

Women Part-Time Workers and the Needs of Capital

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Introduction

Part-time work and women's involvement in part-time work have been largely ignored by social researchers. The "housewife" working a dozen hours at the local food outlet has been generally considered peripheral to the 'serious' work force and therefore not worthy of examination. Such a perspective on part-time work is increasingly outmoded and misleading. To understand the evolution of work under capitalism and the relationship of women to the capitalist labour force, part-time work must be investigated.

In 1953, 2.8% of all jobs in the economy were part-time; today 13% of all jobs are part-time. Projecting this trend, by the year 2,000 A.D. 50% of all jobs will be part-time.¹ Women, and particularly married women, account for the largest segment of the part-time labour force.² In Canada, women comprised two-thirds of this labour force in the late fifties and that proportion has risen steadily to 72.5% in 1980. Significantly, an increasing proportion of the female paid labour force is made up

of part-timers (from 10.7% of the female paid labour force in 1953 to 24.9% in 1970 and 25.7% in 1975).³ Two-thirds of women part-timers are married and 40.8% are aged between 25 and 44. In contrast, male part-timers are generally young and single.⁴

The pattern in Canada parallels that in other capitalist countries. For example, in the United States, 25% of women in the paid labour force worked part-time in 1977 and 40% of the increase in female employment between 1940 and 1970 was in part-time employment.⁵ In Europe the statistics are even more telling. In 1977, 85% of all part-time workers in the European Economic Community countries were women and women part-timers accounted for 26.4% of all women in paid employment. In the United Kingdom 40.8% of all women in the paid labour force work part-time.⁶

These statistics, indicative as they are of the importance of part-time work, do not reveal its full dimensions. Rather, the available information on the rate of part-time work is

based on a confusing and misleading welter of definitions. Since 1976, Statistics Canada has defined part-time work as work of 30 hours a week or less, and where the worker defines him/herself as working part-time. The Bureau of Labour Statistics (U.S.) has defined part-time work as less than 35 hours a week. The International Labour Organization defines it as "Work on a *regular* and *voluntary* basis for a daily or weekly period of substantially *shorter* duration than current normal hours of work."⁷ In the absence of a satisfactory, widely accepted definition of part-time work, it should be noted that there is much "hidden" part-time work, such as part year workers (for example, workers employed temporarily full-time during holiday seasons) and self-

employed "under the table" part-timers, for example, women who work part-time as house cleaners, craftspersons, babysitters or typists in order to earn undeclared income. Inclusion of these workers in the part-time labour force statistics would further underline both the significance and growth of this mode of work under capitalism.

In this paper, our argument is that in order to understand the increasing importance of part-time work and the special relationship of married women to the part-time labour force, it is necessary to examine the major shifts in twentieth century capitalism. Specifically, the decline in capital's need for labour, particularly skilled labour, the expansion of the service sector, the struggle for control over the



work process and the recent downturn in the economy have made part-time work an increasingly permanent component of the labour market. The manner in which capitalism has developed has left it not only open to, but predisposed to, the utilization of part-time work. Women, particularly married women, have been especially implicated by these developments. Material and ideological pressures have combined to mold more and more women into cheap, unskilled, service-oriented workers for capital. Pushed by economic necessity, constrained by sex role expectations (such as primary responsibility for domestic labour) women have been squeezed into playing an essential and dominant part in the expanding part-time labour force.

Women and the Decline in Capital's Need for Skilled Labour Power

The steady concentration of capital and the growth of monopoly structures have spurred and provided the financial resources for both technological advances and increased efficiency in the use of labour. The resulting undermining of the "craft" approach, the introduction of scientific management and increasing specialization in the division of labour have led to a steady decline in capital's general need for labour power.⁸ Unemployment, which until recently was avoided by the expansion of capital and the expansion of the State,⁹ has been created. Initially reflected in the shorter work week and shorter work day, the contemporary elaboration of this pattern (for example, the so-called "chip revolution") makes the utilization of a part-time labour force an increasingly viable strategy for a capitalists.

This trend has been reinforced by the simultaneous movement of capital away from reliance upon "skilled" labour: that is, skills

have been replaced by mechanization, or complex skills have been broken into routine, semi-skilled modules that can be then delegated to a number of workers.¹⁰ As a result, employers have been increasingly able to use (cheaper) unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Throughout the twentieth century the highly skilled worker, in whom training has been invested or whose expertise is in short supply (and who, therefore, can exercise some "clout" in the work situation¹¹ as evidenced by the early craft unions) has been steadily displaced by less skilled workers. It is precisely this less skilled worker who, particularly in the midst of rising unemployment, can be most easily forced to accept part-time work. A scenario has been established wherein more and more workers are no longer protected by their skills or by their employer's investment in training from being forced into involuntary part-time work or, needless to say, unemployment.

This analysis is borne out by recent *Labour Force Survey* figures. More and more men and women are being forced to accept part-time work. In 1976, 12.9% of the men surveyed and 11.7% of the women gave as their reason for being part-time workers the inability to find full-time work. By 1980, 19.1% of the men surveyed and 17.0% of the women were being forced into part-time work because of the absence of a full-time alternative.¹² The *Monthly Labour Review* reports that most of those forced into part-time work are in the unskilled or semiskilled categories; "In 1974, nearly two-thirds of all involuntary part-time work was concentrated in the semiskilled and unskilled occupations."¹³

These developments in capitalism have had particular implications for women's involvement in the paid labour force. Initially women were excluded from paid labour and their role was defined as that of unpaid

domestic labourer, producer of goods and services in the home and reproducer of labour power. Single and self-supporting women have always worked outside the home, but in those "female" occupations which were an extension of woman's role in the home: clothing manufacture, food and personal services.

With the exception of the two world wars (when women workers were in demand) married women have entered the paid labour force slowly.¹⁴ Despite the steady reduction in family size, and despite the fact that compulsory education takes children out of the home, married women have continued to function as domestic labourers and reproducers of labour power in the home. This role, reinforced by developments in psychology and ideas about the importance of full-time mothering, has tended to restrict married women's involvement in paid labour. In 1931, the labour force participation rate of married women was 3.5%, by 1941 it had risen slightly to 4.5%, it more than doubled to 11.2% in 1951 and doubled again to 22% by 1961, reaching 37% by 1971.¹⁵

Since World War II, the capitalization of services produced in the home and the technological advances in commodity production have led to a situation where goods, previously produced in the home, can be purchased more cheaply, in terms of time, in the commodity market by the wife's wage from paid work. This, in addition to the need for families to have more than one income, has led to the development of women's double work day—work both in the paid labour force and in the domestic workplace.¹⁶

Women have not, however, only entered the paid work force full-time, full year around. If families can afford less than two full-time work incomes, there are very real advantages to shorter working hours for women in view of

their home and family responsibilities. Time must be found for shopping, washing, mending, cleaning, cooking, children's visits to the dentists, doctors, barbers, household maintenance and repairs. Research indicates that even under the pressure of full-time paid employment housewives cannot get by without spending at least 26 hours a week on these domestic chores.¹⁷ While housework can be done after the woman comes home from her place of paid employment, child care cannot be postponed until evenings and weekends. In addition, there are the more intangible tasks of tension management and emotional support. Luxton reports that full-time paid labour often leaves women "too tired" to "provide the same attention, sensitivity and concern" for their husbands' and children's needs. The resulting short-temper, frustration and exhaustion may make full-time employment in the paid work force a painful struggle.¹⁸

Given these domestic responsibilities and pressures, part-time work may be a necessary accommodation. A survey of working mothers completed in 1973 showed that less than one-third were working in full-time, full-year jobs. Of mothers with pre-school age children: 27% had full-time, full-year jobs; 36% had part-year, full-time jobs and 37% had part-time jobs throughout the year. Of mothers with children attending school: 30% had full-year, full-time jobs; 36% had part-year, full-time jobs and 34% had part-time jobs.¹⁹ Similarly, Rosser (1980) in his study *Married Women Working Part-time in Canada* found that women were more likely to work part-time if they had young children, if other family income was high and if they lived in a small town or rural area (presumably with fewer community child care facilities, more traditional attitudes than the cities and perhaps fewer full-time jobs).²⁰

The gradual increase in the number of men and women who are working part-time

because they could not find full-time work has already been discussed. However, according to the Labour Force Survey, a sizeable number of women working part-time do so for "personal/family reasons" and because they "did not want to work full-time" (a category with no explanatory value). In 1980, 17.3% of women who worked part-time for "personal/family" reasons, in contrast with no men; 41.8% of women part-timers reported they "did not want to work full-time" compared with 16.2% of male part-timers.²¹ Presumably many of these women who "did not want to work full-time" were students or persons receiving a government pension with a ceiling on earnings or, as is most likely, had other domestic obligations.²²

Discussion with part-time women workers indicates that women may be prepared to accept lower wages, no fringe benefits and no promotion in order to maintain the flexibility which part-time work can offer. By doing so, they obtain some of the benefits of work in the paid labour force, without the extent of the double workday pressures experienced by married women working full-time outside the home. Part-time work's very advantages make women vulnerable to exploitation.

In brief, the decline in capital's need for a full-time labour force and the drop off in its requirements for skilled labour have resulted in the increasing mobilization of cheap, flexible (part-time) semi- or unskilled labour. One economist recently suggested that "the reason for strong growth in Canadian employment (estimated at 2.2 per cent for 1981) in the face of high interest rates may be that businessmen are hiring more part-time workers."²³ In part, because of women's domestic responsibilities, this has meant the opening up of jobs whose hours are "suited" to women.²⁴ These developments, as discussed below, have been rein-

forced by the expansion of the service sector, by the traditional priority the union movement gives to the male labour force and to the full-time workers, by the State's attitude and practice in relation to part-time work, and by the downturn in the economy.

Women and the Expansion of the Service Sector

The decline in skill requirements has been accompanied by a tremendous expansion of the tertiary or service sector of capitalist economies. Employment in the tertiary sector of the Canadian economy rose from 28% of the labour force in 1901 to approximately 58% in 1971.²⁵ In turn, this expansion of the service sector in part reflects the enormous growth of the state. "In 1946 the Canadian State directly employed one out of every eleven workers. By 1974 more than one out of five was directly employed by the state."²⁶

It is precisely this service sector of the economy which has drawn upon women workers. Socialized to be service-oriented, women are encouraged to transfer their "wifely" capacities to the market place as nurse, teacher, secretary, waitress and so forth. Women have been segregated into "women's work" and much of this work is subsumed by the tertiary sector of the economy.

In 1951 when the female [paid labour force] participation was on the point of rising steadily and quickly, two-thirds of all women in the labour force held jobs in just four industries: trade; finance and real estate; community, business and personal services; and public administration and defence. By 1971, over three quarters were concentrated in these industries. The increased participation of women meant more of the same. Their con-

centration was highest in community, business, and personal services . . . ²⁷

Being labour rather than capital-intensive this service sector of the economy has been particularly concerned with keeping labour costs low. It has been keen to develop and implement technology to at least partially replace expensive (and bothersome) skilled or even semi-skilled labour.²⁸ The use of computerized check-outs in food stores and the introduction of word processors in offices are only the more recent manifestations of this trend. This reduction in workers' skills in turn undermines workers' ability to barter with employers and thus maintain some control over their working conditions. Employers are in a better position to impose innovations, such as part-time work, whenever such innovations are deemed to be in the best interests of profitability.

There is every indication that, particularly in the large service sector, employers are perceiving part-time work as a valuable business strategy. Given the large pool of unemployed and under-employed labour competing for jobs, given that wages can be kept lower using part-timers, given that non-wage benefits (which now constitute approximately 30% of gross payroll costs in manufacturing)²⁹ can be cut back by employing part-timers who at best receive partial benefits and, finally, given that the part-time work force can be trimmed back with less difficulty, part-time work offers decided benefits to the employer. The employer in the service sector, weighing the problems of meeting daily, weekly or yearly peaks in demand for labour (such as weekend shopping, summer sales, etc.) and confronting limited union strength,³⁰ would presumably find part-time work arrangements especially attractive.

Not surprisingly, evidence suggests that, indeed, employers acceptance of and demand for

part-time work is increasing—particularly in the service sector. In Canada, in 1976, 67% of part-time jobs were in service, sales and clerical occupations.³¹ In England, Mallier and Rosser report, "Between 1971 and 1976 the number of part-timers employed in the service sector of British industry . . . rose by 901,600 compared with an increase of only 42,300 in manufacturing and production."³²

It follows that more and more married women, trapped in the "women's work" of the service sector, trained to do only "women's work", pressured by the burden of their domestic responsibilities and their family's economic needs and confronted by the inadequacy or high cost of good child care facilities are becoming part-timers. In trade and service occupations part-time work is frequently available during evenings and weekends. That such hours are hardly conducive to family life is probably offset by the possibility such hours offer for other family members to provide child care. And if women are working part-time for economic gains, the reduction of child care or baby sitting costs is important. The response of employers to women part-timers is enthusiastic. One recent study of part-time work in nursing reported:

In essence, the hospitals' response is pure American pragmatism. They *need* part-time nurses. An Illinois director of nurses could easily have been speaking for all directors when she told us: 'We certainly *do* need them. We couldn't get along without part-time people, and I wouldn't want to try. They're really go-getters—and they aren't suffering from burnout. I shouldn't generalize, but I think part-timers restore the full-timer's enthusiasm and dedication. When our part-time nurses come on for their 8 hours, they're happy to be away from home, ready to talk to adults, eager to

give good nursing care. I don't see any lack of commitment.'³³

Predictably a recent study of nursing in British Columbia found that 12% of nurses work part-time and another 34% are employed on a casual basis.³⁴

Similarly, the Canadian banks are also keen on part-timers. One SORWUC activist comments, "Half of the people in my department were part-time employees like myself. Some had been there as long as ten years."³⁵ The advantages to the banks are obvious, "We got none of the regular benefits—no seniority, no sick leave, no medical plan, no pension plan. Some people had their hours cut arbitrarily and without warning while others were forced to resign because their hours increased. Days off were changed without consultation or notice."³⁶

In sum, the expansion of the service sector has heightened the demand for a pool of cheap, flexible (i.e. part-time), semi-skilled or unskilled labour. Because of the material conditions of their lives (particularly primary responsibility for domestic labour and the essential absence of alternative means of meeting family needs for child care and personal service) and because of the prevailing patriarchal ideology (which confines women to training for and participating in service work in the home and/or in the labour force) more and more women have met capital's need for a cheap, part-time, relatively unskilled work force. While this resolution may satisfy the requirements of many of the participants involved, part-time work at present functions to exploit women's disadvantaged position while at the same time employers may (as discussed below) use part-timers' work status to impede efforts by part-timers to organize against this exploitation.

Unionization and Part-Time Work

Unionization has been, until recently, concentrated in secondary industry and in the "male" labour force. In view of rising unemployment, full-time jobs and working conditions of full-time workers have been the first priority of the labour movement.³⁷ "Peripheral" workers (women, part-timers) have traditionally received scant attention. In part this is because these workers pose a difficult challenge for trade unions.

Women workers, in general, with their double work day and perhaps less consciousness of their role as income providers and workers may have less time and energy for unionization than their male counterparts.³⁸ Part-time women workers may be less motivated to organize either because their primary identification is with their home and family work, or because they are hoping to move into the full-time labour force at some future time and so view their part-time status as temporary.

In addition, women part-time workers are widely dispersed throughout the labour force in different establishments. The most striking example of this is women in the temporary help industry where the women are moving from location to location and are never in contact with their fellow workers. Long call-in lists will also be a barrier to getting union cards signed.³⁹

The well-established tradition of part-time workers providing a "cheap" pool of labour makes it likely that employers will provide strong opposition to their unionization. Improvement and regulation of the working conditions of part-time workers is a contradiction to the reasons for their use: cost saving and flexible (wo)manpower utilization.⁴⁰ When part-timers organize to improve their working

conditions, they may find their work status used against them by employers. A SORWUC worker notes, "The banks had the gall to say that part-time employees should not be allowed to join the union because they were not entitled to any bank benefits and therefore had no interest in improving the benefits."⁴¹ The degree of employer resistance is indicated by the fact that large non-union establishments in trade and service are offering a number of additional fringe benefits to part-time workers. This may be a deliberate disincentive to unionization.⁴² The increasingly central place of part-time work in the labour force and its importance to women workers, means that the challenge it presents to the trade union movement is an important one and one that should no longer be avoided. Marx observed that the price of the cheapest labour undermines the price of all labour. The increasing provision of part-time jobs, alongside spiralling unemployment, points to the accuracy of this warning.⁴³

The State and the Part-time Worker

The States' attitude to and practice in relation to part-time work illustrates the ways in which the State fosters the development of capitalism by supporting the interests of capital over that of workers and citizens.⁴⁴ While labour legislation varies from province to province, no where across the country are part-timers adequately protected.⁴⁵ Part-time workers fall between the categories mentioned in labour codes. For example, they may not receive statutory holidays and may be "called-in" to cover these days. "Call-in" employees are never "hired", and so they are never fired, are unlikely to receive notice of termination and are even less likely to receive severance pay. The Hamilton study (1978) showed part-time workers to be less likely than full-time workers to be covered by statutory benefits.⁴⁶

In spite of recommendations for change dating back to the Ontario Government's

Equal Opportunity Report of 1973, the Ontario Labour Relations Board does not automatically integrate part-time workers into collective agreements.⁴⁷ Usually employers request that part-timers be excluded, and they are if either party requests it. Weeks (1978) reports:

An examination of the cases of application for certification of all employees (full-time and part-time) shows that in 10 out of the 12 applications the employer requested the exclusion of part-time employees. . . . Although no reason need be given for a request for exclusion of part-timers, given the Board's long standing practice of certifying separate units, it appeared that employers sometimes requested this to reduce the present or potential power base of the union.⁴⁸

While for ten years reports and recommendations have been coming out of the Women's Bureaus, Equal Opportunity Offices and Commissions⁴⁹ about improving the working conditions of part-time workers, governments, at both federal and provincial levels, are guilty of providing less than adequate working conditions and preferring the "cheap labour" of part-time workers. There have been some small improvements, but still part-time civil servants are generally excluded from superannuation; permanent part-time work arrangements are at the discretion of department heads and Ontario has its own temporary help service—Go Temp.⁵⁰

Women's Work and the Downturn in the Economy

The trend for capital to make use of and retain part-time employees has recently been given added impetus by the dramatic downturn in the economy that began in 1973. For

the average citizen, inflation, the decline in the "real" value of the dollar, the failure of wages to keep pace with increases in the cost of living have all put pressure on more and more individuals to enter the work force: more students who must work not only during the summer (if possible) but also during the school year in order to meet expenses,⁵¹ more of the elderly who must seek employment in order to supplement meagre pension benefits and more women who must seek to supplement inadequate family incomes.⁵²

Armstrong and Armstrong (1975) and Gunderson (1976) found economic necessity to be the most compelling reason for married women to enter the paid labour force. Armstrong and Armstrong argue that increasing disparity in income distribution has required married women to work "thus helping the family maintain its financial status in spite of the increasing disparity for individuals in general."⁵³ Gunderson suggested that while necessity was the major reason, married women's participation varied according to (i) economic reward; (ii) competing non-paid alternatives (presence of young children or place of residence), (iii) social attitudes to working women; and (iv) availability of services to substitute for the home product (such as laundries, day care, restaurants).⁵⁴

Research is needed on the calculations behind women's decision to undertake part-time work and on the career patterns of women part-timers in order to understand to what extent other family income gives them some choice and to what extent domestic labour, the absence of community child care services and the lack of other family support provisions provide the major limitations. At present, it must be assumed from the general data on why women work that the economic factor is a major one and this will apply equally to part-

time working women. It follows that the current economic pressure on family incomes is a key contributor to the increasing number of women part-timers. The domestic reasons for working part-time, added to the motivation for women entering the paid labour force from economic necessity, suggests that when women have other income, part-time work may be the compromise which allows them to add to family income, while continuing to fulfill their role in domestic labour.

Theoretical Implications and Conclusion

The reserve army of labour theory is useful in explaining the labour force participation of part-time women workers, as they appear to be an entrenched component of the active reserve army at this time in history.

It has been argued in this paper that part-time work has become a central rather than a marginal component of the capitalist labour market. The language of marginality used previously by social scientists to describe part-time work only serves to divert attention from the fact that part-time workers are an essential, cheaper and less-regulated form of labour under capitalism. Married women, because of their historical relationship to the means of production, their social role as producers and reproducers of labour and labour power in the home, are the group most available for the increasing number of part-time jobs. Women, and particularly married women and women with children, are the major component of the expanding part-time labour force. Moreover, part-time workers are a steadily increasing proportion of the *female* labour force.

Women's relationship to the labour force as a reserve army of labour has been well-documented. Braverman (1974) considers women to be the ideal reservoir of labour

“because of the lower rate of women’s participation in the (paid) labour force during the era of monopoly capital.”⁵⁵ Connelly (1978) describes married women as the institutionalized inactive reserve army of labour.⁵⁶

Marx referred to three categories of the reserve army of labour: latent, floating and stagnant forms. As “ideal types” these groups can be identified empirically at each stage in history. Connelly used part-time workers as an illustration of the stagnant form of the reserve army—those workers which Marx described as “extremely irregular” or “marginal”.⁵⁷ However a more concentrated study of part-time work reveals that rather than being irregular or marginal, a large component of the part-time work force is attached to the labour force, and to particular jobs and establishments, for long periods of time. This allows a more detailed development of Connelly’s points. Elsewhere she describes the active reserve army as “Those workers who look for employment and who are unable to find it right away or who do seasonal or part-time work,”⁵⁸ and it is this statement which is supported by our research. The important point to emphasize is that part-time workers are an established and significant part of the activation of the reserve army of female labour. The increase of part-time work in spite of increasing unemployment, and the increasing percentage of women workers who are part-timers, leads to this conclusion.

Women part-year workers (that is, intermittents and temporaries, working on a short term full-time basis) can be described as the *floating* reserve army. Such women sometimes work for pay outside the home, and are part of the floating reserve at others, while pursuing horizontal career patterns. Connelly refers to nurses and substitute teachers as representative of this category, and there are also vast numbers of clerical and bank workers, and saleswomen, whose relationship

to the paid labour force follows this pattern. Student part-timers also fit the description of “floating reserve.”

As indicated earlier, recorded statistics on part-time work show only the “tip of the iceberg”, as there are unknown numbers of part-time women workers who do housecleaning, babysitting, and similar work for pay. For example, Luxton (1980) reports that “Of the one hundred women interviewed, more than half, 54, had taken care of other women’s children as a way of earning money.”⁵⁹ These workers may best be described as the *stagnant* form of the reserve army in that their relationship to the paid labour force is peripheral.

One of the crucial sustainers of women as a reserve army of labour is sex role ideology. The present interweaving of beliefs about part-time work and prevailing ideas about sex rules (i.e. women are ideally suited to part-time work, women are lucky to work part-time) serves not only to provide a willing pool of cheap labour for capital, it obscures the negative features of part-time work for workers even from the workers themselves. Faced with domestic responsibilities, the short term convenience of part-time work for married women may make them vulnerable to exploitation as cheap and flexible labour.

This sexist view of part-time work is underscored by the widespread belief that “serious, responsible, real work must be full-time.”⁶⁰ It is not then surprising that there has been real resistance to the trivialization of “serious” men’s work by the introduction of a part-time schedule.⁶¹ The prevailing notion is that one cannot be a “serious” lawyer, plumber or carpenter and work only part-time. As Tolson points out, “for men, definitions of masculinity enter into the way work is per-

sonally experienced, as a life-long commitment and responsibility."⁶²

The extension of permanent or quasi-permanent part-time work to male workers would seriously jeopardize this interconnection between "serious" work and sex roles. Not coincidentally, such freedom from the constraints of full-time work might undermine employers' control over workers, providing workers the "free" time to organize, question and so on. Control over workers and the organization of work as Gonick and others have indicated, is of pivotal significance to capitalists.⁶³

Prevailing ideologies surrounding sex roles and part-time work are mutually reinforcing and are no threat to employers' control over male workers. They maintain a flexible and unregulated pool of women workers and this serves the interests of capital. The perceived suitability of women for part-time work helps maintain the acceptability of women in low-paying positions within an occupationally sex-segregated labour force. Finally, the present arrangements regarding part-time work and sex roles serve to maintain the traditional sexual division of labour within the household. Completing the circle, this patriarchal family structure then replicates in each generation traditional male and female roles in the socio-economic order.

NOTES

1. Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, (CEIAC) *Discussion Paper on Part-Time Employment*, February 27, 1981, p. 1.
2. It should be noted that 10% of the female labour force are not "married" but are sole-support parents or widowed and separated women, and that many such women who receive social assistance supplement their income by part-time work.
3. Statistics Canada, *The Labour Force*, Annual Averages, December 1975, 1980. In 1980, 23.8% of the female labour force were working part-time. The apparent decline from 1975 is the result of changes in the definition of part-time work from less than 35 hours, to less than 30 hours, in 1976.
4. *The Labour Force*, *op. cit.*
5. Carol Leon and Robert W. Bednarzik, "A Profile of Women on Part-time Schedules," *Monthly Labour Review*, Vol. 101, October 1978, p. 4.
6. A.T. Mallier and M.J. Rosser, "Part-time Workers and the Economy," *International Journal of Management*, 1, 2, 1980, p. 2.
7. "International Survey of Part-time Employment: 1," *International Labour Review*, Vol. 96, No. 10, October 1963, p. 383.
8. C. Wright Mills, *White Collar*. London: Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 63-76.
9. Hugh Armstrong, "The Labour Force and State Workers in Canada," *The Canadian State*, Leo Panitch (ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977, p. 301.
10. Harry Braverman, *Labour and Monopoly Capital*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974, p. 203, 212, 220-221.
11. James Rinehart, *The Tyranny of Work*. Toronto: Longman Limited, 1975, p. 36n.
12. Statistics Canada, *The Labour Force*, December 1976 and 1980.
13. Robert Bednarzik, "Involuntary Part-time Work: A Cyclical Analysis," *Monthly Labour Review*, September, 1975, p. 13.
14. For an elaboration see, M. Wendy Weeks: *Part-time Work in Canada: A Study of Ideology and Implications for Women*. Unpublished, M.A. (Sociology) thesis, 1977, Chapter 2.
15. Pat Connelly, *Last Hired, First Fired*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1978, p. 64.
16. Bonnie Fox, "Women's Doubleday Workday: Twentieth Century Changes in the Reproduction of Daily Life," in Bonnie Fox (ed.) *Hidden in the Household*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1980.
17. *Ibid*, p. 211n.
18. Meg Luxton, *More Than a Labour of Love*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1980, p. 191-193.
19. Canada, Health & Welfare: *The Changing Dependence of Women: Roles, Beliefs, Inequality*. Linda MacLeod, 1978, p. 21.
20. M.J. Rosser, *Married Women Working Part-time in Canada*. (Working Paper No. 80-19). Department of Economics, McMaster University, 1980, p. 11-12.
21. *The Labour Force*, 1980, *op. cit.*
22. If both categories are taken together "personal/family reasons" and "didn't want to work full-time", 59.1% of part-time women workers are accounted for. This is only slightly less than in 1976 (62%), the first time such data was available, and the two categories have remained stable for women. *The Labour Force*, *op. cit.*, 1976, 1980.
23. *The Globe and Mail*, Monday, May 11, 1981, p. 32.
24. Fox notes that "A majority of the jobs created in this period [1950-1976] were tailor-made for women" in terms of wages, fringe benefits, regularity of work, working conditions and job security. Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 214n.
25. Rinehart, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
26. Cy Gonick, *Out of Work*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1978, p. 11.

27. Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978, p. 23-25.
28. An example which epitomizes many of these trends is the development of the fast food industry. Starting around 1948 (and responding to major social shifts such as suburbanization) thousands of individually-owned hamburger stands and neighbourhood restaurants were swept away by a tide of McDonalds, Burger Kings and so forth. The products were standardized, sophisticated technology was introduced, work was broken down into specialized and unskilled components (the 'counter girl', the 'flip man', the 'clean-up crew') and control of the industry was centralized. The monolithic corporations which increasingly govern the industry, Ralston-Purina, United Brands, Heublein and to a less degree, McDonalds, have the financial resources to invest in further "technological improvements" and more sophisticated "scientific management." The net result is an industry which can rely upon relatively unskilled, frequently part-time, workers who are cheap. McDonalds, for example in 1976 was the largest employer of young people in the United States having approximately 150,000 on its payroll, most of whom (an estimated 80%) work part-time. Max Boas and Steve Chain, *Big Mac*. New York: New American Library, 1976, esp. p. 30, 81-97.
29. *Labour Gazette*, May 1977, p. 206.
30. Julie White, *Women and Unions*. Minister of Supply and Services, 1980, p. 122.
31. Weeks, *op. cit.*, 1977, Chapter 3.
32. Mallier and Rosser, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
33. *Nursing*, November 1980, p. 66.
34. C.E.I.A.C., *op. cit.*, Appendix 1, p. 10.
35. *An Account to Settle*, The Story of the United Bank Workers, SORWUC. Vancouver Press Gang, 1979, p. 29.
36. *Ibid.* p. 30.
37. White, *op. cit.*, p. 50-51. See also Renee Geoffroy and Paule Sainte-Marie "Attitudes of Union Workers to Women in Industry." *Studies of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada*. Bulletin No. 9. Information Canada, 1971.
38. See Ontario, Labour, Women's Bureau. Fact Sheet No. 3. "Labour Unions." Regarding the special problems of unionizing part-time women workers, see Norma Pritlove "Perspective of a Part-time Worker on Union Issues." Unpublished paper, Blue Collar Conference. McMaster University, May 1981.
39. See Wayne Roberts in *Honest Womanhood*, Hogstown Press, 1976 for a discussion of the fragmentation of the labour force at the turn of the century. The Hamilton study *op. cit.*, shows that a large number of women part-time workers (71%) are in establishments with 6 or fewer part-timers, that 26% of the 39 establishments used call-in lists, with average lengths between 23 in service and 76 in trade.
40. Wendy Weeks, "Part-time Work: The Business View on Second-Class Jobs for Housewives and Mothers," *Atlantis*, Spring 1980, p. 69ff.
41. SORWUC, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
42. A further breakdown of the fringe benefit data in the Hamilton study shows that of the 18 establishments offering at least one of the major fringe benefits to part-timers, 7 were unionized and 11 were non-union firms. In trade and service four-fifths were non-union companies. Data presented at the Blue Collar Conference, McMaster University, May 1981 from *The Extent and Nature of Part-time Work in Hamilton*; "Survey results of selected Hamilton businesses," 1978, Wendy Weeks, Social Planning and Research Council, Hamilton.
43. Geoffrey H. Moore. "A New Reading Indicator of Unemployment" in *Morgan Guaranty Survey*, November 1978, p. 12-15. See Moore for a discussion of the inter-relationship between part-time work and unemployment.
44. Braverman, *op. cit.* and Ralph Miliband.
45. See review of Provincial labour codes in C.E.I.A.C. Discussion Paper, *op. cit.*
46. *The Extent and Nature of Part-time Work in Hamilton, op. cit.*
47. Wendy Weeks, "Collective Bargaining and Part-time Work in Ontario." *Industrial Relations Industrielles*, Vol. 33, No. 1, 1978.
48. *Ibid.* p. 85.
49. See for example Kathleen Archibald—*Sex and the Public Service*, A Report to the Public Service Commission of Canada, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970; Canada, Treasury Board Secretariat, Personnel Policy Branch, *Report on the Part-time Work Situation*, Ottawa, 1973 (restricted); Ontario, Secretariat for Social Development, *Equal Opportunity for Women in Ontario: A Plan for Action*. June 1973.
50. Marianne Bossen, *Part-time Work in the Canadian Economy*, Canada: Labour, 1975. In early 1981 the Minister of Employment and Immigration received an excellent set of recommendations from his advisory group's Commission on Part-time Work. It remains to be seen whether these recommendations for safeguarding part-time workers, as well as full-time jobs, will be implemented. See CEIAC Discussion Paper, *op. cit.*
51. The limitations on student grant and loan plans, which have become more stringent in recent years, makes part-time and summer employment a necessity for students. Part-time or temporary employment is all they can fit with their other responsibilities, and so a ready market of part-timers is created by the inadequate funding of education.
52. By setting income assistance programme levels way below the poverty line, women on Ontario Family Benefits and General Welfare Assistance and persons on Federal Old Age Security must seek and take part-time jobs to supplement their incomes. There is a ceiling on earnings so part-time work without benefits are viewed as acceptable by the recipient; even though this situation ensures that s/he can never get out of the poverty trap. Full-time jobs are so unavailable and many of them so insecure that the welfare programmes operate as a full-time work disincentive while making available a group of people (whose health benefits etc. are paid by the government) who will work part-time for low wage.
For more detail on the problems for women on social assistance see the submission to C.E.I.A.C. from Wendy Weeks and Peter Steckenreiter, available from Social Planning and Research Council, 153 1/2 King Street East, Hamilton.

53. Hugh Armstrong and Pat Armstrong, "The Segregated Participation of Women in the Canadian Labour Force, 1941-1971," *Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology*, (4, Part 1, November) 1975, p. 370-84.
54. Morley Gunderson, "Work Patterns" in Gail Cook (ed.), *Opportunity for Choice*. Statistics Canada, 1976, p. 99.
55. Braverman, *op. cit.*, p. 385.
56. Connelly, *op. cit.*
57. *Ibid.* p. 42-43.
58. *Ibid.* p. 47.
59. Luxton, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
60. Weeks, 1977, *op. cit.* Conclusion.
61. *Ms Magazine*, May 1981.
62. Andrew Tolson, *The Limits of Masculinity*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1977, p. 48. See also Marc Fasteau, *The Male Machine*, New York: Delta, 1975, p. 135-6.
63. Gonick, *op. cit.* p. 82-83; Rinehardt, *op. cit.* p. 23-53.