Income Dynamics in the Marginal Work World*

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Women and the Low Wage Sector

Among the most well-established facts about the Canadian work scene is the finding that women receive lower earnings than men and that they also have fewer career prospects. However, the factors that account for these patterns remain controversial.[1] For example, a recent government report (Kapsalis, 1980: 2-4) indicated that while the male/female earnings ratio is 1.61 for full-time prime age workers, this large differential cannot be explained by educational (human capital) differences, by occupational ghettoization of women or even by variations in job experience.

In recent years a segmentation perspective on such problems has become popular in sociology and economics. The perspective focuses on the manner in which training, compensation and promotion opportunities are related to the way market activities are structured and institutionalized. Proponents of a segmentation perspective emphasize the relatively different features of the putative segments (e.g., regional, demographic) and hypothesize that different processes are found by segment in matters such as income determination. While no one advances the notion that segments are sex-specific, it is generally argued that female workers are disproportionately located in the more disadvantaged segments. It is also a common expectation that the vulnerability or exploitation of the female worker varies significantly by segment.

The Marginal Work World Research Program at Dalhousie University.[2]

The Marginal Work World Research Program is an interdisciplinary and long-term examination of employment in low-wage work

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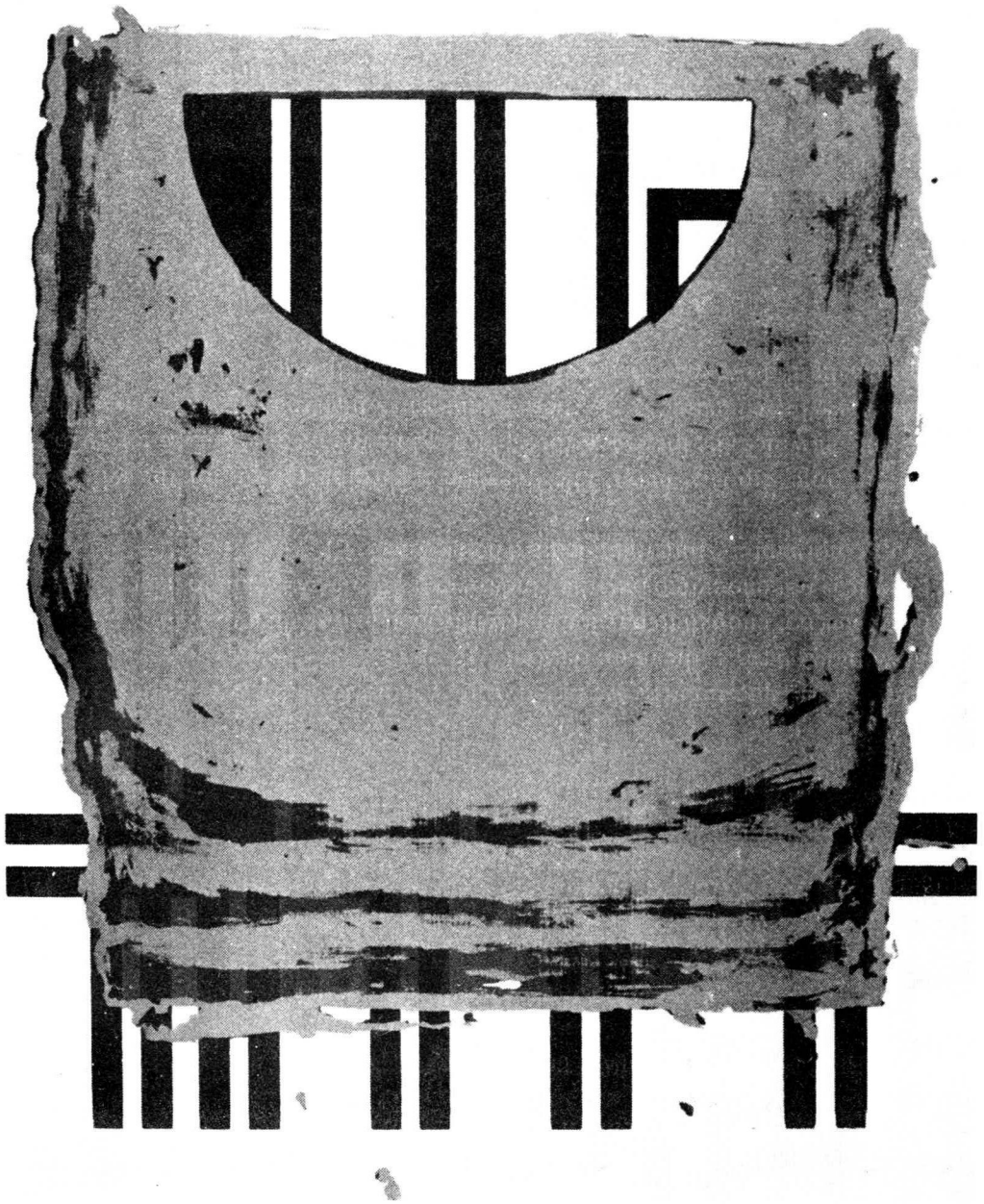
settings in the Maritime provinces. Underlying the research is a segmentation perspective which focuses on the workplace or the establishment rather than on the job and/or industry levels characteristic of other segmentation approaches. The research program posits, as a starting point, two broad segments, a marginal work world and a central work world. The marginal work world is constituted by establishments of modest size (less than 500 workers), which provide relatively low wages, few fringe benefits or internal mobility opportunities and often unstable employment. The industries which spawn establishments with such labour force "strategies" are chiefly non-durable manufacturing, trade, and personal and business services. The research program contrasts the establishment, worker and organization characteristics of this sector with those of the central work world. The latter is comprised of establishments of diverse size which are usually more capital intensive and offer (or are required to offer by a well organized labour force) most of their employees an employment package consisting of *relatively* good wages, stable and secure employment, opportunities for advancement within the firm and so on. The industries which have establishments with such labour force "strategies" are chiefly public administration and defense, transportation administration and utilities, durable manufacturing, mining and community services.[3]

As may be inferred from this brief description, whether or not an establishment or workplace is located in the marginal work world or the central work world depends upon the labour force strategy which is dominant there. A fundamental assumption of the research program is that occupational ghettoization is either less significant than the segment location of the workplace in determining employment package or interacts sharply and strongly with segment location to affect the worker's employment package. Accordingly, the cleaner or the secretary should experience radically different employment conditions depending on whether they work in marginal work world or central work world workplaces.

The Marginal Work World Survey

This particular project[4] is concerned with the structure or morphology of the marginal sector of the Maritime economy, and, as such, focuses on the types and causes of internal variation in that sector. It does not provide an examination or test of the segmentation framework in the sense of answering the question of how distinctive the marginal work world is from the central work world. Rather, this study assumes, on the basis of existing literature, and the research and findings of the marginal work world program, that such segmentation exists and focuses primarily on the internal structure of the marginal work world. In effect, we are asking, in ways that are much more specific than have heretofore been employed, what significance various social and economic factors have for distinguishing among various types of marginality in the region. In carrying out the survey, we used a design which we believed would give us a reasonable cross-section of the marginal work world both at the level of establishments and of workers.[5] To this end, we selected 60 establishments in the three Maritime provinces for inclusion in our study, and planned to conduct 10 interviews each with employees in these establishments.[6]

In this paper, we present some preliminary findings concerning income determination and the meaning or interpretation of work among males and females in the marginal work world. These issues are highlighted because other projects in our research program have found



Tallit Kattan,
Sarah V. Gersovitz, Silkscreen 22''x30'', 1973

that while workers in general are affected by segment location, the significance of this latter factor is much greater for female workers. For example, in our public sector comparison project where workers from the public sector, private central sector and the marginal sector were matched by age, sex, occupation and ethnicity, it was found that differences in earning among the matched males was modest overall whereas the wage differences by segment location were profound for the matched females; females in the marginal sector not only earned some $1,500 less per year though working slightly more hours, but their income mobility standardized over their work careers to date was also significantly less (Clairmont, MacDonald, and Wien, 1980). This same study of matched workers also found that while there are overall segment-related differences in fringe benefits, perceptions of the relative advantage of one own's employment, job satisfaction and so forth, these differences are especially sharp among women.[7] In sum, results from other projects in our research program suggest (a) that income determination processes may be different for males and females in the marginal work world; (b) that the position of females in this work segment is so sharply different from women workers elsewhere (and from men even in the same segment) that it is important to understand the interpretations and meanings associated with such work.

It may be appropriate here to spell out more formally the argument for segment-related differences in matters such as income determination before going on to consider variations by sex. Given the dichotomization process operating in the economy and of the labour market, the allocation of labour and income determination become problems whose solutions require separate models associated with the two work worlds. The relative separateness of the marginal and central work worlds inhibits intersectoral mobility to the extent that initial job placement generally determines the market in which individuals will operate for the duration of their occupational lives. Induction into one or the other job market tends to be associated with formal educational qualifications, as well as various ascriptive factors, like race and sex. Those with lower educational qualifications, as well as women and members of racial minorities, are expected to gravitate towards the marginal work world. It is usually argued that formal educational attainment is used mostly as a screening device by establishments operating in the central work world as a reasonable substitute for more complex and costly search and hiring practices. Factors like race and sex, it is suggested, are utilized not only as bases for discrimination, but also as crude measures of the likely worth of potential employees to the establishment.

Ascriptive factors have received varying degrees of emphasis in the segmentation literature. Some of the early work (Gordon, 1972) tended to treat minority group status and marginality as coterminous, with racial group membership being equated with marginal economic location. However, more recent analysis (Cornwall, 1977) has maintained that segmentation processes will operate even in the absence of disadvantaged social groups, and that the presence of disadvantaged groups merely permits segmentation to develop in a more extreme and visible fashion. Also, the recent literature has begun to distinguish among various types of social disadvantage. Bridges (1980), for example, shows that insofar as segmentation at the industrial level affects the proportion of women employed in a particular section of the economy, these effects are mediated by the relatively high levels of occupational segmentation typical of women's work.

Income determination for workers in the two work worlds operates in accordance with different rules. Segmentation theory argues that jobs in firms involved in the central work world are arranged in clusters which are associated with relatively rigid wage structures. These clusters of jobs are generally organized in hierarchical fashion within firms as determined by the relative contribution of these positions to the firm's economic well-being. Wage levels for workers involved in the central work world will vary according to the particular cluster in which the worker is located, with workers being able to improve their wages by moving up into more highly-paid clusters. On the other hand, wage rates in the marginal work world, given the unskilled nature of the jobs, are generally determined by the aggregate supply and demand characteristics of that market, with the equilibrium point frequently being located near the minimum wage level for the area. Workers in this work world can usually increase their income only by increasing the hours worked, and cannot expect wage increases for increased productivity or continuous service with the same firm.[8]

Income Determination

The segmentation literature suggests three general problems which are relevant to us. First, the segmentation perspective, with its concerns about basic discontinuities in socio-economic relations, tends to emphasize the significance of structural characteristics in determining income distribution. Thus, structural factors like industrial sector, regional location and unionization, which correspond in a rough sense with demand-type variables, are regarded as being as important in income determination as more conventional supply-type factors like education or experience. In an explicit test of the relative impact of these different types of factors, Wachtel and Betsey (1972) have demonstrated that, among full-time, low-wage American workers, structural considerations, and particularly a combined industry-occupation measure, are at least as important as the individual traits. Subsequent work by Stolzenberg (1975) and Beck, Horan and Tolbert (1978 b,c) has generalized these basic patterns to the entire American economy.

Second, given the relative absence of internal labour markets in the marginal work world, and the low educational requirements which prevail in this sector, we would expect factors like hours worked per week and the number of weeks worked per year to be as important as seniority or education in determining income levels. Osterman (1975) shows that such a pattern holds for an American sample of secondary workers,[9] as only the amount of time worked, as measured by weekly hours and weeks employed, are related to annual income. Neither education nor experience are significant determinants of annual income among secondary workers. He also demonstrates that the pattern differs considerably for primary workers, with human capital considerations playing a more important role among the latter.

The third problem concerns the impact of sex on income level. It has been demonstrated (Beck, Horan and Tolbert, 1978 a) that American women are more likely to be allocated to the marginal sector, and, within sectors, women with equivalent levels of education and experience will receive lower incomes than their male counterparts. However, the question of whether there is more sexual discrimination in the central or marginal work world is somewhat more difficult. On the one hand, it is possible that sexual discrimination is greater in the marginal sector, as there are fewer institutional constraints on such behaviour in this sector. On the other hand, it may be argued, as Beck, Horan and Tolbert

(1978 a) do, that it is the very institutionalization in the central work world which leads to greater inequalities there. It might also be suggested that marginal work world employers do not distinguish among workers, and that sex may be less important where all workers appear "equally unskilled and unstable" (Osterman, 1975: 519).[10]

Boyd and Humphreys (1979) show, for a 1972 sample of fulltime[11] Canadian employees, that women with equal qualifications do make less than males, and that with the exception of the public sector, sex differences are higher in dollar costs for women in the core sector rather than in the periphery of the economy.[12] However, dollar costs for women in the core public sector are lowest of all, possibly because of "closer and more effective monitoring of sex differentials in outcomes," or concentration in professional or clerical occupations which provide union or association protection (1979: 19).[13] This latter qualification suggests that institutional constraints may have positive as well as negative effects on sex differences in income determination.

These patterns, as well as analysis from our own research program, suggest tests which we can perform on our data. First, we can assess the relative significance of structural and individual factors, as well as the relative importance of supply-type characteristics and time spent at work for income determination in the marginal work world.

To do this we set up the following equation:

$$Y = b_1E + b_2FT + b_3EX + b_4J + b_5H + b_6N + b_7U + b_8S + b_9L + b_{10}M + b_{11}MA + e$$

Y = annual dollar earnings in 1976

E = years of school completed

FT = formal training (1 = yes; 0 = no)

EX = number of months in the labour force

J = current occupational status (Blishen score)

H = average hours worked per week in 1976

N = number of months worked in 1976

U = union membership (1 = member, 0 = nonmember)

S = sex (1 = male, 0 = female)

L = first language (1 = English, 0 = French)

M = marital status (1 = married, 0 = other)

MA = industrial sector (1 = manufacturing, 0 = other)

Given this equation,[14] we can then evaluate the extent to which income determination processes operate in a similar fashion for men and women by estimating a second equation which includes a complete set of dummy variables for sex, as well as the variables in the first equation, and conducting an F-test on the squared residuals for the two equations (Hanushek and Jackson, 1977: 124 - 129).[15] The F-test indicates that income determination processes for men and women in the marginal work world are different. We have presented the separate equations in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Regression of Annual Earnings on Individual and Structural Characteristics of Marginal Workers

WORKER CHARACTERISTICS	ANNUAL EARNINGS (Y)	
	Males (Beta)	Females
Years of School Completed (E)	.16	.22
Formal Training (FT)	.10*	.02*
Number of Months in the Labour Force (EX)	.13	.10*
Current Occupational Status (J)	.35	.13*
Average Hours Worked per Week (H)	.26	.27
Number of Months Worked (N)	.07*	.38
Union Membership (1 = member) (U)	-.04*	.05*
First Language (1 = English) (L)	.19	.18
Marital Status (1 = married) (M)	.12	.07*
Industrial Sector (1 = manufacturing) (MA)	.16 (202)	-.19 (230)
R^2 x 100	60.0	42.9
F - ratio[1]	4.96	

* Not significant at the 0.05 level. It should be noted that these, and subsequent calculations regarding significance levels assume, within SPSS, the existence of a simple random sample, and hence are modest overstatements of actual significance levels. The design effect for stratification is 1.354, and if one conservatively assumes a 35% increase in variance due to clustering, we get an overall design effect of 1.828. This means that our stratified cluster sample of 587 is the equivalent of a simple random sample of 435.

1. F - ratio for test of null hypothesis of no sex difference df = 10,412

The interpretation of the separate regression equations is relatively straightforward. First, among individual characteristics, the amount of time worked, and not the conventional human capital variables, are the most important income determinants for women. Both average hours worked per week and months worked have larger coefficients than any of the human capital variables. In fact, of the human capital variables, only education is statistically significant. For men, the number of hours worked per week is an important income determinant, but education, work experience and particularly current job status,[16] also have a significant impact. This suggests, in terms of our concern with sex differences, which we have determined to be statistically significant, that men are more likely to participate in work arrangements where human capital concerns come into play. Second, we find that the standardized partial regression coefficients for the structural variables, like industrial sector and language, tend to be about as strong as the individual characteristics. While this pattern does not constitute a refutution of human capital theory, it does suggest that structural variables, including ones important to segmentation theory, do have some impact on income determination.

Income Packaging[17]

The second basic aspect of income dynamics which concerns us is the role which incomes play in people's overall life plans. Among the

major concerns of our research program are the types of adaptation which individuals, particularly in the marginal work world, make to general working conditions.[18] At a descriptive level, we are interested in the income variations which are associated with sex differences and marital status. Theoretically, we would like to assess the extent to which participation in the marginal work world may be regarded as a strategy intended to create a sastisfactory income package for a larger social unit.

Table 2 presents the distribution of individual and combined spouses incomes for 1976. The first point to be noticed is that, in keeping with the original design of the study, most respondents have annual earned incomes which are relatively low. Whereas a person working the full year at the minimum wage in 1976 would make $5,158.40, women in our study, both married and unmarried, made less than this figure, and unmarried men made only slightly over it. Only the married men were much over the minimum for the year. The fact that women and unmarried men have such low average incomes is partially a function of the number of them who averaged less than 30 hours per week work in 1976. While only 9% of the married men averaged less than 30 hours a week, 26% of the unmarried men, 27% of the married women, and 35% of the single women averaged less than 30 hours.[19]

The second point to be observed about this data is the fact that the average combined spouses income in our study is higher by several thousand dollars for married women than for married men. This absolute difference persists when one controls for spouses who actually earned income in 1976. Despite the fact that married women in our study had a substantial majority of their spouses in the workforce during 1976, while only a minority of the wives of married men worked during this period, the income difference of several thousand dollars remains due to the fact that the incomes of our married female respondents accounted for a relatively smaller proportion of the total earned income.[20]

This difference in average combined spouses income also raises the question of the meaning and interpretation of workforce participation for married women. It is clear from several studies of women's workforce participation that the proportion of married women in the labour force is increasing in order to maintain the family's relative standard of living (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1975: 378-383, 1978: 147-158; Connelly, 1978: 63-73). This appears to be particularly true for low-income families (National Council of Welfare, 1979: 18-22). However, there may well be differing cultural understandings about the significance of the woman's contribution to the family's well-being. From Table 3, it is clear that only a minority, 35.8 percent, of the married women in our study, report they are working to provide "basics," while 49.4 percent say they are working to buy "extras." This stands in contrast to the wives of married men in our study, as 67.3 percent of them are reported to be working for basics, and 22.0 percent for extras.[21] In either case, as one would expect, only a small proportion work simply for personal interest.

Several questions may be raised about the distribution in Table 3. First, given that a great majority of the married women are working for economic reasons, we would like to know what respondents mean when they distinguish between basics and extras. While we do not have any direct definitions of these terms in our survey, we do have an overall estimate of ability to meet expenses. When we crosstabulate reasons for married women

TABLE 2

Earned Respondent and Combined Spouses Income for 1976 by Sex and Marital Status

(Means and Medians)

		MEAN INCOME	MEDIAN INCOME	
Married Men	Respondent Income	8426.02	8996.85	
		(135)	(135)	AR[1] = 5
	Combined Spouses Income (Working Spouses Only)	11363.58	10496.44	
		(62)	(62)	AR = 78
	Combined Spouses Income (All Spouses)	10211.14	9002.77	
		(119)[2]	(119)	AR = 21
Married Women	Respondent Income	4098.47	3499.34	
		(153)	(153)	AR = 9
	Combined Spouses Income (Working Spouses Only)	13301.80	13199.82	
		(127)	(127)	AR = 35
	Combined Spouses Income (All Spouses)	12175.38	12499.65	
		(144)[2]	(144)	AR = 18
Other Men	Respondent Income	5435.29	5000.30	
		(68)	(68)	AR = 6
Other Women	Respondent Income	4121.25	3794.95	
		(76)	(76)	AR = 6
All Respondents	Respondent Income	5658.19	4999.54	
		(432)	(432)	AR = 6
	Combined Spouses Income	11247.39	10499.80	
		(265)[2]	(265)	AR = 193

1. "AR" stands for "all the rest."
2. These case numbers do not balance exactly due to rounding errors.

TABLE 3

Reason for Wife Working by Sex of Respondent

SEX OF RESPONDENT	Reason for Wife Working[1] HAS TO WORK	BUY EXTRAS	PERSONAL INTEREST	
Male	67.3%	22.0	10.7	(59)[2]
Female	35.8%	49.4	14.8	(109)[2]

TABLE 4

Reason for Wife Working by Ability to Meet Expenses

ABILITY TO MEET EXPENSES	Reason for Wife Working HAS TO WORK	BUY EXTRAS	PERSONAL INTEREST	
Yes, Definitely	29.6%	44.9	25.5	(112)
Yes, Qualified	62.9%	34.0	3.2	(66)
No	97.9%	2.1	0.0	(28)

1. The wording for the question is: "Married women work for different reasons. In your family's case, what would you say is the main reason?
   1. one income is not enough to pay for basics like food and shelter
   2. one income is not enough to buy the kinds of extra things we want to have
   3. working is more interesting than being a housewife"

2. There is some time slippage here. The question regarding reason for the wife working concerned the time at which the interview took place, while the income data is for 1976. Therefore, in these tables, we have included only those families in which the wife was also working in 1976. There are only slight differences between these tables, and that for the full sample.

working with a question asking whether one presently makes enough to look after bills and expenses,[22] we find that there is a strong connection between the two questions. As shown in Table 4, the better the respondent feels the family is able to meet expenses, the less likely the woman is to work for basics and more likely they are to work for extras or personal interest. Thus, there does appear to be some hard economic basis for the distinctions between basics and extras, and it is not entirely a subjective matter.

Second, we are interested in determining why there is a sex difference in reasons for married women working. The only major factors which affect the original response pattern are language, religion, region and type of work location.[23] The general impact they have on the relationship is that of specification: the original pattern holds up for those who are French, Catholic, live in northeastern New Brunswick, or work in fishplants but not for other respondents. We have presented the findings for language in Table 5.

Given that we have substantial overlap in our sample on these three characteristics, we are unable to do much to separate out the effects of these variables directly. We do know that the relationship holds for Francophones and Catholics outside northeastern New Brunswick, and that it holds for Catholics working outside of fishplants.[24] These findings suggest that we may be dealing with some sort of cultural dimension. One possibility is that French-speaking males share a more traditional cultural perspective on women's roles which leads them to regard married women working outside the home as being justifiable only when the family has basic unmet needs. However, when we used a question asking respondents to agree or disagree, on a 1 to 9 scale, that "a woman's place is in the home" as our control variable, we found no support for this hypothesis. This does not necessarily mean that we must abandon this line of argumentation, as it may well be the case that a stronger, multi-item attitudinal measure, or a behavioural one, would have more impact, but it does suggest we will have to be more systematic in testing these ideas in a study planned for the following year.

Conclusions

Segmentation theory provides a new perspective on the organization of work and the place that women occupy in it. In this paper, we have investigated some hypotheses emerging from the theory regarding income determination and we have demonstrated that among individual variables, simple amount of time worked, as compared to standard human capital variables, is an important predictor of income level. This is particularly true for women. Also, we have shown that structural, as well as individual, variables have to be taken into account in discussing income determination. Overall, our analysis of income determination demonstrates, in keeping with the theoretical expectations discussed above, that women occupy the most "marginal" position within the marginal section of the economy. Segmentation processes may well be intensified by the existence of various forms of sexual discriminations within the marginal work world.

Second, we have explored the nature of income packaging in the marginal work world and the possible reasons for married women's workforce participation. In particular, we found both that our respondents distinguish between basic and secondary aspects of family income and that there are some sex-based cultural differences which may account for the variations which we have observed. Men from French-speaking, Catholic backgrounds are

TABLE 5

Reason for Wife Working by Sex of Respondent Controlling for Language

English

Reason for Wife Working

SEX OF RESPONDENT	HAS TO WORK	BUY EXTRAS	PERSONAL INTEREST	
Male	23.5%	51.2	25.3	(24)
Female	30.4%	47.9	21.7	(68)

French

Reason for Wife Working

SEX OF RESPONDENT	HAS TO WORK	BUY EXTRAS	PERSONAL INTEREST	
Male	97.4%	2.0	0.6	(35)
Female	45.5%	51.3	3.2	(40)

more likely to view married women's work outside the home as fulfilling basic economic needs than English-speaking, Protestant males. Given the importance of cultural interpretations of work relations, and the fact that segmentation theory provides few expectations regarding these issues, beyond suggesting some link to economic disadvantage, we think we have at least been able to refine some of the questions for future consideration.

NOTES

1. Somewhat surprisingly, even the work contexts which substantially modify these sex differences remain to be delineated carefully.
2. This description of the research program is based upon a document prepared by Don Clairmont and Fred Wien for the Social Science Federation in Canada (Clairmont and Wien, 1978).
3. In theoretical terms, then, the research program is organized around a dualistic framework that has been influenced substantially by sphere theory as advanced by economic anthropologists and by dual labour/product market and radical segmentation models being suggested by non-orthodox economists.
4. It is one of some 15 projects being carried out over a five-year period. Some of these projects are largely quantitative and oriented to examining the heuristic value of diverse operationalizations of the segmentation idea whereas others have proceeded on the basis of certain assumptions found in the segmentation literature. The program includes both surveys and case studies dealing with the boundaries, barriers and linkages among segments, the adaptation of individuals and families and the impact of government policy and programs on the way workplaces are organized.
5. In operationalizing the marginal and central work world

concepts, the research program has defined establishments as marginal or central on the basis of size, the degree of labour intensity and predominant wage levels. In general, establishments have been classified as marginal to the extent that they have fewer than 400 employees, are predominantly labour intensive in terms of the skill levels of their workers, or the importance of labour costs to the operation of the establishments, and have a majority of their employees making no more than $1.00 over the minimum wage. In this particular project, establishments were considered marginal if, at the time of selection, the size of the establishment was greater than 19 and fewer than 400 employees, and if more than 60 per cent of their labour force made less than $4.00 per hour. We utilized a lower size boundary of 20 to ensure that there were reasonable prospects of obtaining 10 completed interviews in a given establishment. Although no explicit criterion for degree of labour intensity was used in this project, informal discussion with Manpower officials indicated that all establishments chosen were relatively labour intensive.

6. We actually completed 587 interviews. An extended discussion of the methodology for this study is contained in Apostle and MacDonald (1978).
7. One area where the matched workers project revealed minimal differences between males and females in the marginal work world was turnover. Workers in this segment, compared to those in the central sector, were at least twice as likely not to be working in 1978 for the employer they had when we interviewed them first in 1976. This pattern was as true for males as for females, lending strong credence to a segmentation-type argument that the marginal work world is an "every person market" where a labour force strategy is utilized that is compatible with little commitment to individual employees and relatively high levels of instability.
8. In terms of income distribution, segmentation theory suggests that the share accruing to workers in the marginal work world would be decreasing relative to both workers located in the central work world and to capital. This would also imply that income pyramids would increasingly assume a bimodal shape among the lower and middle income ranks. Gordon (1972: 104-105) suggests that the empirical evidence available is slightly more consistent with this view, or a Marxist one, than it is with a neo-classical one. Given the relatively limited time span of this study, we will not be addressing this general problem in a systematic way with our data.
9. His sectoral classification scheme of secondary, lower-tier primary, and upper-tier primary is based on occupation, rather than establishment, location (1975: 513-516).
10. With regard to another ascriptive factor, race, Osterman shows that it is less important as a determinant of income among *both* secondary workers and "upper-tier" primary workers than it is among "lower-tier" primary workers. He suggests that it is in the lower tier of primary employment, which comprises the bulk of blue and white-collar work, that "institutional constraints and long-established practices permit racial discrimination to continue" (1975: 519).
11. In contrast to other studies, they found a relatively equal distribution of men and women in their core and periphery sectors. They suggest that "in part the distributions reflect the omission of the part-time and self-employed workers who are more likely to be in the periphery sector" (1979: 11).
12. Beck, Horan and Tolbert (1978 a: 22) also report these higher absolute dollar costs for women in the core. They also found, in another American national sample, (1978 a) that sex differences, although running in the expected directions in both sectors, were only statistically significant in the core of the economy.
13. In proportionate terms, they found the ratio of mean female income to mean male income to be 56 percent in the periphery, 70 percent in the public administration industry, and 57 percent in the other core industries (1979: 15).
14. Education was initially included in both linear and quadratic forms on the assumption that returns to education decrease at higher levels. However, we encountered a severe multicollinearity problem, as there is a .97 correlation between the two terms. After inspection of the scattergram for education and income, we decided to exclude the quadratic term.
15. This test is equivalent to the Chow test. See Gujarati, (1970: 50-52).
16. Although we lean towards regarding occupational status as a measure of acquired skill, and hence primarily a human capital variable, it should be noted that it may also have a minor structural component associated with the notion that individuals have to confront an occupational structure and occupational alternatives which are to some extent external givens.
17. We use the term "income packaging" advisedly. First, it is clear from our data that our respondents have, save for their UIC and social assistance payments, only minor alternative sources of cash income. Most importantly, only 3 per cent of our respondents working in 1976 claimed income from a second job. (This also suggests that "occupational pluralism" may not be a particularly important aspect of life in the marginal work world). Second, we have no information on the earnings or contribution of members of the household other than the spouse. Given that 29 per cent of our respondents reported that two or more other members of their households contributed to the cash income of the household, we are missing some important information on the income package.

    On the question of UIC and social assistance payments, it should be noted that 30 per cent of our respondents reported some income in 1976 from such sources. For recipients, the range of incomes from this source was from $19 to $3,300, and the median was $1,680. Income from these sources is correlated with low socio-economic status, French background, seasonal work patterns, and being male. For analysis of the connections between marginal employment and UIC and social assistance, see Butler (1979).
18. We also have a limited amount of information on a second major type of adaptation: the set of attitudes and preferences our respondents have expressed regarding attachments

to their communities and the desirability of alternative working and living arrangements. In general, we find that our respondents tend to claim they know their neighbours well, and that they belong to the communities in which they live. Of our total sample, 68% say they know most or all of their neighbours well, and 91% of them feel they "belong" or "really belong" to their communities.

As in the case of the literature on job satisfaction, we would probably be surprised if our results concerning subjective attachments had been otherwise. However, it should be made clear that our respondents do employ some critical facilities in evaluating the relative merits of life in their communities. When asked how they would compare life in their present community with that in Halifax or Toronto, majorities, frequently large ones, indicate that things are better in their present community in terms of housing, taxes, the cost of living, friends, spare time activities and way of life, but that Halifax and/or Toronto offer better job opportunities and wages or salaries. This pattern suggests that our respondents do recognize the possibility of better occupational chances elsewhere, but, given the other economic and social advantages of their current location, are willing to trade these off in order to remain where they are.

The existence of such overall judgments or calculations is also suggested in their attitudes towards unemployment. When asked where they would be willing to move if they were unemployed and unable to get a job within travelling distance of their community, a majority, 63%, said they would be willing to move within the province for another job, but only 49% and 46%, respectively, would move elsewhere in the Maritimes or Canada. Andrew Harvey and Stephen MacDonald are doing a more comprehensive study of adaptive processes for the research program. For details, see Harvey and MacDonald (1979).

19. It should also be noted that the mean hours worked per week for married men, unmarried men, married women, and unmarried women, respectively, were 42.4, 35.7, 33.4, and 32.8.
20. As would be expected from a segmentation perspective, there is an asymmetry in the location and type of spouses' employment, with working wives of married men in our sample more likely to be employed in the marginal sector of the economy, and to have low-status employment than working husbands of married women in our sample. However, this does not explain the difference in average combined spouses' income. Rather the difference appears to be a function of the fact that low-status female spouses work for a shorter time period than low-status male spouses. Unfortunately, we did not ask our respondents what proportion of the total year their spouses had worked.
21. This latter statement assumes that husbands are giving a true report of the main reason for their wives working.
22. "Do you presently make enough to look after your bills and expenses?"
23. Differences in annual earnings do not affect the relationship.
24. We have chosen to work with language in this analysis, as it generates, by a slight margin, the strongest effects.

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