no post-secondary education); have no unionized representation and, are frequently unemployed.

The secondary market has jobs which, relative to those in the primary sector, are decidedly less attractive. They tend to involve low wages, poor working conditions, considerable variability in employment, harsh and often arbitrary discipline, and little opportunity to advance. The poor are confined to the secondary labor market.
(Piore, 1977: 91).

Employers will not invest in any training (general training), in regards to "secondary sector" workers, since the tasks required from them are usually simplistic, repetitive and "short term" (Tolbert, 1980).⁴¹

A mutually-reinforcing pattern emerges between those who employ and those who seek employment. Members of the secondary sector (working class, or as should be termed here; the underclass), are locked into a specific set of opportunities which circumscribe the patterns of possible options. Chances for mobility are stifled by the lack of resources available to them and prospects of "working up the ladder" are dim (Valentine, 1968).⁴² A logical association is hypothesized between periphery "B" type firms and the "secondary labour market". However, this association is not a consistent one since many large, presumably "center" firms will maintain a dual employment

⁴¹ An exception to this "rule" can be made in the case of women as a "secondary labour market". As Beechy hypothesizes, many complicated and sophisticated tasks are termed "simplistic" because they are performed by women. (Beechy, 1987)

⁴² For for a discussion of the secondary sector within this "underclass" see (Bales, 1984). The discussion here focuses upon the further segmentation which exists within the "culture of poverty". In this case, the culture of "crime" and its subdivision between profitable and "safe" crime; as opposed to criminal actions which are dangerous and "high risk" while being of little economic value to the perpetrators, are discussed in relation to the segmentation view and the criminal economy.

program (Kalleberg, 1983; Alexander, 1974; Bosanquet and Doeringer, 1973; Oster, 1979).

In general, we could summarize this description of the primary sector by stating that the employer, whose wishes would be to control all aspects of production, transforms variable capital into a fixed factor. Indeed, this "primary sector" can only afford to be "fixed" because of the extreme variability inherent to the secondary sector.

Consequently, we have on the one hand a "primary sector" which the employer has invested greatly in recruiting, developing and training. This segment of the labour represents an investment which, for the employer, can only yield dividends in the long run, that is, through repeated use. Therefore, it is logical for the employer to "fix" this portion of the workforce regardless of economic trends. It is beneficial to absorb the short-term costs of a larger than optimum size work group when the long term gains from extended exploitation are still possible. This is how a variable cost becomes a fixed investment to the employer.

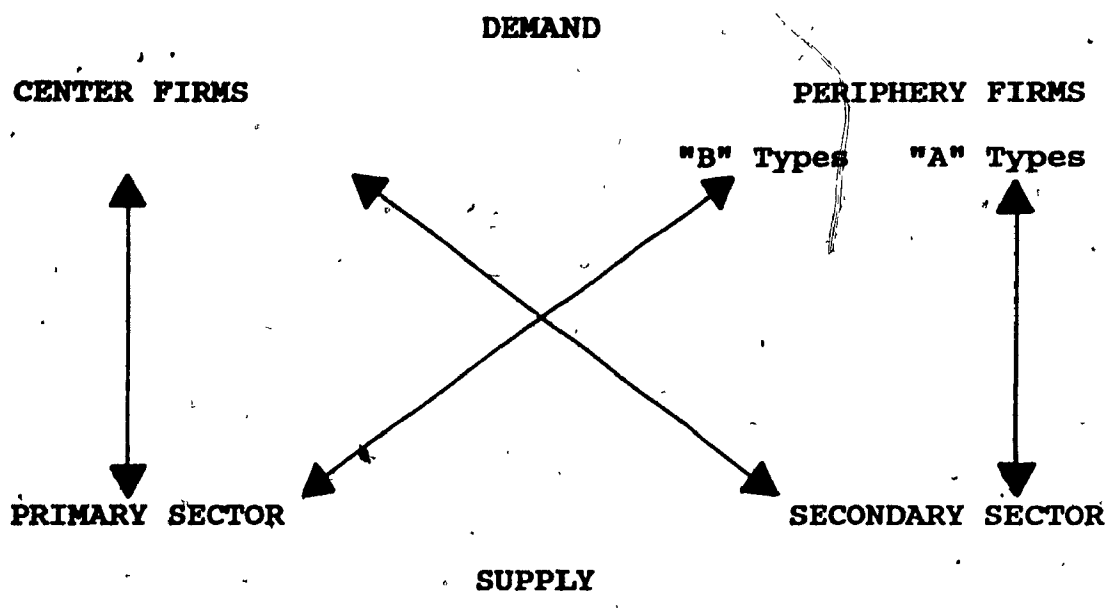
The absolute opposite is true for the secondary sector. Indeed, a primary sector is only possible if a

completely variable components exists within the organization. Excessive costs are absorbed through the reduction in labour force numbers within this group which suffers from low employment in times of recession and gains from high demand in times of economic expansion.

We can, at this point, begin to draw the relationships which must exist between the demand and supply sectors of the economy. At this point, we can link the "center" and "periphery" firms with the "primary" and "secondary" sectors of the labour force. Figure 4 (Page 109) illustrates these associations.

What we find in figure 4 are the correlations possible (and probable) between different types of employers and workers. Of course, these patterns are not representative of the variations which must exist, but rather, summaries of major trends in employment practices. As we can see, the center type firms will employ both primary and secondary workers.

In the case of peripheral firms the associations are not quite as simplistic. Here we will find that most employees of the "A" type periphery firms will be of the secondary sector. We refer, in this case, to the retail outlets, textile producers and similar enterprises which

Figure 4: Merging Supply and Demand Sectors

do not, or cannot, invest in high degrees of mechanization. This does not exclude the fact that some primary sector workers will be employed within these organizations. What the figure attempts to demonstrate is the probability which exists that most of the workforce will have been recruited from this sector.⁴³

The case for "B" type periphery firms is quite different. In this circumstance, most of the staff will have been found within the primary sector. Education,

⁴³ Indeed, accountants, managers, and the like will be required, however, these do not contribute directly to the production of goods, but rather, to the administration of the company and are, as a group, represented within each sector except in the very smallest of enterprises.

training and specialization are all features which need to be present within the workforce of these types of operations. Of course, we are discussing here establishments which are typical of software and general computer/technology related companies; specialist service groups and the like.

Again, this is not to say that secondary type workers will not be employed within these organizations, indeed, support staff will, more than likely, be recruited from within this sector⁴⁴. But, once again, these individuals are not directly contributing to the production of goods or services, and, those who are, will more than likely be few in numbers.

Segmentation and Hours: Part-Time, Full-Time

The discussion dealing with segmentation has, so far, dealt with its general applications. The objective here is to link this "theorizing" with the results found in part-one of this text and evaluate its explanatory potential. In doing so we will first, trace the logic which we can deduce from the preceding theoretical

⁴⁴ However, the complexity and training required to manipulate most of today's office technology has reduced the need for massive support services and, as a consequence, increased the level of knowledge needed to become efficient within these new systems.

discussion.

At this point, Marx's analysis of "class" is now refined into a more subtle vision of "segments". These segments are found in both the demand for labour (capitalist) and at the level of the workforce itself (proletariat). Another Marxist concept, that of the "reserve army of labour", is incorporated within the feminist perspective in order to isolate some of the problems faced by women within the labour market. The application of segmentation theory synthesizes these perspectives by isolating both of these features within one theory.

The notion of a "reserve army of labour" can be conceptually transformed into a "secondary sector". The characteristics of both definitions (Marxist class, and reserve army of labour) mesh when two principle aspects are taken into consideration; responsibility and availability. If we deal first with the notion of responsibility we find that, for the reserve army of labour, the responsibility for maintaining itself rests with itself, that is, when employment is terminated, so is the responsibility of the employer vis-a-vis the

employee.⁴⁵

Since the data from ~~part-one~~ indicate a large shift in employment patterns which, is gender based, the criteria used in defining an economic "segment" must, as a result, include gender as one of the basic defining elements. An equally important feature which needs to be included is "time". Indeed, as wages will usually be related to worktime, "time" in itself, as categorized into the part and full-time segments, represents a further classificatory tool in the definition of a segment.

Therefore, based upon the criterion of "time" and "gender" women represent a segment, a "secondary" segment within the market for labour. As the data in part one show, they are over-represented as part-time workers and this situation has become amplified over the last thirty years. The resulting "typology" must now include part-time laborers within the "secondary sector".

We could conclude this overview of these selected "macro" frameworks by estimating that the labour market has, overall, adjusted to allow for the influx of female

⁴⁵ This notion is akin to Marx's description of the industrial workforce as being a group which is free to sell its own labour ("free labour"). As it is the case for the modern worker, the responsibility of the capitalist is restricted to the "employment contract".

workers to be absorbed within the short or part-time sectors. Whether we call this group a "reserve army" (reserve in the sense that they are potential "full-time" workers waiting for their chance) or a "secondary labour market", the fact remains that the status of a part-time employee is not measured as equal to that of a full-time worker.

Perhaps the best method of allying this "segmentation" theory to the related data from part-one is to consider both figures 1a (page 36) and 1b (37) in relation to the notion of the primary and secondary sectors. Indeed, as our review of segmentation has shown, a secondary sector is meant to have one primary function; it must be completely "variable". That is, the workforce which comprises this secondary sector must be increased or, reduced, without difficulty or cost to the employer.

Short-time work, as defined in part-one, fulfills this "flexibility" criterion. Costs, as a result of short-time employment practices, are reduced for the employer and, more importantly, the employer's responsibilities are limited to wages. In other words, benefits programs and job security need not be included within the employment contract. Therefore, a short-time worker is a "secondary sector" worker. As we mentioned,

figures 1a and 1b show how this trend has increased over the last 30 years. Moreover, what we see is that a secure, almost "fixed" primary sector was maintained throughout. Indeed, the consistency of the male "full-time" category indicates that economic transformations have been absorbed by "periphery" labour markets. The stable, primary "male" sector has persisted since 1955.

This macro segmentation approach is superior to the notion of a reserve army concept simply because it accounts for the fact that the reserves have been activated in response to a need for a completely "variable" labour pool.

Although we now can, thanks to a macro view of the workforce, describe the motions and evolutions of the aggregate labour market, we cannot establish the level of voluntarism involved in the progression of this phenomenon. Any clue which measures this possible degree of "voluntarism" could help in understanding the degree to which women are, as a group, exploited as marginal workers within the labour market. Of course, this "measurement of voluntarism" can only be done relative to known parameters, that is, we can only understand the level of voluntarism

consideration of this question which we shall now turn.

This is the first step of a "micro" approach.

Chapter Four: Micro Perspective

Up to this point we have considered the labour market as a self-contained center of action. That is, behaviour within this sphere of society has been perceived as being primarily motivated by reasons of "economic survival".⁴⁶ In chapter four we concentrate upon a primarily "micro" perspective which can serve to isolate and incorporate, within the more easily perceived "structure", individual motions, ambitions, and more importantly, unique strategies to survive and succeed within a given set of structural boundaries.

Table 8: Revised Percentage of "Involuntary" and "Voluntary" Part-Time Workers by Gender.*

	Involuntary Part-Time 1975	1985	Voluntary Part-Time 1975	1985
Males	31.7%	32.0%	30.3%	26.5%
Females	<u>68.3%</u>	<u>68.0%</u>	<u>69.7%</u>	<u>73.5%</u>
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force,
Cat. No. 71-001, 1986

The data in table 8 show the proportions of males

⁴⁶ One important exception to this facet of the "macro" approach is Beechey's analysis of the labour market and its cultural particularities. In other words, Beechey does not limit actions within the labour market as being contained within it.

and females within each component of the part-time labour market (voluntary / involuntary) over a ten year span. According to these results, both the "involuntary" and "voluntary" segments have remained fairly stable in the decade covered by the study. A slight increase in "voluntary" part-time work is recorded for women while a small drop is registered for the men. Overall, little can be inferred from this survey except that a generally balanced mix exist between the repartition of individuals along the "voluntary" and "involuntary" boundaries.⁴⁷

More information can be uncovered when the data is disaggregated within each gender group. To do this, we summarized the "reasons for part-time work" into both the "voluntary" and "involuntary" poles for both males and females. These "reasons for part-time work" included five categories⁴⁸ of which only three have been collapsed and renamed to fit the aforementioned dichotomy. These three "reasons" are as follows; "personal or family responsibilities" and "could only find part-time work" were collapsed to represent the "involuntary" component. The only "reason" retained to complete the "voluntary"

⁴⁷ The larger proportions, in general, registered for women simply represents the fact that more women than men work part-time (see table 4).

⁴⁸ The source of this original breakdown originates from; (Statistics Canada, 1955-87)

segment is the "did not want full-time work" response. This means that all those individuals who gave the following reasons for part-time work; "going back to school"⁴⁹ and "other reasons", have been excluded from table 9.

Consequently, the percentages in table 9 will not add to 100 per cent. However, it is believed that this breakdown better reflects the opinions of "workers" since students (which represent a large portion of the part-time labour force) have been excluded.

As a result, the data in table 9 reveal a somewhat different outlook. Here we find that the "voluntary" segment of female workers has declined over the period covered by the study while the "involuntary" aspect has grown.

We can see from table 9 that, of those women who worked part-time in 1987, 38.1 per cent of them did so involuntarily (the percentages here represent the part-time proportions within gender groups, these are not

⁴⁹ These individuals have been excluded because students do not, in most cases, require work to survive. More importantly, students will experience a change in status often throughout the period of their educations which would lead to further confuse the data on voluntary and involuntary part-time work.

**Table 9: Percentages of "Voluntary" and "Involuntary"
Part-Time Work by Gender**

	Involuntary Part-Time		Voluntary Part-Time	
	1975	1987	1975	1987
Males	12.6%	28.4%	16.3%	16.9%
Females	<u>27.7%</u>	<u>38.1%</u>	<u>45.9%</u>	<u>39.0%</u>
	100.0%*	100.0%*	100.0%	100.0%

*Rounding out the percentages are the categories "Going to School" and "Other Reasons" which would account for the balance of the 100 percent .

Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour-Force Annual Averages, Cat. No. 71-529, 1987

proportions of the entire part-time labour force) as opposed to the 27.7 per cent level of 1975.

Men, on the other hand, have also experienced an increase in the proportions of their "involuntary part-time" labour force. Again, this can be seen from the figures in table 9 where this "involuntary" component has grown from the 1975 mark of 12.6 per cent to the 1987 high of 28.4 per cent. This is, in fact, a more impressive increase as compared to women. One differentiating aspect of the male / female contrast is apparent when the "voluntary" sector is considered.

As far as the males are concerned, a consistent percentage of them are "voluntarily" working part-time

(voluntary part-time work in 1975 = 16.3% / 1987 = 16.9%). Females, on the other hand, have experienced a decrease in the amount of "voluntary" part-time labour (voluntary part-time work in 1975 = 45.9% / 1987 = 39.0%). In other words, it is safe to assume, based upon these figures, that the labour market transformations which occurred between 1975 and 1987, did not encourage males to "voluntarily" join the ranks of the "part-time" corp. Moreover, females have also resisted this "part-time" revolution since the proportion of the "voluntary" female part-time labour force has dropped over the span of time covered by table 9.

Although we can conclude from the results of table 9 that males, as well as females, are not overwhelmingly "volunteering" for part-time work, the data show that females are, at least, divided on the issue of part versus full-time work. In other words, a slightly larger proportion of women work "part-time" because they wish to do so as compared to men in 1987 (women "volunteers" for 1987; 39.0% vs. 38.1% involuntary / men "volunteers" for 1987; 16.9% vs. 28.4% involuntary).

Nevertheless, attempting to arrive at any definitive observation, based on the data from table 9 can only lead back to some form of hypothesis. Indeed, in these few

numbers we can find the statistical arguments needed to justify many points of view. However, because of this, it may be wise to take a broader look at the implications inherent to this puzzling distribution of responses.

We can, by looking at one facet of the data from table 9, justify the need for a "macro" or structural approach to the situation which sees women over-represented within the part-time sector (conclusion drawn from data section). Focusing upon the fact that the "voluntary part-time" component for women has shrunk from its 1975 high of 45.9 per cent to the 1987 value of 39.0 per cent does indicate some form of systematic constraint.⁵⁰ We can add to this argument by noticing that, compared to women, "voluntary part-time" work has remained stable for men during the same period (16.3% in 1975 to 16.9% in 1987). In other words, men did not experience a similar change in "attitudes" relative to their paid employment, nor were they faced with structural barriers to full-time work.

While contrasting the situation of females and males,

⁵⁰ Similarly, this figure can just as well demonstrate the changing perceptions and attitudes of women vis-a-vis the labour market. In this case, what the data show is the increase in "career-primary" type women within the labour market who are not satisfied with part-time work.

however, we must realize once more, that a relatively balanced distribution does exist between voluntary and involuntary part-time work within the female component.⁵¹ Men, on the other hand, are proportionately more likely to work part-time involuntarily (see table 9).

Sabel's Viewpoint on Segmentation:

The "structural" approach leaves much to be desired as far as the analysis of these data are concerned.⁵² The solution which we shall adopt here involves the addition of a second view of the labour market. To do so, we will now turn to a consideration of the "micro perspective". Specifically, the focus will be upon a "micro/segmentation" approach.

Table 9 does show one clear pattern within the labour market. A greater percentage of women voluntarily work part-time as contrasted to men. This represents part of

⁵¹ However, the increase in involuntary part-time work for men is more dramatic as compared to the female group.

⁵² This must inevitably be the case of a complex social problem which is dealt with from a single perspective. In other words, a structural analysis cannot deal with micro issues which relate to the capacity for human agency and, of course, the opposite is also true. As it is the case here, attempts can be made to associate both dimensions of the social actions which we seek to elucidate, however, this does not allow for much more than a better formulated clue into the question at hand.

the answer to our initial question which sought to differentiate between the influence of "economic pressures" and individual choices.

This "choice" factor is reflected in the conclusions of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry Into Part-Time Work, where a majority of interest groups representing the rights of women agreed with the general attributes of part-time work for women:

The majority of women's groups told the Commission that part-time work was the preference of many women and that it should be available for those who want it. The minority who were totally opposed advocated that part-time work should definitely not be allowed to expand, and urged that existing part-time work be curtailed as much as possible...The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, in a survey of 703 Canadian women in the spring of 1982, found that 66 per cent were in favour of the continued growth of part-time work. The positive response came, not just from women with children, but from unmarried women and those without children. Even women who were not working part-time were in favour, as they recognized that they might prefer part-time work at some future period in their lives. (Wallace, 1983:103)

If we need to move beyond the structural approach, that is, a strict analysis of the labour market based upon clear segmentation "types", we must refine these "types" to include micro definitions of what a full typology scheme might be. This means that we need to include the "individual" within a typology of workers. At this point

we reach into a new perspective on segmentation, that is, the micro perspective of segmentation. The discussion which follows is a review of a theory based upon this point-of-view.

As we can deduce from the preceding text, feminism and segmentation, as well as their analytical Marxist roots, are highly deterministic in nature. Marxism, due to its breakdown of society into economic relationships and the emphasis placed upon work; feminism (in terms of the reserve army of labour thesis) because of the lack of possible volition attributed to women's actions and, segmentation for its concentration upon the macro economic perspective and limited "types", are all guilty of the same over-simplification. The individual's capacity to "understand" his or her own world is not taken into account. All understanding or actions are based either upon the premise of "false consciousness" or system induced ideological and theoretical ignorance.

In his book; Work and Politics, Charles Sabel (1982) describes people as existing beyond their work. Typologies are drawn in order to allow for individual motions and transformations. Indeed, Sabel is one of the few who attempts to sort out the relevance of worker's intentions, definitions and perceptions. The worker is

redefined but not "framed" within one conceptual base. Therefore, the worker is also a consumer, a wife, husband, member of a community, be it large or small, dominant or in a minority. The economic determinism "bias" of segmentation's dual labour market gives way to a search for the understanding of people as dynamic individuals and group members.⁵³

Sabel's Individual: Careers At Work

The question which Sabel seeks to answer in this case is; why do certain workers accept segmentation (segmentation based upon criteria of time or wages)? What is specific to the argument here is that an answer is not looked for beyond the individual's own rationalization. Sabel breaks down these workers into different groups. These groups are comprised of; Craftsmen; Unskilled workers; Peasant Workers and; Ghetto workers. We shall begin by first, describing the "craftsman".

⁵³ This alludes to Sabel's finding that individuals will at times act in their own egoistic (individual) needs while, at other times, adhere to group goals and tactics. Also, this argument is related to Beechey's thesis which points at these "societal" features as "producers" of negative "gender typologies". In this case, Sabel does not perceive these greater influences as negatively affecting the individual within the workplace. Instead, Sabel views "culture" and "cultural ideologies" as the defining elements within the individual's existence both at work and beyond. Therefore, the importance of work to any specific worker is determined by the cultural context from which this worker originates.

Sabel describes the craftsman as: "a man proud of his fellowship with companions whose skills he respects, a man hesitant to forgo that fellowship for a place in a world whose values he mistrusts insofar as he understands them" (Sabel, 1982: 89). The picture drawn here shows that capitalistic competition is not the essence of a craftsman's being. Technical and artistic proficiency prime over "traditional success" based upon earnings or status.

A second "type" is the unskilled worker. From Sabel's perspective, "unskilled workers" see their jobs as an instrumental process which will lead them to more personal satisfaction. "Most workers with unskilled jobs, in fact, seem able to bear them because they do not expect to - and often do not - hold them very long. As a rule they try to use unskilled work as a means of accumulating the capital they need to put their skills and talents to use as they want. In other words, it is precisely because they have good reason to doubt the economist's claim that they are lazy, inept, or shortsighted that they are willing to do unskilled work at all" (Sabel, 1982:99).

This description of unskilled workers does not see them as passive victims of the economic system. Here, the workers realize the perils of their employment and strive

to "better" themselves. Whether they succeed or fail cannot be the issue here, the point is that they are not ignorant of the context in which their general situation exists.

The "peasant worker" represents a more problematic "type". Here Sabel describes all workers with other sources of income (other family members at work, a second job in industry or agriculture) as "peasant workers". One does not have to work on a farm to be a peasant worker within the confines of this description. Many of these workers would be represented by new immigrants or, as this type would suggest, the voluntary part-time worker.

Sabel's definition of these people is as follows: "These unskilled workers view industrial work from a vantage point outside it. They have what can be called an instrumental relation to factory work: They see themselves using it solely as a short-term means to what they hope will be a long-term end." (Sabel, 1982:100).

He adds: "They want to get off the career ladder as soon as possible, not climb it. Hence they are willing to accept dead-end, boring jobs with low hourly rates of pay, something employers in both the stable and unstable sectors have in abundance" (Sabel, 1982:101).

Where it becomes somewhat more complicated is when we take into account the would-be craftsman. Here this individual has accepted the "job" as the primary source of subsistence. Other sources of income have either dwindled or disappeared altogether (in reference to the peasant worker). As a peasant worker, the individual sees her/himself as someone existing outside of the hierarchy, accepting the hierarchy implies that the peasant becomes a would-be craftsman.⁵⁴

So changes within the life of a peasant worker can lead to dramatic transformations which many have been incapable of explaining. On the one hand, Sabel's description indicates how relative calm can be maintained within industry while sudden bursts of discontent can erupt from those whom capitalists expected the least trouble. This is the analytical depth which is afforded by this view, one which deals with societal as well as individual factors.

⁵⁴ Sabel describes the process in the following manner: "Either the peasant workers consider themselves to be completely outside the hierarchy of industrial society or they think of any industrial job, even the most menial, as superior to any job in traditional society. But once they see themselves as part of industrial society, they realize that they are at the bottom of the dominant hierarchy. Worse yet, just as they discover that they are nobodies, they realize that they are doing jobs that lead nowhere. Neither discovery pleases them; both together seem to produce, within a surprisingly short time, significant changes in their behaviour." (Sabel, 1982:110)

There remains a "category" of workers which Sabel discusses, and that we must describe here as well. These are those individuals which fall within the category of the "ghetto worker" type. These are the people which fit within the strata of the secondary labour market. However, Sabel adds more dimension to their description.

...The ghetto-worker category applies to a smaller group than does the standard culture-of-poverty notion. The latter sees all those living in the ghetto as trapped in the same miasma of despair. It is more accurate to say that, at any other time, only a relatively small group of former peasant workers or their offspring-the real losers-are caught in the fatalist trap...Of course, one reason the culture-of-poverty argument has been applied so broadly, and not, as I am suggesting, treated as a residual category, is simply that in any community of peasant workers it is extremely difficult for outsiders to tell the real losers from everyone else." (Sabel, 1982:112).

This means that some circulation does exist within the "ghetto worker" strata. In this case, we could talk in terms of mobility. However, there does remain a group which exists in "semi-permanence" within this category who represent the most, cruelly victimized sector of the economic society. These are the true victims of the secondary sector and its insecurity.

These examples which represent a simplified range of "types" is how we can, to a certain extent, explain some of the "social stability" which persists within segmented

labour markets. In other words, this is why "revolution" is not a more consistent method of social reform. Consequently, "false consciousness" is replaced by what we could term as a "variety of consciousness".

Of course, this further breakdown of "classes" is not, in itself, useful over a simple view of polarized groups. What is usable, however, is the breakdown in relation to the possible divergent interests which exist between the various strata. What Sabel has pointed out is how at one time certain groups will unite and fight, and at others, jealously guard their private gains. In terms of segmentation theory, it adds to the perception of segmentation without oversimplifying the relationship between education, training and advancement. Some would appreciate certain jobs which offer little to others and vice-versa.

Sabel and Part-Time Work

Applying this perspective to the study of the data in part-one would lead us to reach the obvious conclusion that different "types" of workers will prefer part-time or full-time work. Of course, theories which emphasize the structural components will be better suited for an explanation of the "involuntary" component of the part-

time labour group. As well, the idea of "careers at work" perspective help in defining variations which allow for diverse labour time ambitions.

What would be useful to add in order to conclude this "micro" view is the previously reviewed dichotomy discussed by Schwartz. Adding to Sabel's typology the simple breakdown of female types identified as "career-primary" and "career-and-family" allows for vastly improved capacities for identifying problems. We can, as a result, associate the "micro" with the "macro" view.

Without repeating what has earlier been considered, we now reach back and take from Schwartz's analysis elements which can be examined more clearly. This involves the notion of the "variable" worker (in this case women) and, the "variable" employer.

On the one hand we find women which will generally fall within either of the categories mentioned above.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Women can be categorized within any of the two categories, however, this cannot be a "rigid" categorization for two reasons. First, any individual will obviously be more complex and nuanced than any category will ever be able to allow for. And, more importantly, individuals, in this case women, must be allowed to temporally change and flow between categories in order to account for the normal "life cycles" which will occur. As Schwartz puts it: "The high-performing career-and-family woman can be a major player in your company. She can give you a significant business

This can be perceived as the "micro" dimension. On the other hand, the "structure" (in this case, the employer's perspective on women workers) will dominate over any of these two categories. It will dominate for it may reduce both of these very distinct groups into one.⁵⁶ Here we refer back to Beechey's argument of a built in gender bias summarized by Schwartz's use of the term "glass ceiling".

As a result, it would appear that Beechey's conclusions dealing with "structural" barriers is accurate in the sense that women are categorized into an oversimplified pattern which sees tradition dominate over contemporary needs. However, part-time work does serve a purpose for women which can, when used properly, help to eliminate this same built in bias.⁵⁷ Basically, part-

advantage as the competition for able people escalates. Sometimes too, if you can hold on to her, she will switch gears in mid-life and reenter the competition for the top." (Schwartz, 1989:72)

⁵⁶ Here I refer to Schwartz's dichotomy of the "career-primary" and "family-primary" women. In this sense, a strong "male" structure could emphasise women's domestic role and, in the process, group all women within one "type". This strong structure does, in the process, negate the value of a micro approach by eliminating its contribution the the dynamics of interaction within a firm.

⁵⁷ Of course, the whole notion of part-time work "helping" women reintegrate the labour market is premised upon a presupposition that women are, in fact, primarily responsible for the family. Discussions of part-time work, women and family would not be based upon the same questions if all domestic and family responsibilities were equally divided among both gender groups.

time work is defined as one of the elements which can permit women to reintegrate into the labour market smoothly following any prolonged absence.

Part-time employment is the single greatest inducement to getting women back on the job expeditiously and the provision women themselves most desire. A part-time return to work enables them to maintain responsibility for critical aspects of their jobs, keeps them in touch with the changes constantly occurring at the workplace and in the job itself. (Schwartz, 1989)

Evaluating the point at which we now find ourselves by simply acknowledging this conflict does not allow for much intuition concerning the future. However, it is clear that as women grasp access to upper-management positions, this gain will be an expediential one since a single position of power can allow for much change in the institutional patterns established through time.

Perhaps the most optimistic sign in today's economy can be found in the growth of type "B"; pioneering firms. Indeed, these small and progressively numerous enterprises with little formal work traditions and a growing female work force, will serve to jolt traditional barriers simply by providing a strong, competitive alternative to outmoded practices. As American data have shown, women are not only joining the workforce of small firms, but also, providing the jobs by "working for themselves". In a

word, they are progressively becoming "capitalists".

Small firms have traditionally employed a disproportionate number of women. And, according to Fordham's Mr Evans, today's well-educated women are increasingly working for themselves. In 1975, reckons Mr Evans, about 3.5 per cent of American women working full-time were self-employed. By 1985 the share of full-time self-employed women had climbed to over 5 per cent - and more, presumably, participate in part-time businesses. (Economist, 1989:67)

Canadian data also show the growth in female entrepreneurship, indeed according to Taxation Statistics the increase in female business ownership surpasses that in the male sector. Between 1964 and 1979, the number of female business proprietors increased by 123 per cent. Indeed, in 1964, 22,394 women reported taxable⁵⁸ income as business proprietors in comparison to the 1979 level of 49,866. For the same period, male capitalists increased by 25 per cent which represents the change between the 1964 mark of 201,759 and the 1979 estimate of 251,901 (Ottawa, 1982:3).

⁵⁸ It is important to note that these entrepreneurship estimates only reflect the actual numbers of those who had taxable incomes to report. As the author of the study in question states; "When those not earning taxable income are included, the total numbers of both men and women-owned businesses increase dramatically; however, many of these businesses are at a "micro-scale" (Ottawa, 1982:5).

CONCLUSIONS

First, as a result of our consideration of the Statistics Canada figures presented in part-one, we may conclude that short-time work in Canada has grown disproportionately in terms of women's increased participation rate within the labour market. This well known fact, however, is compounded by the new short-time tabulations which show that this "increase" actually underestimates the real growth in female short-time work. As well, this three-part model highlights the fact that more women worked short-time, as compared to full-time in 1987.

Second, we have found that attempting to understand this phenomenon in terms of a macro approach, more specifically, a reserve army of labour approach, conceals many of the dynamics involved in the process of labour market change. That is, a clear redefinition of what a "reserve" is must be done before such a theory can be applied to the question of part-time work. In this sense, the idea of a reserve pool of labour is useful in determining the need for recruiting this "inactive" group of female laborers, however, it is lacking in insight when needed to explain why this reserve is transformed into a part-time corp.

Theories of "gender ideology" and "glass ceilings" begin to fill this void by injecting "cultural" elements to this strictly economic view of labour market transactions. However, this remains within the scope of a purely "macro" perception of society. Although useful for explaining the general "trends" which were outlined in part-one, some form of reasoning was needed in order to deal with micro issues, that is, why do these women (and to a lesser extent, men) work part-time.

Sabel's segmentation typology is described in order to provide a sample of possible traits which can be outlined in order to provide the framework for a similar typology of part-time workers. Allied to this initial step is a recapitulation of Schwartz's dichotomous model which also deals with workers and typological profiles.

Although it remains impossible to identify the juncture at which the structure meets with the individual's freedom, we can make use of these theoretical speculations in order to attempt to view the possibilities available to us. In this case, data pertinent to labour market voluntarism have not been able to clearly identify how the structure may inhibit the individual's freedom to choose his/her level of workforce commitment. In fact, all we can infer from these data (tables 8 page 116 and 9

page 118) is that some voluntarily choose part-time work while others are constrained to accept reduced working hours.

Typologies which concentrate upon the individual's choice (micro) will help in identifying why certain people accept part-time work. Indeed, this will describe the voluntary part-time laborer. Similarly, "structural" (macro) based theories will discuss why some people in need of more work are constrained to work less.

More importantly, however, it is impossible to estimate the numbers of women who would modify their choice to work part-time if structural barriers were eliminated in order to allow for this basic idea of full-time work to emerge. In other words, a "micro" perspective is useful in describing the types of people who choose either option, however, it is with the help of a structural perspective that we may estimate the amount of change possible at any time since the "structure" can be altered. Indeed, further discussions should lead us to questions of power.

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