



LAW COMMISSION OF ONTARIO
COMMISSION DU DROIT DE L'ONTARIO

PRECARIOUS JOBS IN ONTARIO: MAPPING DIMENSIONS OF LABOUR MARKET INSECURITY BY WORKERS' SOCIAL LOCATION AND CONTEXT

Vulnerable Workers and Precarious Work

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The LCO commissioned this paper to provide background research for its Legal Capacity, Decision-Making and Guardianship project. The views expressed in this paper do not necessarily reflect the views of the LCO

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I. INTRODUCTION

In this report, we use data from Statistics Canada's *Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID)* to map the prevalence of precarious jobs in Ontario's labour market over the decade long period between 1999 and 2009.² Many current labour regulations and policies are premised on the norm of a standard employment relationship (SER) defined by a full-time continuous employment relationship where the worker has one employer, works on the employer's premises and has access to extensive social benefits and statutory entitlements from that employer. Research shows, however, that this employment model, and particularly its associated securities, is waning.³ In contrast to the SER, precarious jobs are characterized by specific features of labour market insecurity. They tend to be clustered in part-time and temporary forms of employment, although on account of the lowering of the bottom of the labour market during the post-1980 period, features of precariousness are also increasingly found in full-time permanent jobs.

To date, studies of Canada as a whole have shown that precarious jobs are most often held by workers in certain social locations, especially women, immigrants, and racialized people⁴ and in certain sectors, industries and occupations, such as in the private sector and sales and services in particular.⁵ Yet with the exception of studies of Quebec,⁶ there is a dearth of analysis of the dynamics of precarious employment in provincial labour markets even though the provinces represent a significant site of labour regulation since the Federal Labour Code covers just ten per cent of all workers in Canada. At the provincial level, there is limited awareness of the different permutations and combinations of key features of labour market insecurity identified

with different employment statuses (e.g., self-employment or paid employment) and forms of employment (e.g., part-time or full-time, temporary or permanent paid employment) and their prevalence among differently situated workers, both workers in different industries and occupations and in different social locations. This report aims to fill this knowledge gap, and thus is a necessary step towards correcting the disjunction between labour market realities and the model upon which many provincial labour regulations and policies are premised. To this end, in the analysis that follows, we aim to answer four questions about precarious jobs in Ontario:

- i. How has the structure of the Ontario labour market changed from 1999-2009, particularly in relation to the prevalence of part-time and temporary forms of paid employment and solo self-employment, forms of employment which are typically identified with precarious jobs?
- ii. How prevalent are the different features of labour market insecurity in the Ontario's labour market, and how has their prevalence changed from 1999-2009?
- iii. In what sectors, industries and occupations are precarious jobs most prevalent?
- iv. What are the socio-demographic characteristics (gender, ethnicity, immigration status) of people who hold precarious jobs and how has this changed from 1999-2009?

Methodological details about the objectives, data collection, sampling and coverage limitations, and analysis of the *Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics*, the principal survey upon which the report relies, are found in Appendix A.

II. UNDERSTANDING PRECARIOUS JOBS

We conceptualize precarious jobs as forms of work for remuneration which have one or more dimensions of labour market insecurity that make them substantially different from the “functions”⁷ of the SER – specifically, its association with access to training, regulatory protections and social benefits, decent wages, and a social wage.⁸ In particular, precarious jobs are characterized typically by high levels of uncertainty, low income, a lack of control over the labour process, and limited access to regulatory protections. The presence of one or more of these dimensions of labour market insecurity results in these jobs being of undesirable quality. There is a relationship between workers and jobs too; those workers who remain in precarious jobs may themselves be or become marginalized or perceived as precarious in relation to the larger society (e.g., on account of sex/gender divisions of labour or citizenship status); hence, the relationship between precarious jobs and so-called vulnerable workers.⁹ However, this report centres on jobs, rather than workers.

One aspect of our analysis focuses on various forms of employment. Building on previous empirical findings for Canada and elsewhere, we take solo self-employment (without employees) to be more precarious than employer self-employment.¹⁰ Without the protection of a larger and/or more diverse company, this subset of the self-employed are much more vulnerable to economic pressures; even a brief downturn in business

can lead to unemployment or poverty.¹¹ Further, many solo self-employed are, in practice, workers, including independent or dependent contractors who have been deemed to be self-employed in order to limit their access to equivalent levels of workplace protections and benefits as employees.¹² We also understand temporary forms of employment, which are diverse and include contract/term, seasonal, casual and on-call employment, to be more precarious than permanent forms of employment as they are uncertain by definition.¹³ As employers pursue ‘flexibility-enhancing’ labour strategies, temporary or contract employment also affords them the opportunity to reduce their labour costs by eliminating workers, without the need to provide cause for termination or severance pay. Increasingly, employees are given multiple, recurring temporary contracts; although the positions they hold may have become a permanent part of the organization, these workers are required to periodically reapply for their jobs. Many temporary employees are also excluded from a full range of workplace benefits, including health benefits and pension plans.¹⁴ We also take part-time to typically be more precarious than full-time employment since, like temporary as opposed to permanent workers, those that are part-time often have less job security (e.g., due to seniority rules), fewer social benefits and statutory entitlements (as they may fail to meet minimum hours thresholds) and less influence in their work environment. We therefore include an analysis of part-time and temporary paid employment and solo self-employment in this paper. At the same time, we recognize that precarious employment is *not* synonymous with non-standard employment. Rather, some non-standard employment is relatively secure and some full-time permanent employment is precarious. Precariousness can cut across all kinds of work for remuneration – much

depends on the nature and organization of labour market regulations.¹⁵ For this reason, we pursue an integrated analysis that places dimensions of labour market insecurity on a par with forms of employment.

The dimensions of labour market insecurity examined in this paper include low income, a lack of control over the labour process, and limited access to regulatory protections. As in all research using secondary data, we are limited by the indicators available to us in the dataset. As indicators of low income, we use jobs which pay low wages and have little to no non-wage compensation. We define a 'low wage' job as one in which a worker makes less than 1.5 times the minimum wage. The minimum wage is designed to set a basic minimum standard of living for workers. In fact, many wage rates are tied to the minimum wage; often workers gain wage increases for seniority or supervisory duties relative to the minimum wage. Table 2.1 shows the progression of minimum wage in Ontario and how it relates to the 'low wage' cut-off used here.¹⁶ The Low-Income Measure (LIM) is a conceptual benchmark established by Statistics Canada that adopts a more nuanced approach to measuring poverty than the Low-Income Cutoff (LICO). The LIM is an internationally comparable benchmark that represents a fixed percentage (50%) of the median adjusted household income, adjusted to account for household size and location.¹⁷ The LIM, shown as a reference point in Table 2.1, is for a single person in Canada living in a large urban area; more than half of Ontarians live in large urban areas. Based on this reference, our cutoff of 1.5 times the minimum wage provides a reasonable, indexed measure for identifying workers in low wage jobs.

Table 2.1: Minimum Wage, Low-Wage Cutoffs and the Low Income Measure

Year	Ontario Minimum Wage	Low Wage Cutoff (1.5 times the minimum wage)	Maximum yearly gross income of full-time, workers using this low- wage cutoff*	Low-income measure for a single Canadian living in a large urban area**
1999	\$6.85	\$10.28	\$21,372	\$19,949
2000	\$6.85	\$10.28	\$21,372	\$20,929
2001	\$6.85	\$10.28	\$21,372	\$22,204
2002	\$6.85	\$10.28	\$21,372	\$23,099
2003	\$6.85	\$10.28	\$21,372	\$24,438
2004	\$7.15	\$10.73	\$22,308	\$25,302
2005	\$7.45	\$11.18	\$23,244	\$26,479
2006	\$7.75	\$11.63	\$24,180	\$27,657
2007	\$8.00	\$12.00	\$24,960	\$28,888
2008	\$8.75	\$13.13	\$27,300	\$30,064
2009	\$9.50	\$14.25	\$29,640	\$30,250

* Based on working 40 hours per week, 52 weeks a year

** Based on before tax income for those living in a CMA of 500,000 or more;¹⁸ Adjusted from 1992 dollars using the Bank of Canada's inflation calculator

Another measure of precariousness is having little non-wage compensation.

Based on the measures available, we use the presence or absence of an employer pension plan as an indicator of this dimension of labour market insecurity. Although the presence or absence of extended health, vision or dental benefits provides another indicator of non-wage compensation, these data are not available.

We also contend that jobs that lack a full range of labour protections are more likely to be precarious. This situation applies to the self-employed, and is also more likely to apply to those who work in small firms, where the scope of employment standards may be less comprehensive than in large firms (e.g., provisions for termination and severance may be better for workers who are part of a mass layoff in large firm as is the case in British Columbia) and their application and enforcement tends to be more lax,¹⁹ and where employers are not required to abide by equal pay and employment equity legislation.²⁰ In this analysis, we consider those who work in firms of less than twenty people to be precarious along this dimension. Small firms are also

more likely to be subject to economic fluctuations, leading to layoffs and or termination of workers in times of economic downturn. Finally, jobs in which workers have limited control over the labour process tend to be more precarious. In this analysis, these jobs are identified as those which are not unionized and/or where workers are not covered by a collective agreement.

Ultimately, we combine these four measures (low income, no pension plan, small firm size, and no union coverage) to create a composite measure of precariousness. Although we recognize the existence of a continuum of precarious jobs,²¹ this composite measure, which does not prioritize one dimension over another and thus rejects the idea of weighting dimensions, deems that workers who indicate that their job has at least three of these four features have precarious jobs.

A substantial literature indicates that people from socially disadvantaged groups are more likely to be found in precarious jobs as are workers in particular industries and occupations, leaving them vulnerable to economic uncertainty and restructuring.²² For this reason, we elevate social relations of gender and migration and processes of racialization in the analysis through the use of the indicators of sex,²³ visible minority status, ethnic background, and immigration status as well as examining sectoral, industrial, and occupational patterns.

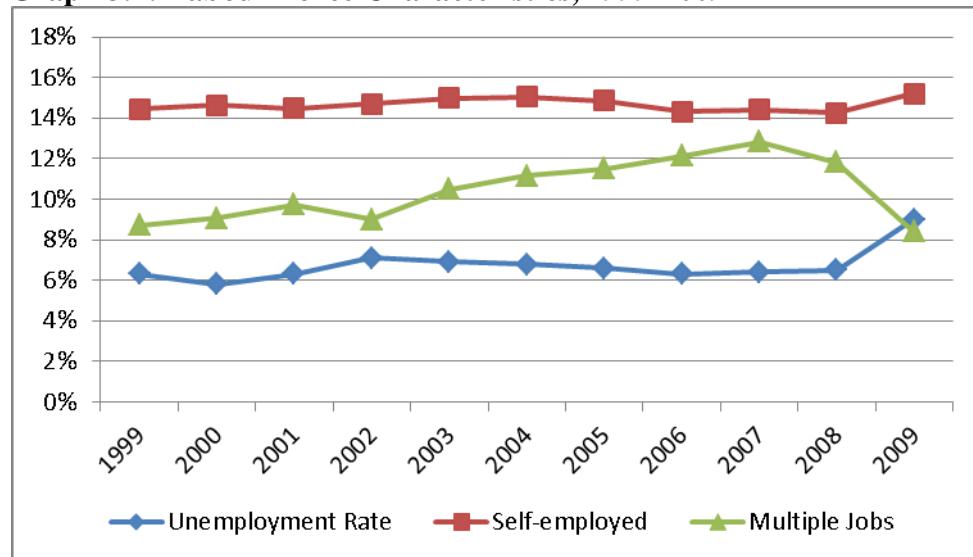
III. THE STRUCTURE OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1999-2009

Over the past decade, a variety of forces have worked to shape Ontario's labour market. These include the development of a globalized labour force throughout the 1990s, the implementation of neoliberal employment policies during the mid-1990s, and the effects of a global recession starting in 2007. The overall proportion of Ontario's

population that is in labour force has remained constant during the past decade, though the proportion of those in the labour force who hold multiple jobs, an indicator of low wage work, has shown a steady increase to a high of 12.8% in 2007, and then dropped again to 1999 levels (see Graph 3.1). The unemployment rate in Ontario has fluctuated from a low of 5.8% (in 2000), to the most recent high of 9% in 2009 (See Graph 3.1).²⁴

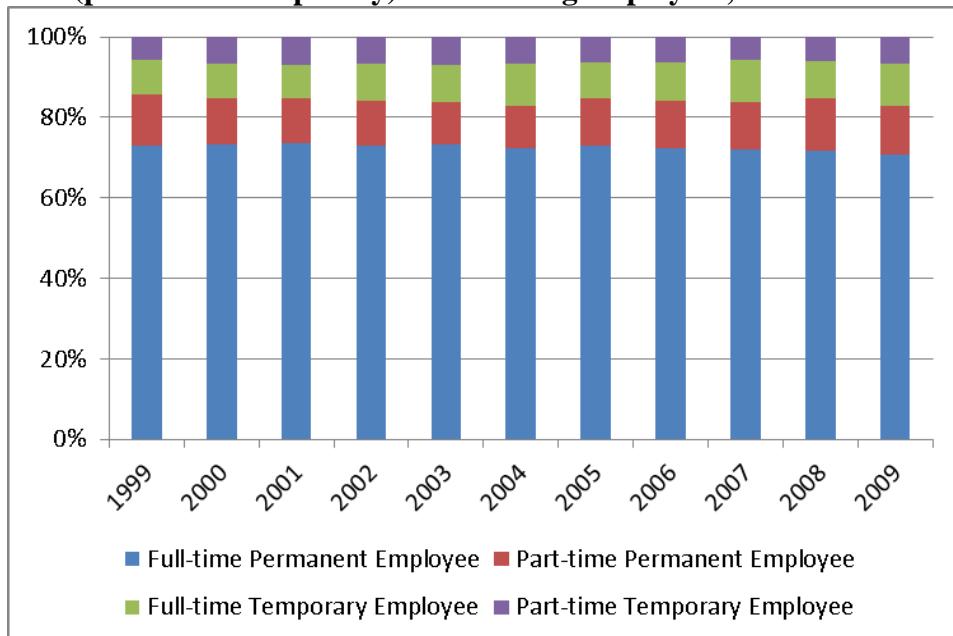
Interestingly, the proportion of both self-employed employers, and solo self-employed workers has remained relatively constant throughout the past decade, though one might expect some fluctuation in relation to changing levels of employment and unemployment. Overall, about 85% of the labour force are employees, with only about 15% who are self-employed (about 5% are self-employed employers, and 10% are solo self-employed).²⁵ It is possible that the quality of self-employment work has changed, as many of the self-employed are now defined by law as either independent or dependent contractors – indicating one marked change from the common perception of the self-employed worker as a small business owner-operator.²⁶ Changes in the quality of self-employment are not possible to assess, however, with the data that are available.

Graph 3.1: Labour Force Characteristics, 1999-2009



Trends in relation to the types of people who are self-employed are also consistent across time. Among the solo self-employed, women are less likely to be self-employed than men and, among self-employed women, solo self-employment, much of it delivering low-income, is most common.²⁷ Similarly, the level of education of self-employed workers has also remained relatively consistent, suggesting that the levels of socially recognized skills among the self-employed have remained relatively stable; that is, there does not appear to have been a substantial growth or decline in so-called high-skill professional self-employment, performed typically by workers with higher levels of education, nor a substantial growth or decline in forms of self-employment characterized by manual labour (e.g., cleaning, construction etc.) that are performed typically by workers with lower levels of education.

Graph 3.2: Proportions of full-time (permanent/temporary) and part time (permanent/temporary) work among employees, 1999-2009



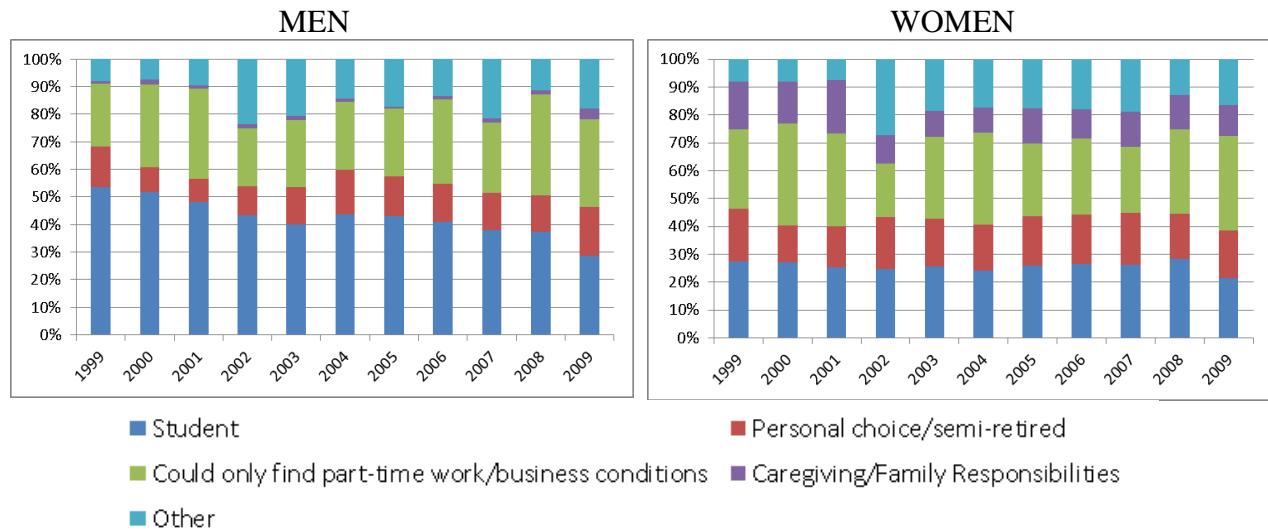
Much like self-employment, the proportion of part-time employment in Ontario's labour force has also remained relatively constant across time (see Graph 3.2),

suggesting that it has been a consistent feature of the labour market over the last decade. Again, women are more likely to hold part-time employment, and this has not changed substantially during the past decade. Similarly, workers with lower levels of education are more likely to hold part-time forms of employment, but this trend has also not varied substantially. In 2008, about a third of workers without a high school education (34.4%) worked in part time jobs, compared to only 11.7% of workers with a university degree.

Since in 2001, workers have been asked about the reasons why they were not employed full-time in the previous year. The most common reason for part-time employment reported is attending school. The next most common reason for part-time employment is the inability to find full-time employment. With some yearly variation, about a third of employees work fewer than 30 hours each week because they are unable to find more work (see Graph 3.3). Not surprisingly, women are more likely to report taking part-time employment because of the need to care for children; in 2008, 9.3% of women gave this reason for working part-time, compared to just 0.8% of men. In contrast, men are more likely to report working part time because they are students; 37.2% of men gave this as a reason for working part time in 2008, compared to only 28.5% of women. Among men, however, we see a steady decline from 1999-2009 in the proportion who work part time because they are students and a corresponding increase in the proportion who could not find full-time jobs. In part, this might reflect an increase in the barriers to accessing post-secondary education; whereas previously those who could not find work may have found it easy to return to school, they may now encounter substantial difficulties financing an education and/or gaining admission in an

increasingly competitive post-secondary environment. Interestingly, this trend does not appear for women, which provides further support for the notion that the factors that influence women's labour force decisions are different than those that influence men's.

Graph 3.3: Reasons for part-time work, by gender, 2001-2009



Overall, these results suggest a remarkable stability in the overall structure of the Ontario labour force during the period from 1999-2009. Despite the economic recession in 2007, the distribution of forms of employment has not changed substantially, though it may be too soon for its effects to be apparent. These results also suggest that the changes associated with the implementation of neo-liberal policies may have stabilized by the turn of the millennium, creating a period of relative stasis which might be identified as persistent precarity.

IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF PRECARIOUS JOBS

In the conceptualization of precarious jobs, recall that we use four key indicators of dimensions of labour market insecurity: low wages, no pension, no union coverage (i.e., either by a union or a collective agreement), and small firm size. Considering the labour force as a whole, amongst these four indicators, no union coverage is the most predominant in Ontario (see Graph 4.1). In 2008,²⁸ approximately three out of every four workers (73.5%) lacked union coverage. This trend has remained relatively consistent across the past decade, despite changes to legislation weakening collective bargaining overall.²⁹

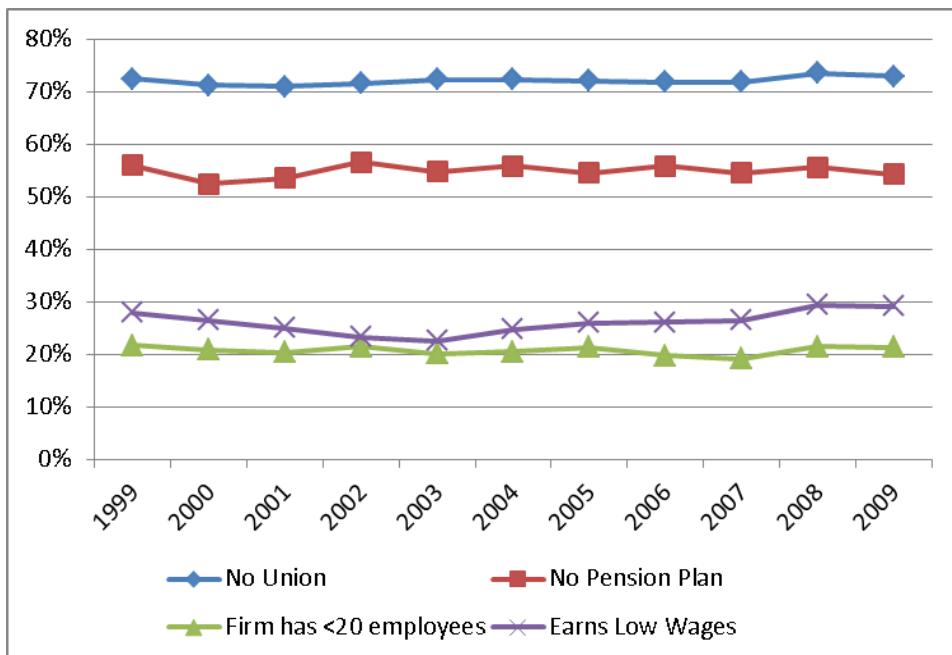
The next most prevalent indicator of precariousness is the absence of a pension plan. Just slightly less than half of workers report that they have no access to an employer sponsored pension plan, and this proportion has remained relatively consistent over time. The fact that half of all workers lack pension plan coverage makes the current concerns over the Canadian Pension Plan, also asserted by a 2008 provincial taskforce on pension reform,³⁰ even more pressing, as many retiring workers will not have access to additional retirement income beyond their own savings.

Following closely behind the lack of access to an employer sponsored pension plan, about a third of all workers are consistently in low-wage jobs, despite the changes in the minimum wage (and consequently a changing assessment of low-wage work) across the past decade.

The least prevalent measure of precariousness is working in a small firm – indeed, only about one in five employees work in firms of fewer than twenty people in

Ontario. Again, the proportion of Ontarians working in small firms has remained consistent across the past decade.

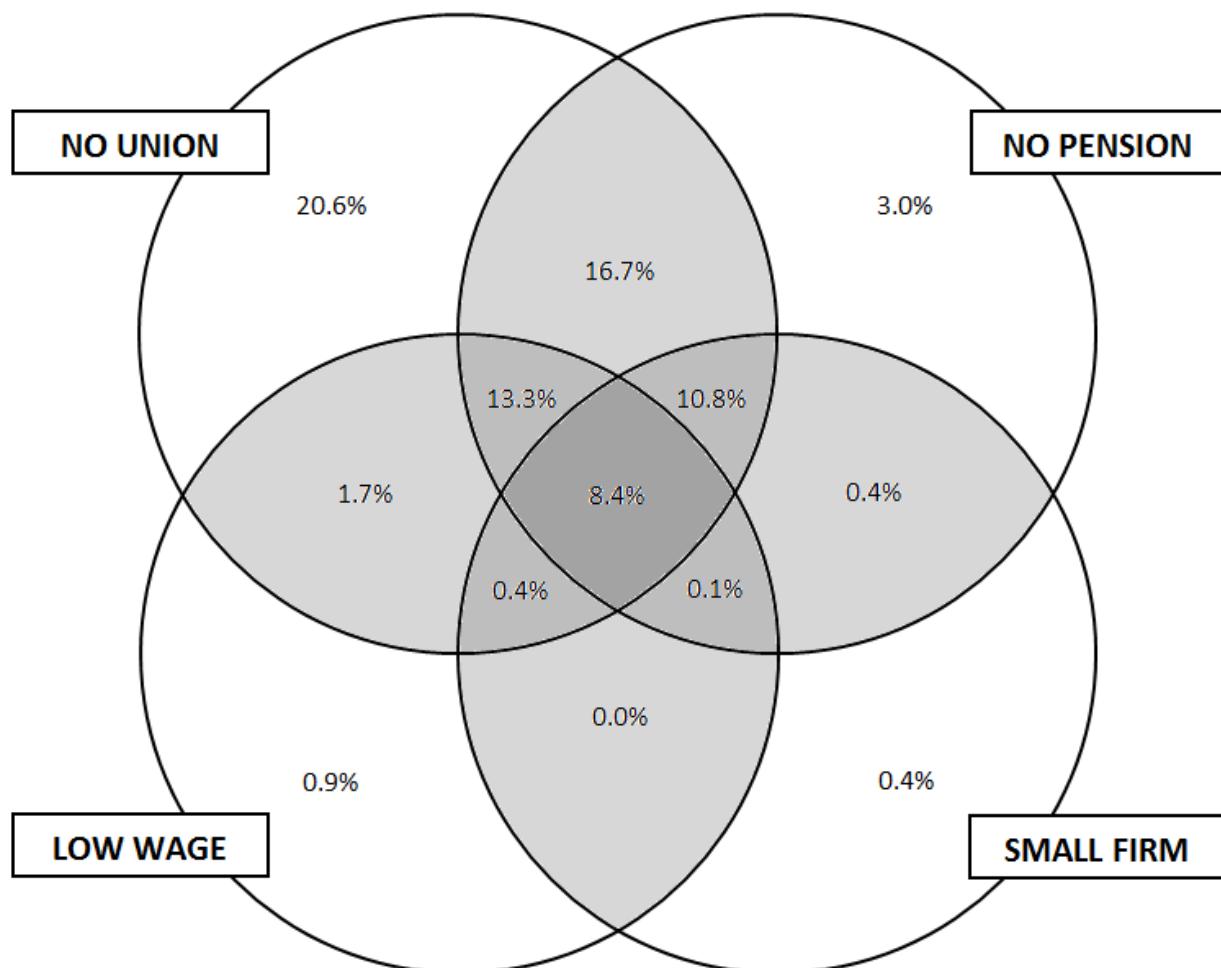
Graph 4.1: Prevalence of measures of precarious jobs, 1999-2009



One element key to understanding and mitigating precarious employment involves discerning how these different factors cluster together. In 2008, about one in five workers (20.3%) held jobs characterized by none of these indicators of precariousness. The Venn diagram shown in Figure 4.1 shows the (non-proportional) overlap between different aspects of precariousness for individual jobs/workers in 2008. The darkest area in the middle of the Venn diagram shows that 8.3% of all workers are in a job with all four indicators of precariousness; that is, their job has low wages, no pension, no union, and is in a small firm. The most common indicator of precariousness in isolation from the others is no union coverage; about 20% of workers overall have no union coverage, but have relatively high wages, a pension plan and work in a large firm (see Figure 4.1). In contrast, workers who are in a small firm are likely to also have no

pension and no union coverage. Similarly, workers who earn low wages are likely to also have no pension and no union coverage. Interestingly, it is rare for workers to *only* have no pension; this phenomenon is most common in conjunction with the absence of union coverage and/or low wages.

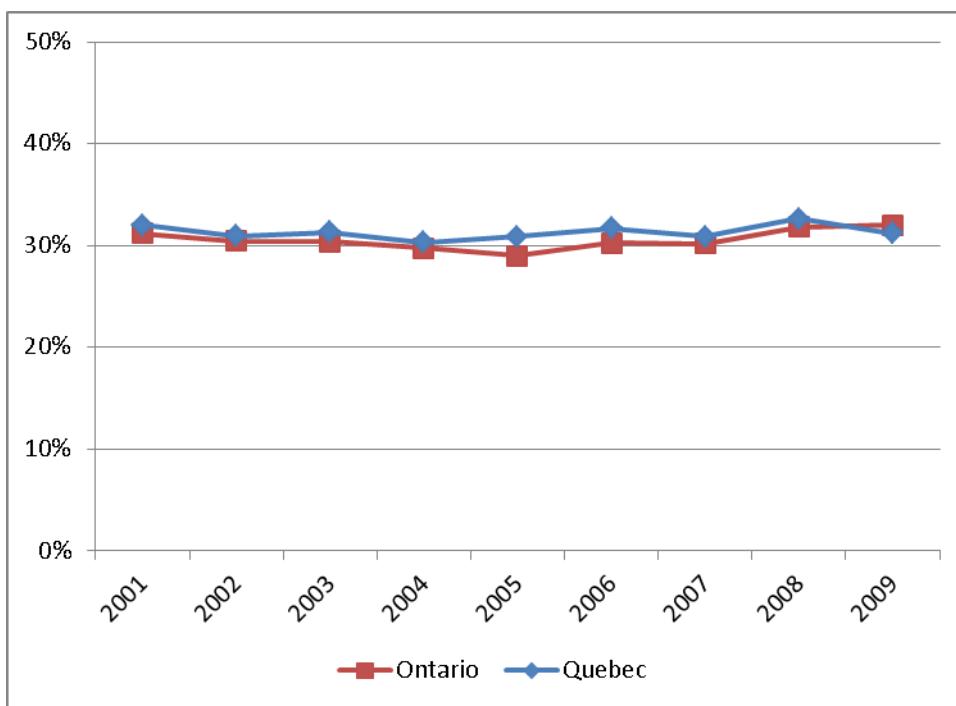
Figure 4.1: Overlap between indicators of precarious jobs, 2008



Overall, workers with three or more characteristics of precariousness are deemed here to be in precarious jobs. These overlapping areas are indicated by the two darkest shades in the Venn diagram in Figure 4.1. We can see that the most common combination leading to a designation of a ‘precarious job’ is having a low wage, no

union coverage, and no pension (13.3%). The next most common combination is having a no union coverage, no pension, and working in a small firm (10.8%), followed by having all four indicators (8.4%). In 2008, about a third of workers (33.1%) – more than one-third of Ontario's labour force – had a precarious job.

An inter-provincial comparison between Ontario and Quebec also shows a remarkable consistency in the proportion of workers in precarious jobs across the past decade in both contexts (see Graph 4.2).³¹ The consistency of precarious jobs is not surprising for Ontario, given the erosion of collective bargaining and hence workers' greater reliance on relatively weaker employment standards regulation since the early 1990s³² but is more surprising for Quebec given the slower decline of unionization in that context³³ and given especially improved employment standards regulations, including those pertinent to wage levels, adopted partly to compensate for growing precariousness in the early 2000s.³⁴ These results suggest that, in the context of a persistently structured labour force, labour regulations alone may not reduce the prevalence of precarious jobs, particularly in circumstances where workers lack control over the labour process through the limited provision of mechanisms for collective representation.³⁵

Graph 4.2: Prevalence of Precarious Jobs in Ontario and Quebec, 1999-2009

Given the historical development of labour regulations in the context of the SER, it is not surprising that form of employment is strongly linked to whether or not a job is precarious. Full-time employees are less likely to be in precarious jobs than part-time employees. Similarly, permanent workers are less likely to be in precarious jobs than temporary workers. Table 4.1 shows the differing proportions of workers in each form of employment who are in precarious jobs, with full-time permanent workers the least likely to be precarious, and temporary part-time workers the most likely to be precarious.

Figure 4.2 provides more context to this trend, with higher proportions of workers falling in the outer segment of the diagram depicting full-time workers as opposed to higher proportions of workers falling near the centre of the diagram depicting part-time workers.

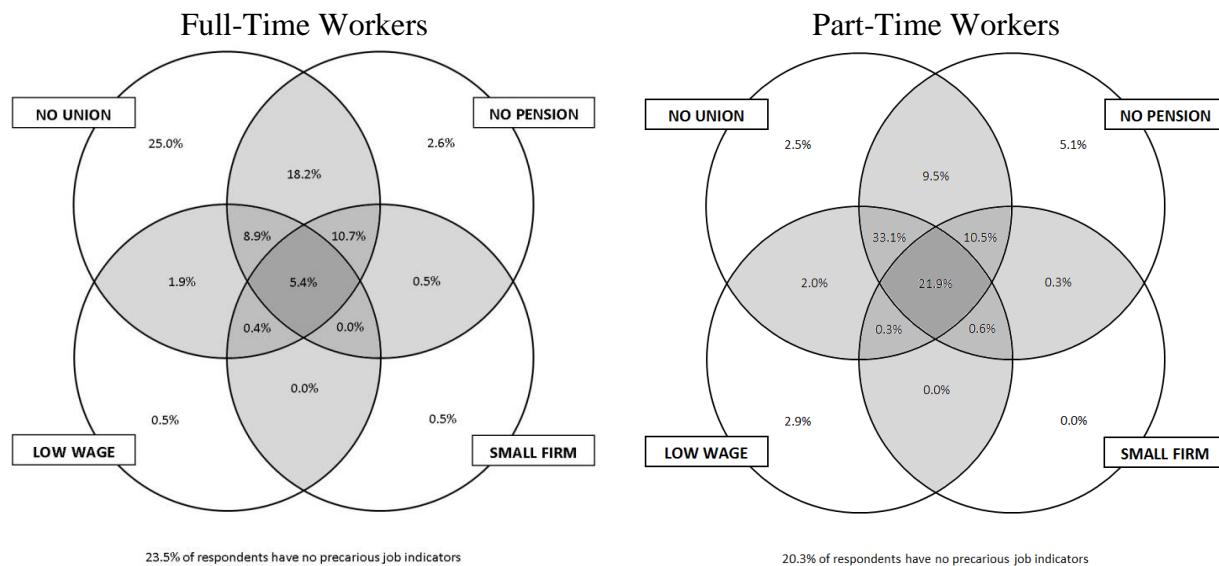
Table 4.1: Proportion of workers in precarious jobs, by form of employment, 2008

	% in Precarious Jobs
Overall	33.1
Full-time workers	25.4
Part-time workers	66.3
Permanent workers	27.6
Temporary workers	55.2
Permanent, full-time workers	21.9
Temporary, full-time workers	46.3
Permanent, part-time workers	62.4
Temporary, part-time workers	68.3

About a third of part-time workers (33.1%) are in jobs that have low wages, no union, and no pension, compared to only 8.9% of full-time workers in this situation. Full-time workers are much more likely to be in a job where the only indicator of precariousness is the absence of a union. In a stark contrast, about one in five full-time workers are in jobs without a single indicator of precariousness, whereas about the same proportion of part-time workers are found in jobs characterized by all four measures of precariousness.

The precariousness of jobs outside of the SER is even more evident when permanent and temporary forms of paid employment are also taken into account. Figure 4.3 shows the relatively low levels of precariousness for workers in full-time permanent jobs; about a quarter of such workers have no indicators of precariousness (24.8%), and a further quarter of workers (28%) lack union coverage alone. Among workers in full-time and part-time employment respectively, those in temporary jobs are more likely to experience high levels of labour market insecurity than those in permanent jobs.

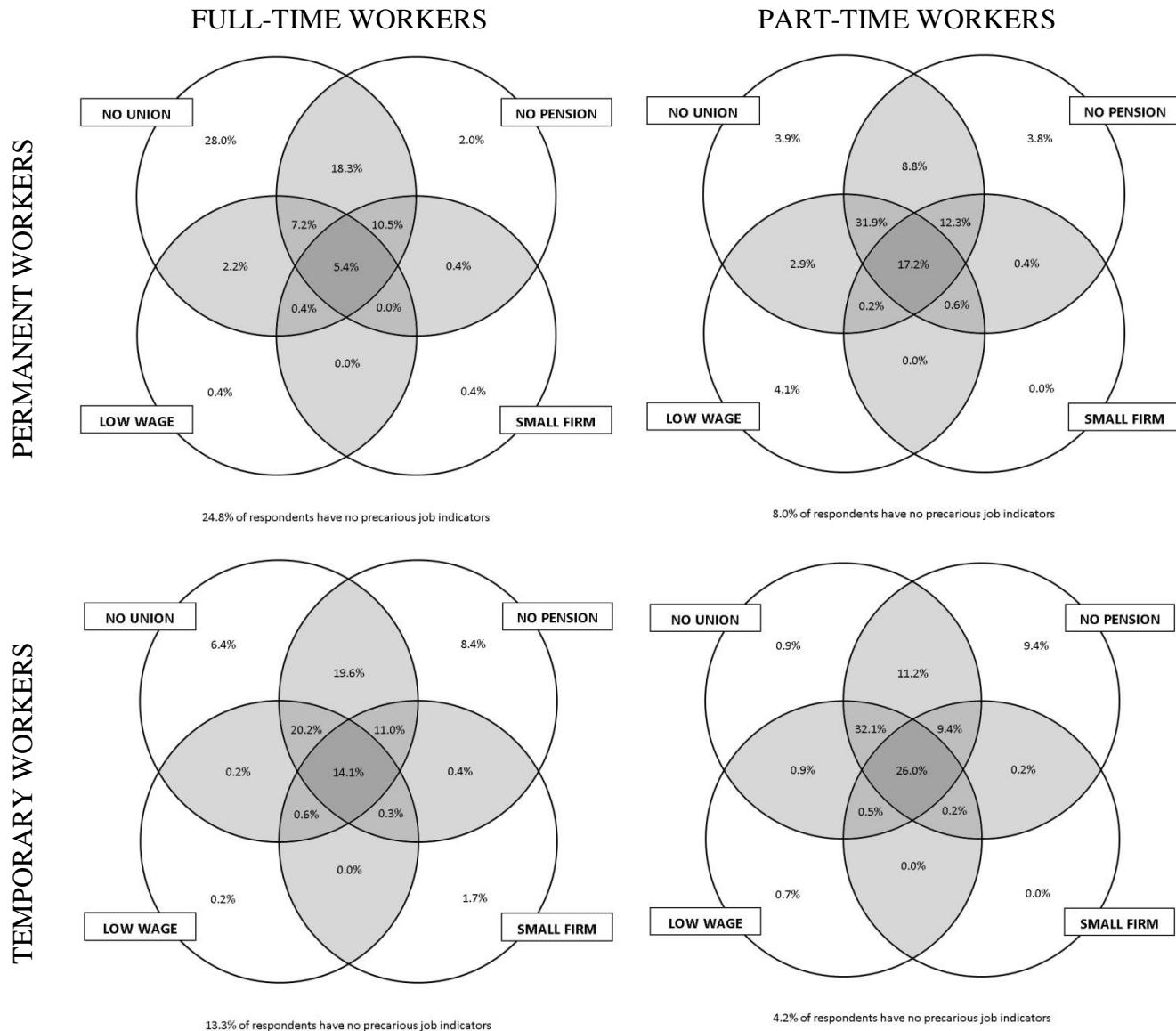
Figure 4.2: Overlap between indicators of precarious jobs, by full/part-time status, employees, 2008



Part-time temporary workers are the most likely to hold precarious jobs, with fully a quarter (26%) experiencing all four indicators of precariousness, and an additional third (32.1%) experiencing low wages, no union coverage, and no pension. Overall, it is clear that form of employment is strongly linked precariousness in a clear continuum; workers in full-time permanent jobs, in a relationship which most closely resembles the SER, are the least likely to precarious, while workers in part-time temporary jobs are the most likely to be precarious.

The relationship between dimensions of labour market insecurity and form of employment is particularly important because socio-demographic groups are unevenly distributed across all four forms of employment (see Table 4.2). For instance, women are much more likely to be engaged in part-time employment. Although women make

Figure 4.3: Overlap between indicators of precarious jobs, by employment form, employees, 2008



up only about half of employees in Ontario, they constitute 72% of permanent, part-time employees. Single parents (a group also comprised mainly of women) are also more likely to be engaged in part-time temporary employment, which has the highest likelihood of being precarious.

Table 4.2: Socio-demographic characteristics of employees, by form of employment, 2008

	Full-time employees		Part-time employees		All employees (100%)	
	(82.8%)		(17.2%)			
	Permanent (70.7%)	Temporary (12.1%)	Permanent (10.4%)	Temporary (6.7%)		
Women	45.1%	45.4%	71.5%	59.9%	49.4%	
Visible Minorities	23.5%	23.8%	22.0%	30.3%	23.8%	
Visible minority group						
Chinese	23.9%	20.2%	8.9%	18.0%	21.3%	
South Asian	20.1%	14.5%	20.1%	18.2%	19.4%	
Black	16.3%	20.6%	18.0%	10.3%	16.4%	
Southeast Asian	16.6%	11.3%	19.7%	19.7%	16.7%	
Other visible minority	23.1%	33.4%	33.3%	33.8%	26.2%	
Gender and Visible Minority Status						
Non-visible minority Men	41.1%	43.8%	20.3%	26.4%	37.7%	
Non-visible minority Women	35.3%	32.4%	57.7%	43.3%	38.1%	
Visible minority Men	13.3%	11.7%	6.8%	11.9%	12.5%	
Visible Minority Women	10.2%	12.1%	15.2%	18.4%	11.8%	
Recent Immigrant (less than 10 yrs in Can)	9.2%	10.1%	9.3%	15.9%	9.8%	
Gender and Immigration Status						
Non-recent or non-immigrant Men	49.4%	51.5%	26.7%	32.0%	45.6%	
Non-recent or non-immigrant Women	41.4%	38.4%	64.0%	52.1%	44.6%	
Recent immigrant Men	5.2%	4.2%	1.4%	7.0%	4.7%	
Recent immigrant Women	4.0%	5.9%	7.9%	8.9%	5.0%	
Education						
No high school diploma	8.9%	9.6%	19.5%	23.4%	11.2%	
High school diploma	26.2%	39.9%	35.3%	38.1%	29.3%	
College/trade certificate or diploma	36.3%	23.2%	28.2%	18.8%	33.1%	
University degree	28.6%	27.4%	17.0%	19.7%	26.5%	
Family Type						
Couple without children	20.0%	15.3%	15.4%	11.9%	18.5%	
Couple with children under 25	40.5%	39.3%	50.9%	49.8%	42.3%	
Single parent with children under 25	5.6%	6.5%	8.8%	10.8%	6.4%	
Unattached individual	13.9%	13.6%	6.9%	6.2%	12.5%	
Other family type	20.0%	25.2%	17.9%	21.3%	20.3%	

Overall, racialized workers are more likely to hold part-time temporary employment, which has the highest likelihood of being precarious. Among racialized workers, those of Chinese origin are most likely to be in full-time forms of employment, and those from Southeast Asia are most likely to be found in part-time forms of

employment. These findings reflect the social stratification of the labour market by race, whereby workers from some racialized background tend to be clustered in certain types of employment, both as a result of outright discrimination and the means by which group members access the labour force (e.g., via employment agencies etc.). These results also reflect how well established different cohorts of immigrants are in Canada.

Recent immigrants are more likely to be found in temporary, part-time work. Just less than one in ten employees is a recent immigrant (9.8%), and yet recent immigrants constitute 15.9% of temporary, part-time employees. The clustering of recent immigrants in temporary forms of employment might reflect the difficulty of entering the labour market in a new country, especially with foreign credentials and work experience. There is some re-assurance in finding that established immigrants have job outcomes relatively similar to their Canadian-born counterparts, but it is difficult to estimate the effects of selection bias, that is, those immigrants who are not successful in entering into the labour market are more likely to re-settle in another country or return to their countries of origin.

Workers without a high school diploma are also likely to hold part-time jobs; almost a quarter (23.4%) of part-time, temporary employees do not have a high school diploma, and another 38.1% of these employees have only a high-school diploma. In total, more than three out of every five part-time, temporary workers (61.5%) do not have a post-secondary credential. This finding suggests that part-time temporary employment is primarily held by workers who lack the formal credentials needed to access other forms of employment.

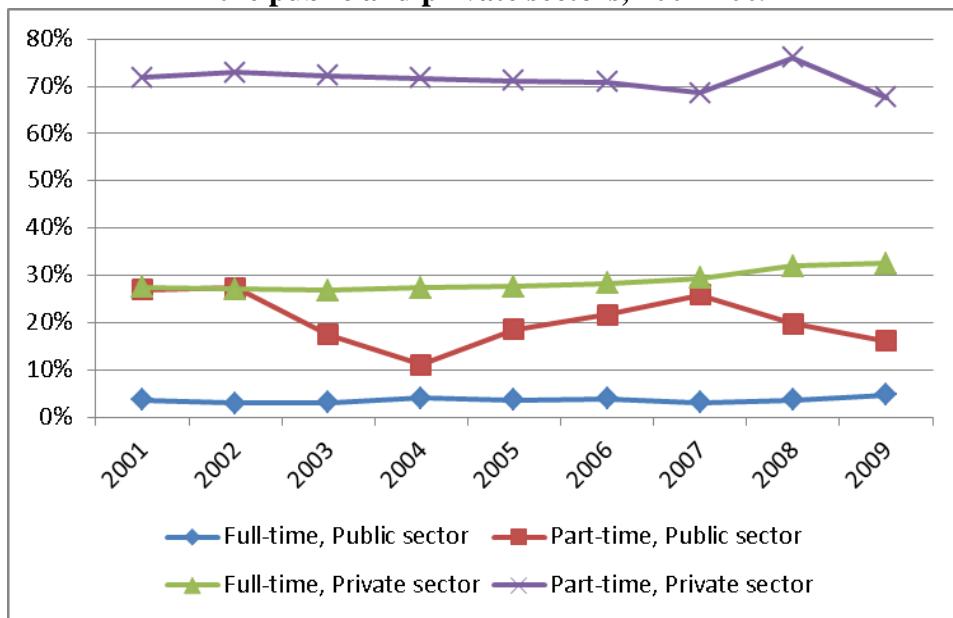
Though many of the preceding results are predictable given previous research findings, this analysis highlights clearly the continued relationship between form of employment and indicators of precariousness. It also highlights the continued need to reduce precarious jobs by advancing labour regulations that promote the principles of parity and inclusivity.³⁶ By labour regulations fostering parity, we mean those that address the diverse needs and situations of workers in different forms of employment rather than prorating protections to the SER. For example, regulations that take into account both working time over the lifecycle and total work, that is, paid and unpaid work,³⁷ rather than penalizing workers engaged in part-time employment due to, among other reasons, responsibilities for care giving. By labour regulations supporting inclusivity, we mean adopting comprehensive standards for all workers rather than permitting exceptions by form of employment; for example, instead of regulations excluding workers in temporary jobs from protections due to their limited job tenure, provide for regulatory protections and social benefits beyond a single job.

V. WHAT TYPES OF JOBS ARE PRECARIOUS?

In addition to differences in the presence and absence of labour market insecurity related to forms of employment, there are differences in the prevalence of precarious jobs across the public and private sectors as well as by industry and occupation. These differences also intersect with form of employment and socio-demographic characteristics. As expected, in Canada (as in most other industrial nations), jobs in the public sector, and especially full-time public sector jobs, are least likely to be precarious (See Graph 5.1). In part, the security associated with public sector employment flows

from the high level of unionization, which also tends to provide workers with competitive wages, good pensions, and other benefits.³⁸ Also, public sector employers tend to be large organizations that tend to be subject to extensive employment standards and attentive to their enforcement.³⁹ Even part-time workers in the public sector are less likely to be in precarious jobs. Overall, women, non-racialized workers, and workers with high levels of education tend to be working in such public sector jobs.

Graph 5.1: Proportion of Precarious workers in full and part-time jobs, in the public and private sectors, 2001-2009¹



¹ Data on whether an employer was public or private sector were not collected prior to 2001

In contrast, part-time workers in the private sector are most likely to be in precarious jobs, often characterized by low-wages, no pension, and a lack of union coverage. Approximately seven out of every ten part-time, private sector workers are in precarious jobs. Part-time, private sector work was the 'main job' of fully 16.1% of workers in 2008 (a notable percentage since private sector employment overall was the 'main job' of 79% of workers). Given the historically higher levels of precariousness in the private sector, there may be the need for modifications to the existing labour

regulations in order to further protect workers in these jobs from less-than-ideal conditions.

Our analysis of precarious jobs by industry and occupation substantiates these claims, with industries and occupations in the public sector (such as public administration and utilities) characterized by low levels of precariousness. An analysis of precarious jobs by industry shows that employment in accommodation and food services industries is the most likely to be precarious, and that about three-quarters of workers in that industry hold jobs that are precarious (see Appendix B, Table 5.1). This finding reflects industry norms around low-wages and the lack of non-wage remuneration. The typical worker in accommodation and food services is a woman, who has schooling amounting to a high-school diploma or less. Racialized women, and workers from South Asian and Filipino backgrounds, are also overrepresented in this industry. Women who have immigrated to Canada in the past ten years are also overrepresented in the accommodation and food services industries. Of all of the industries, accommodation and food services has the highest proportion of part-time employees (44%), about a third of whom (13.5% overall) are temporary.

The industry with the next highest level of precariousness over the past decade is agriculture, though the proportion of agricultural workers in precarious jobs as a whole appears to have declined, from a high of 80.5% in 1999 to a low of 64.7% in 2008.⁴⁰ In contrast to accommodation and food services, the typical worker in agriculture is a man, with a college or trade certificate or diploma.⁴¹ Although agricultural workers tend to be full-time, almost two in five workers (37.1%) are temporary full-time employees, and thus are likely to lack the non-wage benefits and statutory entitlements that accrue to

those that are permanent (e.g., access to employment insurance and employer pension plans where they exist). This outcome reflects the seasonal nature of agricultural work, which requires full (or more than full)-time work in peak planting and harvesting seasons.

The industries with the next highest levels of precariousness are both service industries: 'other services' (including repair and maintenance services, personal care and laundry, and civic and professional organizations) and business, building and other support services.⁴² Those working in 'other services' tend to be women, with a college or trade certificate or diploma – in part reflecting the relatively low value placed on service work associated with so-called women's skills, such as personal care and caregiving.⁴³ Women who have recently immigrated to Canada and racialized workers, especially those from Black and Southeast Asian backgrounds, are also over-represented among workers in 'other services'. Workers in building and business support services are overwhelmingly men, with a high-school diploma. Overall, these industry-specific results demonstrate the relative precariousness of service industries assumed to be ancillary,⁴⁴ and the stability of 'core' services such as education, public administration, and utilities.

Paralleling the industry-specific findings, the occupations characterized by the highest levels of labour market insecurity are also in the service sector (see Appendix B, Table 5.2). The occupational group experiencing the highest degree of precariousness is chefs, cooks and other workers in the food and beverage industry – primarily restaurant servers.⁴⁵ The occupational group with the second highest degree of precariousness is retail sales clerks and cashiers. The profiles of workers in both of

these occupational groups are quite similar: both groups are comprised overwhelmingly of high-school educated women. Recent immigrants and racialized workers are overrepresented in sales and service occupations, though underrepresented among chefs, cooks and other food and beverage workers. Both occupations are characterized by high levels of part-time employment; almost half of all workers in food services (45%) and the majority of workers in retail services (52.4%) are part-time. Retail services also has a high proportion of temporary part-time employment (15.9%) overall, reflecting the use of temporary staff in this sector as a way to deal with seasonal fluctuations in the business cycle.

The occupational areas with the next highest level of precariousness are in primary industries, including forestry and primary resource extraction, as well as some agricultural occupations (excluding labourers). This occupational group consists primarily of white men, although workers in this group have a diverse range of educational backgrounds. Similar to workers in the agricultural industry described above, these occupations are characterized by a high level of full-time temporary employment, reflecting the seasonal nature of much of this work.

An analysis of work by industry and occupation shows how the features of some forms of work – such as service and agricultural work – converge with those identified with precariousness. Furthermore, the gendered and racialized nature of work in these industries and occupations, intersect with the form of employment to result in a situation where some social groups are more likely to be situated in precarious jobs than others.

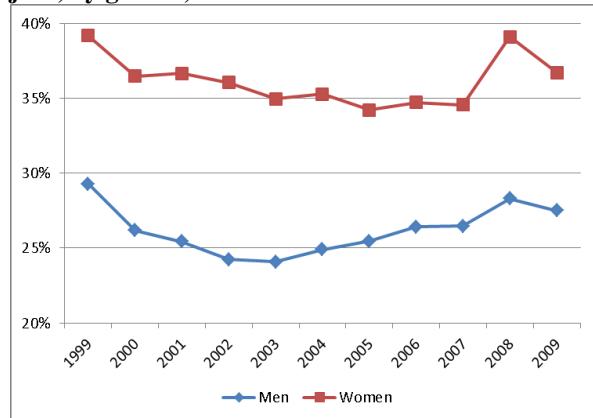
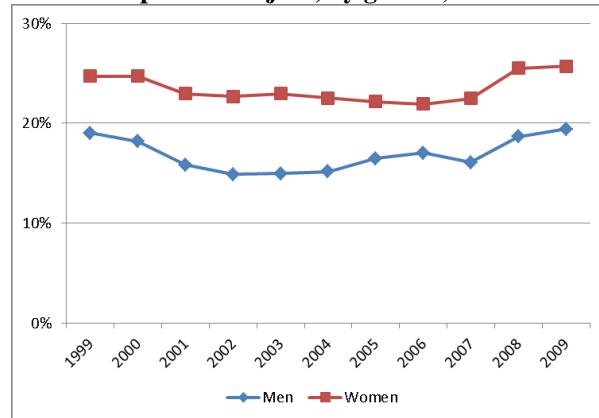
VI. WHO ARE WORKERS IN PRECARIOUS JOBS?

Workers' social location clearly intersects with form of work to result in an employment advantage or disadvantage for some groups of workers. In the analysis below, we provide an analysis of how precarious employment is unevenly distributed based on workers' gender, immigration status, ethnicity, education and family status. Overall, you can see that precarious jobs are not distributed evenly throughout the labour force, with women, racialized women, recent immigrants, single parents and those with less than a high-school education much more likely to be in jobs which are insecure in some way (see Table 6.1). In the discussion that follows, graphs on the left hand side show the proportion of all workers in precarious jobs whereas graphs on the right hand side show the proportion of full-time permanent workers in precarious jobs.

Overall, it is clear that women are much more likely to be in precarious jobs than men (see Graph 6.1), although this gender disparity has remained relatively stable over the decade long period covered in this study. This trend relates primarily to women's greater tendency to work in part-time and/or temporary forms of employment, which have more features of precariousness, than men's. For some, engaging in part-time or temporary employment may be a strategy responding to the increased demands of child care which often fall to women. Even among full-time permanent workers, however, women are more likely to hold precarious jobs than men (see Graph 6.2): women are more likely to earn low wages (36.7% of women compared to 22.7% of men), to lack a pension plan (58.7% of women compared to 52.6% of men), and to work in small firms (23.5% of women compared to 19.6% of men).

**Table 6.1: Proportion of workers in precarious jobs,
by sociodemographic characteristics, 2008**

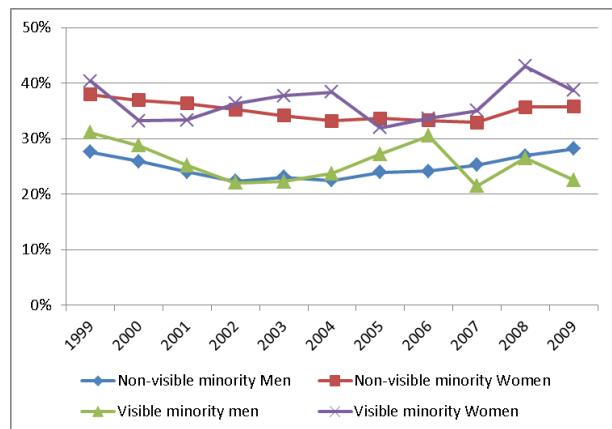
	% in Precarious Jobs
Overall	33.1%
Gender	
Men	28.3%
Women	39.1%
Visible Minority Status	
Non-Visible Minority	31.3%
Visible Minority	34.4%
Visible minority group	
Chinese	38.2%
South Asian	34.6%
Arab	34.6%
Southeast Asian	30.0%
Black	29.5%
Gender and Visible Minority Status	
Non-visible minority Men	26.9%
Non-visible minority Women	35.7%
Visible minority Men	26.5%
Visible Minority Women	43.1%
Immigration Status	
Non-recent immigrant or non-immigrant	31.4%
Recent Immigrant (less than 10 yrs in Can)	40.7%
Gender and Immigration Status	
Non-recent or non-immigrant Men	26.5%
Non-recent or non-immigrant Women	36.5%
Recent immigrant Men	32.7%
Recent immigrant Women	48.1%
Education	
No high school diploma	61.4%
High school diploma	42.7%
College/trade certificate or diploma	27.5%
University degree	17.1%
Family Type	
Couple without children	24.4%
Couple with children under 25	36.1%
Single parent with children under 25	51.7%
Unattached individual	27.1%
Other family type	34.7%

Graph 6.1: Proportion of all workers in precarious jobs, by gender, 1999-2009**Graph 6.2: Proportion of full-time permanent workers in precarious jobs, by gender, 1999-2009**

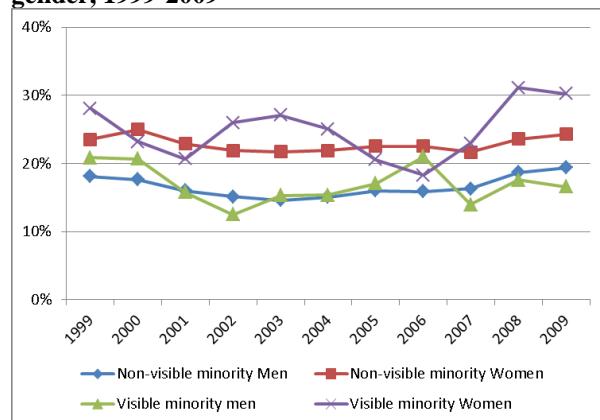
Single parents are also more likely than people in other family configurations to be in precarious jobs. This finding flows clearly from gender relations; single parents are much more likely to be women than men, and thus more likely to be in precarious jobs.

Although the effect of gender is most substantial, racialized workers tend to be slightly more likely to be in precarious jobs than their same-gender counterparts (see Graphs 6.3 & 6.4). In the period from 2002-2007 in particular, workers from Arab backgrounds were considerably more likely to hold precarious jobs. In part, this trend might reflect the overall increase in discrimination against those from Arab backgrounds as a result of the cultural discourses and practices related to race which emerged following the attacks on the World Trade Centre in September 2001. Among full-time permanent workers, members of racialized groups are more likely to earn low wages (22.9% compared to 14.0% for non-racialized workers). Racialized women are at a particular wage disadvantage, with a third of racialized women (33.2%) reporting low wages, compared to 18.7% of non-racialized women. Low wages are also notably prevalent among workers from Chinese and Filipino backgrounds, with about a third of full-time, permanent employees in each of these racialized groups earning low wages.

Graph 6.3: Proportion of all workers in precarious jobs, by racialization and gender, 1999-2009



Graph 6.4: Proportion of full-time permanent workers in precarious jobs, by racialization and gender, 1999-2009

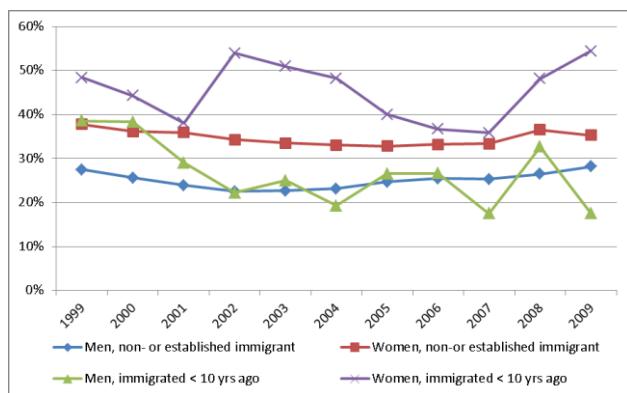


Racialized workers are also less likely to work in unionized workplaces and less likely to have a pension plan. Four out of five racialized workers (79.9%) work in non-unionized workplaces, and almost half of racialized workers (47.1%) lack a pension plan (compared to the still high 68.4% non-racialized workers who work in non-unionized workplaces, and 42.0% who lack a pension plan). Workers from Chinese backgrounds are especially likely to lack both union coverage and pension plans compared to workers from other ethnic backgrounds. Although racialized workers are less likely to be employed in small firms overall, a gender analysis shows that racialized women are more likely to work in small firms, whereas racialized men are less likely to work in small firms.

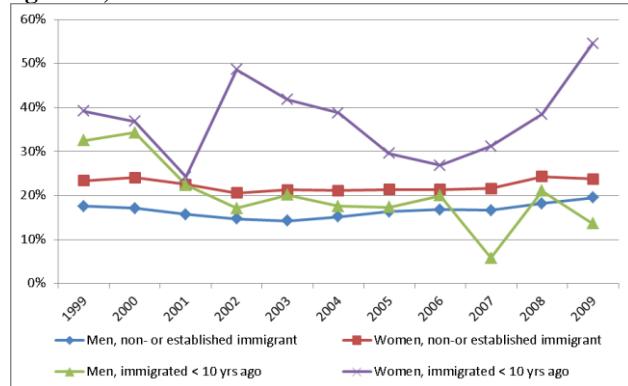
In general, recent immigrants to Canada are more likely to be in precarious jobs; in 2008, 40.7% of immigrants who had been in Canada less than 10 years were in precarious work, compared to only 31.4% of workers who were Canadian born or who had immigrated 10 or more years ago. The integration of a gender analysis shows that women who have recently immigrated are more likely to be in precarious jobs than

women who are not recent immigrants (see Graph 6.5), whereas for men the trend is less clear. A notable finding is that the proportion of workers in precarious jobs is relatively consistent for non-immigrants and non-recent immigrants. In contrast, there is much more variation in the proportion of recent immigrants with precarious jobs over time. Although some of this result can be explained by the smaller sample size of recent immigrants, it also suggests that recent immigrants are more susceptible to fluctuations in the labour market than their more established counterparts.

Graph 6.5: Proportion of all workers in precarious jobs, by immigrant status & gender, 1999-2009



Graph 6.6: Proportion of full-time permanent workers in precarious jobs, by immigrant status and gender, 1999-2009

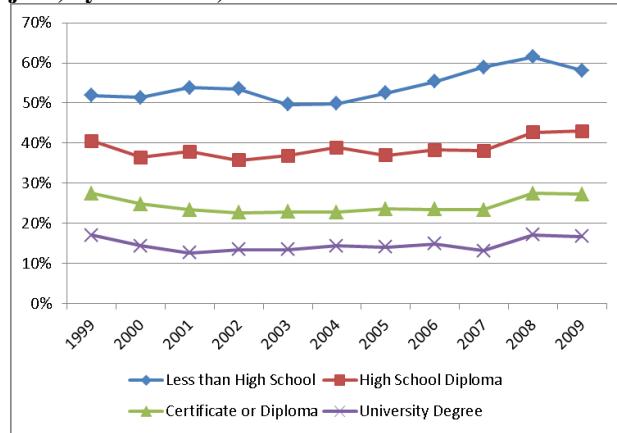


Women who have recently immigrated to Canada are especially likely to be in low wage jobs. Even among full-time permanent workers, almost half (46.6%) of women who have recently immigrated were working in low wage jobs. Women who have recently immigrated are also more likely to be working in a job with no pension; 60.9% of recent immigrant women report having no pension, compared to just over 40% of recent immigrant men, and non-recent or non-immigrant women and men.

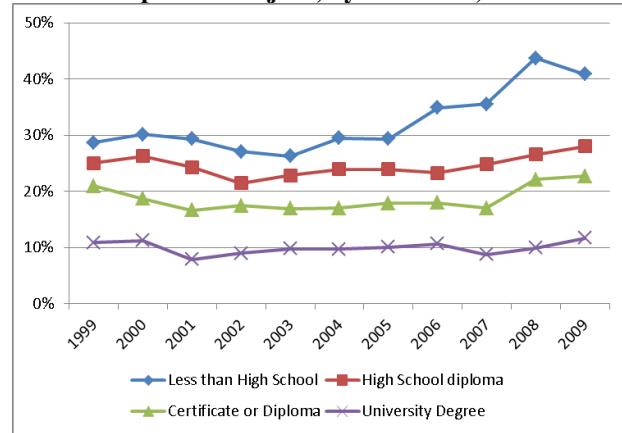
There is also a clear relationship between level of education and being precariously employed in Ontario. As expected, those with lower levels of education are more likely to be in precarious jobs. Notably, the service sector and agricultural jobs most likely to

be precarious are also those that require relatively low levels of education. Once again, however, even among those in full-time permanent jobs, those with lower levels of education are more likely to be in precarious forms of employment. Workers with less than a high school education are more likely to have each of the four indicators of precarious employment used in this analysis. For example, in 2008, 59.9% of those without a high school diploma made low wages, compared to only 13.8% of those with a university degree. Similarly, 77.5% of those without a high school diploma lack an employer pension plan, compared to 42.1% of those with a university degree.

Graph 6.7: Proportion of all workers in precarious jobs, by education, 1999-2009



Graph 6.8: Proportion of full-time permanent workers in precarious jobs, by education, 1999-2009



Overall, these analyses show clear relationship between form of employment, socio-demographic characteristics and precarious jobs. Notably, however, even among full-time permanent employees, some groups of workers are more likely to be disadvantaged. Women, visible minority women, workers from Chinese backgrounds, recent immigrants – and especially recently immigrated women, and workers with lower levels of education are more likely to hold precarious jobs than others.

VII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: THE MORE THINGS CHANGE, THE MORE THEY STAY THE SAME

The foremost conclusion of this investigation into the dynamics of precarious employment in Ontario is continuity: over the last decade, even though there were changes in the labour market, such as continued decline in manufacturing, recession, and decollectivization, measured statistically the magnitude and nature of precarious jobs persisted.

Echoing previous research findings centering on Canada as a whole, in Ontario a continuum of precarious forms of employment exists, whereby full-time permanent jobs exhibit the fewest and part-time temporary jobs exhibit the greatest dimensions of labour market insecurity. Part-time temporary jobs are characterized by the largest number of features of labour market insecurity followed by jobs that are part time and other jobs that are temporary. Furthermore, the forms of employment characterized most by precariousness are also those in which many women and single parents (part-time forms) as well as members of particular ethnic groups (full- and part-time temporary forms) participate.

Precarious jobs also tend to cluster in the private rather than the public sector, where accommodation and food services industries, agriculture, and 'other services' tend to be host to those that are most insecure. Occupational groups experiencing high levels of insecurity include chefs, cooks and other workers in the food and beverage industry, and retail sales clerks and cashiers, as well as workers in occupations in the primary industry. For these occupational groups, low levels of education are correlated with precarious jobs, except for some women in certain types of service work, where the

educational qualifications of those in service oriented careers may be undervalued. In addition to women, racialized women, and workers from particular ethnic backgrounds tend to be concentrated in industries occupational groups in which many jobs are characterized by dimensions of labour market insecurity; for example, Southeast Asian and Filipino workers in accommodation and food services industries.

Workers in precarious jobs in Ontario are also much more likely to be women than men due largely to women's concentration in part-time and temporary forms of employment. Sharp gender disparities nevertheless exist in full-time permanent jobs indicative of the 'feminization of employment norms'⁴⁶ or a gendered 'harmonizing down' in which more jobs in the labour market resemble so-called 'women's work' deviating from the SER⁴⁷—i.e., not all jobs resembling the dominant form of the SER are characterized access to training, regulatory protections and social benefits, decent wages, and a social wage. Other findings pertinent to gender relations reinforce this conclusion, including that workers who are single parents, a majority of whom are women, are more likely than workers in other family forms to be in precarious jobs.

Racialized workers also tend to be more likely to be in precarious jobs than their same-gender counterparts. Workers of Chinese decent in particular tend to be located in jobs with low wages, no pensions, and no union representation even though many hold full-time jobs. Given that people from Chinese backgrounds are the largest ethnic group in the Ontario labour force, this is a particularly worrisome finding. These results reflect those of another recent survey conducted by the Chinese Interagency Network in Toronto, which found that many Chinese workers were not aware of their workplace rights or labour regulations.⁴⁸

A. Reducing precarious jobs in Ontario: Recommendations

A number of recommendations for legal reform flow logically from these findings. We make four interrelated proposals below, selecting but a few that are potentially of high impact should they be taken up in combination by law- and policy-makers. We call for an integrated approach to limiting precarious employment in Ontario since our analysis underscores the multidimensional nature of problem, highlighting the necessity of multipronged solutions.

1. Improve the wage package in Ontario

Our findings suggest that in 2008, among those with no union coverage and no pension plan, a quarter of workers made \$10 or less and half made \$14 or less. Our profile of precarious jobs in Ontario demonstrates that more is at work than simply low wages, and yet adjustments in wages are crucial to pulling workers out of precarious jobs. To this end, raising the minimum wage such that everyone who is engaged in ongoing full-time employment (40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year), which could be drawn from multiple jobs, should earn enough to be above the LIM for a single person in an urban area is crucial.⁴⁹ This corresponds to a minimum wage of \$14.55 an hour. This sum reflects a “low income” line (as opposed to a poverty line) consistent with a fair minimum wage policy to protect workers against inflation (i.e., providing for a cost-of-living increase and thus financial stability for workers in Ontario). The LIM provides a useful measure here because it is a relative measure; that is, it is based on 50% of the median adjusted family income, and recalculated annually. As a result, it fluctuates based on changes in the population economic family income, without being tied to more volatile

measures, such as the inflation rate. In addition, the LIM is calculated separately for families living in rural areas and cities of different sizes. As a result, it is more sensitive to the context of income than many other low income measures. Using this adjusted minimum wage, single workers living in an urban area would need to work approximately 27-28 hours a week to fall above Statistics Canada's Low-Income Cut-Off line, a de facto poverty line calculated on the basis of spending a higher than average proportion of income on necessities like food, shelter and clothing. This would ensure that part-time workers especially, were less likely to live in poverty. This is particularly important, given the unequal distribution of part-time work throughout the labour force, and the clustering of some disadvantaged groups (women, recent immigrants) in part-time work.

In addition, measures encouraging employers to augment the wage package are required; one indirect mechanism, which forms the basis for our second linked recommendation, involves legislative changes supporting unionization in light of the union wage premium evident in Ontario as well as unionized workers' greater access to social benefits, such as pensions. In particular, the higher proportion of racialized workers in jobs with no pension and no unionization is worrying, in that it suggests that racialized workers are less likely to be hired into jobs where workers have a modicum of control over the labour process, reflecting continued and systemic discrimination.⁵⁰ With regard to the wage package, one strategy for counteracting this systemic discrimination is by providing structural incentives for more employers to provide access to pension plans, and thus decreasing inequity for current workers, and ultimately, for retirees. Unionization provides one avenue for increasing worker control and providing access to

more social benefits, but similar effects could be achieved with other models of worker organization, government-sponsored incentives or legislation.

2. Promote greater worker control over the labour process via improved access to unionization and other workplace regulations fostering labour market security

By far, the most common dimension of labour market insecurity characterizing precarious jobs in Ontario is a lack of control over the labour process, measured in this report as the absence of union coverage or coverage under a collective agreement.

This conclusion underscores the need to not only redress continued de-collectivization and/or stagnation of labour relations in Ontario⁵¹ but to reverse this trend. As indicated above, this recommendation is linked to the need to improve pensions and wages among workers in precarious jobs since unions representing workers collectively, as opposed to individual workers negotiating singly, are more likely to secure such social benefits as well as better wages. Other vehicles for improving worker control are also, however, important to pursue. Foremost is perhaps improving workplace regulations benefiting union and non-union workers, specifically widening the scope of coverage under employment standards legislation and improving their enforcement, which brings us to our third recommendation.

Additionally, it is high time to introduce mechanisms of broader-based bargaining for self-employed and other workers in precarious paid employment who face challenges to unionizing and/or, at a minimum, to benefiting from collectively agreed standards. Meeting the former challenge necessitates, among other things, providing for regional or geographical and/or occupational unionisms through legislation and

policy (e.g., permitting multi-employer agreements applicable to a given sector); such measures would respond to problems created by majority unionism now in operation and inhibiting organizing among the precariously employed, especially in small workplaces. Overcoming the latter hurdle could involve juridical extension of labour relations and standards of the sort operating in Quebec's decree system, which allows for the extension of the terms of a collective agreement across a sector to cover both unionized and non-unionized workers although a quite significant limitation is that it does not regulate a system of representation for workers.⁵²

3. Expand the scope of employment standards (ES) and enforce them

The preceding analysis by form of employment reveals a relationship between certain inclusions and exclusions from minimum employment standards in Ontario and the persistently high numbers of workers in part-time and temporary jobs. As illustrated above, although precarious employment is *not* synonymous with non-standard employment, much depends on the nature and organization of labour market regulations. In Ontario, for instance, many solo self-employed workers are excluded from protection because of their employment status, that is, they are either treated as dependent or independent contractors unlike in the province's *Occupational Health and Safety Act* which extends protection to the many self-employed workers in precarious jobs by defining a worker as "a person who I paid to perform work or supply service" and thus covers more workers dependent on their capacity to work.⁵³ Similarly, workers in different types of temporary employment lack full coverage under the *Employment Standards Act* (e.g., seasonal workers, especially in agriculture and workers with insufficient job tenure do not benefit fully from termination and severance provisions and

provisions for joint and several liability required by temporary agency workers are limited) yet there is no principled reason why the Act could not be modified to apply fully to these workers, nor is their justification for tying other statutory and employer social benefits to tenure in a single employee-employer relationship.⁵⁴ Finally, part-time workers do not benefit from provisions for equal treatment with workers in other forms of employment doing similar work, an omission that could be rectified by drawing on provisions contained in parallel legislation in Quebec. These are but a few ways in which the scope of ES should be reformulated that could reduce the by no means necessary correlation between so-called non-standard forms of employment and precariousness that respond to the new structure of the labour force.

At the same time, also consistent with our leading premise that *some full-time permanent jobs can be precarious* and the overarching conceptualization of precarious employment as a multidimensional phenomenon, our investigation highlights the erosion of the full-time permanent job for certain groups of workers, such as women, including racialized women, recent immigrants, as well as among workers with relatively low levels of education. These are workers who have faced labour market discrimination of various sorts historically, and are experiencing obstacles to accessing good jobs and a full range of labour protections at present. For these workers, ostensibly covered fully by ES, as well as workers in other forms of employment, their enforcement is essential. This conclusion is borne out in a parallel study on ES and OHS enforcement in Ontario included in this working paper series, which finds deterioration in both enforcement regimes through policy analysis and a review of administrative practices. Indeed, in the case of ES, this study documents a backlog in complaints, insufficient numbers of

labour inspectors, an overly narrow approach to labour inspection, and limitations in the governance of penalties for violators and collections processes as well as highlights larger problems with a complaint-based ES system, especially during an economic downturn (i.e., workers are reluctant to complain for fear of job loss, with little certainty that they will obtain sufficient representation, and/or without any guarantee they will receive the compensation they deserve).

Collectively, such findings reflect our conclusion that ‘the more things change the more they stay the same.’ They help explain why it is that, from a statistical vantage point, precarious jobs in Ontario can look somewhat similar (or only marginally worse) in 2009 to what they were in 1999 despite the deterioration that has occurred in labour market regulations.

4. Improve the social measurement of job quality and precariousness

Worsening conditions for many workers may not be visible statistically because of limitations in the way the data are collected (sampled) and the ways that job quality is measured. As a result, many national surveys related to job quality provide only an incomplete picture, which makes it difficult to develop comprehensive and effective policy recommendations. Politically, the limited knowledge available about job quality makes it easier to ignore or discount changes in people’s working conditions, and harder for advocates to track declines and lobby for improvements.

One clear limitation of using national survey data to measure job quality is the reliance on household telephone sampling, which does not capture the most marginal workers. Research on the United States shows that young people, people living in

poverty, and renters are much more likely to have only cell phones.⁵⁵ These groups are also more likely to be in precarious jobs, but their experiences are not captured in telephone surveys. Similarly, people living in transient or communal housing arrangements (such as migrant workers) are unlikely to have a household telephone. In order to capture the experiences of these more marginal workers accurately, non-probability sampling approaches should also be used in conjunction with these probability sampling methods.

In addition, most national labour surveys, such as the SLID, ask questions about the structure of jobs, but collect little information about respondents' perceptions of job quality. The indicators used here – low wages, no pensions plan, no union coverage, and being in a small firm – are commonly used because they constitute so-called 'objective' measures of job quality. They fail to capture sufficiently the complex, and multi-faceted experience of working in a precarious or poor quality job. The addition of some 'subjective' measures of job quality would help to unearth more fully workers' perceptions of their working conditions and their integration into their workplace. For instance, questions about how long workers expect to be in their current job, whether their skills are valued in their current position, and whether they feel their work could be done by others in their establishment would provide good indicators of job stability or precariousness. Another potentially useful measure of job stability could be the amount of training that an employee receives when starting their job, since this represents the amount of investment an employer makes in a new employee (and also factors into the potential cost of replacing them). More comprehensive measures of job quality in quantitative surveys – such as information about sense of control, efficacy, work

scheduling, and the enforcement of labour standards - would also help to better evaluate how the experience of working in Ontario is changing.⁵⁶ More broadly, of course, a balance between quantitative and qualitative research is required such that the latter is developed to respond to predictable limits of the former.

APPENDIX A: DATA SOURCES AND ANALYSIS

The above analysis relies on Statistics Canada's Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID; 1999-2009). The SLID was introduced in 1993 in order to improve understandings of the economic well-being of Canadians over time, and provides information on people's labour force experiences, human capital and demographic characteristics.

The SLID sample is composed of two panels of respondents (roughly 30,000 adults in 15,000 households), and each panel is surveyed annually for a six year period, with a new panel being selected every three years.⁵⁷ The SLID sample is selected from the monthly Labour Force Survey, which uses a two-stage sampling process, first selecting a sample of geographic areas, and then a sample of dwellings from each area.⁵⁸ Residents of institutions and persons living on Indian reserves or in military barracks are excluded from the SLID sample. The longitudinal nature of the SLID is particularly useful for understanding how household income changes over time, but also makes it difficult to capture the experiences of migrant workers, or people who move often. Each successive wave within a panel has declining response rates and respondents who miss responding to two subsequent years of a survey are treated as non-respondents.⁵⁹ Thus, those who move frequently are unlikely to be included in later waves of the survey. For instance, a demographic analysis shows that young people have lower response rates to the SLID than those who are middle-aged and seniors,⁶⁰ in part because this group is more difficult to trace than more established households and household members. The variation in response based on age is compensated for by Statistics Canada's weighting system, and so accurate population estimates can still

be made, but concerns remain about the SLIDs effectiveness in capturing highly mobile populations.

The SLID uses Computer-Assisted Telephone interviewing for data collection, using the basic contact information for each household established in the LFS. Access to the public-use SLID microdata from 1999-2008 for this research was obtained under a license agreement from Statistics Canada, data from 2009 was accessed using the SLIDRet remote retrieval system. Data were analyzed using SPSS 18, using the appropriate population weights.

The primary population of interest in this analysis is people residing in Ontario who were members of the labour force in the relevant year. For the majority of the analysis, the focus is on those who were employees (i.e. not self-employed). The analysis is based on respondents' 'main' job in the reference year, that is, the job in which they had the most scheduled hours (or if scheduled hours are equal in more than one job, the job with the highest earnings). Thus, this analysis provides an assessment of precariousness in workers' main jobs, and not in auxiliary or secondary jobs.

It is important to note that the variables used in this analysis of precarious work are based on employee reporting, and not employer reports. For instance, workers were asked: "In your job with [employer], did you have an employer pension plan?" and "How many persons were employed at the location where you worked for [employer]?" (or all locations, if the employer has more than one location). Respondents' hourly wages are based on the amount paid at the end of the reference year (or the end of the job) and includes tips, bonuses and commissions. For respondents who did not report an hourly wage amount, the implicit hourly wage is calculated using income, months, weeks and

hours worked. Proxy reporting is allowed in the SLID; that is, household respondents can answer for others in the household provided they are knowledgeable and willing to do so.

The results presented above are based on yearly, cross-sectional estimates. That is, the trajectory of individual workers and/or households is not tracked over time, but the aggregate results from each year are compared to those of previous years, in order to show change or stability over time.

APPENDIX B: PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY AND OCCUPATION, 1999-2009

Table 5.1a: Proportion of workers who have precarious jobs, by industry, 1999-2009

Year	Accommodation & Food Services	Agriculture	Other Services	Business, Building, & Other Support Services		Construction	Information, Culture, & Recreation	Professional, Scientific, & Technical Services
				Trade	Other Support Services			
1999	78.2%	80.5%	59.2%	50.9%	54.5%	41.0%	33.4%	37.4%
2000	76.4%	84.0%	52.8%	54.0%	48.5%	37.7%	37.5%	30.7%
2001	74.0%	78.1%	49.6%	45.3%	48.9%	40.5%	37.4%	26.9%
2002	76.1%	76.9%	57.1%	44.8%	47.7%	36.0%	29.6%	24.2%
2003	74.1%	68.1%	59.3%	47.4%	45.2%	37.7%	31.7%	25.2%
2004	74.3%	68.1%	61.4%	43.8%	48.3%	43.0%	29.0%	28.9%
2005	76.0%	69.9%	58.1%	50.9%	44.7%	36.9%	37.3%	28.8%
2006	72.3%	65.1%	52.7%	44.8%	45.0%	42.9%	43.2%	29.4%
2007	73.4%	68.6%	50.7%	39.3%	47.0%	39.1%	34.7%	25.0%
2008	76.0%	64.7%	61.6%	61.5%	50.6%	42.6%	38.0%	32.4%
2009	68.3%	74.0%	55.4%	60.1%	46.6%	47.5%	38.5%	35.8%

Table 5.1b: Proportion of workers who have precarious jobs, by industry, 1999-2009

Year	Health Care & Social Assistance	Transportation & Warehousing	Forestry, Fishing, Mining, Oil & Gas	Finance, Insurance, Real Estate & Leasing		Manufacturing	Educational Services	Public Administration	Utilities
				Manufacturing	Finance, Insurance, Real Estate & Leasing				
1999	24.2%	24.0%	11.9%	21.1%	18.1%	12.4%	12.0%	6.4%	
2000	21.3%	20.6%	16.1%	18.2%	15.5%	9.3%	6.9%	3.1%	
2001	20.4%	18.0%	14.4%	17.3%	15.9%	12.0%	7.5%	1.5%	
2002	20.9%	17.2%	14.3%	14.5%	12.9%	14.4%	3.5%	0.0%	
2003	20.5%	20.2%	17.6%	14.4%	14.6%	8.4%	4.3%	0.0%	
2004	17.3%	18.1%	14.8%	13.9%	12.0%	9.5%	4.4%	4.3%	
2005	19.2%	14.0%	16.5%	18.4%	13.1%	8.8%	5.1%	0.9%	
2006	23.9%	19.8%	17.6%	12.9%	13.8%	13.4%	2.8%	3.3%	
2007	20.1%	17.3%	32.6%	17.2%	16.5%	14.3%	2.2%	2.2%	
2008	25.7%	18.8%	28.1%	14.6%	16.1%	13.6%	5.1%	1.7%	
2009	24.6%	28.4%	21.2%	16.7%	16.7%	12.5%	3.1%	3.9%	

Table 5.2a: Proportion of workers in precarious jobs, by occupation, 1999-2009

Year	Chefs, Cooks, Food & Beverage Service	Retail Sales, Clerks & Cashiers	Primary Industry	Sales & Service	Con- struction Trades	Art, Culture, Recreation & Sport	Child Care & Home Support	Trades, Helpers, Cons- truction & Transport	Process- ing, Manu- facturing & Utilities	Transport & Equip- ment Operators	Financial, Secretarial & Admin.	Other Trades
1999	83.3%	72.9%	61.6%	63.1%	44.6%	38.4%	42.9%	39.0%	36.4%	31.9%	26.7%	25.0%
2000	80.3%	67.3%	59.6%	56.3%	37.4%	47.5%	38.9%	37.4%	29.0%	32.5%	30.5%	22.6%
2001	73.5%	67.8%	59.9%	54.5%	37.8%	39.1%	43.5%	37.9%	30.3%	28.1%	31.7%	23.7%
2002	74.7%	67.4%	66.4%	55.0%	39.7%	31.7%	49.0%	35.6%	31.6%	30.5%	27.9%	25.8%
2003	80.4%	62.0%	59.1%	53.8%	43.8%	34.8%	38.8%	32.6%	42.1%	30.5%	26.2%	23.8%
2004	73.8%	64.0%	54.9%	57.5%	41.6%	38.4%	24.0%	46.0%	36.2%	25.9%	30.0%	26.6%
2005	71.3%	60.4%	64.2%	62.4%	36.2%	42.4%	31.4%	37.2%	36.1%	24.4%	30.8%	23.8%
2006	69.2%	65.9%	63.0%	53.8%	48.4%	38.6%	41.6%	36.1%	30.7%	28.4%	31.0%	23.9%
2007	69.3%	59.5%	53.9%	59.8%	46.6%	37.6%	38.3%	37.2%	40.0%	35.4%	32.3%	25.7%
2008	80.8%	67.0%	59.4%	60.2%	46.7%	46.8%	34.1%	39.6%	32.6%	37.1%	26.8%	26.9%
2009	77.3%	64.0%	63.7%	54.9%	53.9%	46.5%	42.6%	52.0%	23.5%	34.9%	33.1%	26.1%

Table 5.2b: Proportion of workers in precarious jobs, by occupation, 1999-2009

Year	Clerical	Technical, Assist. & Related Occ. in Health	Technical, Real Estate & Sales, & Grain Buyers	Machine Operators & Assemb. in Manu- facturing	Protective Services	Con- tractors & Super- visors in Trades & Transport	Prof.Occ. Senior Manage- ment	Prof.Occ. in Business & Finance	Natural & Applied Sciences	Teachers & Professors	Prof.Occ. in Health, Nurse Super- visors & Registered Nurses	
1999	30.8%	26.2%	27.8%	18.8%	23.9%	17.7%	18.0%	25.2%	11.8%	13.1%	11.6%	10.1%
2000	27.1%	22.1%	22.7%	15.7%	18.5%	14.4%	17.1%	15.5%	11.8%	11.1%	5.7%	8.6%
2001	26.3%	22.1%	22.7%	17.2%	11.2%	17.3%	24.4%	9.6%	7.6%	7.4%	7.2%	6.6%
2002	20.5%	22.9%	19.3%	14.7%	13.9%	12.2%	15.2%	13.5%	10.4%	8.2%	8.0%	4.5%
2003	21.8%	23.2%	19.7%	14.5%	13.4%	14.9%	10.8%	4.7%	8.0%	8.6%	5.2%	6.2%
2004	17.6%	18.2%	20.4%	12.9%	9.7%	16.3%	12.9%	6.4%	13.5%	10.5%	4.7%	4.7%
2005	23.3%	22.5%	17.4%	15.2%	13.9%	15.1%	12.8%	6.5%	16.4%	9.1%	5.4%	4.7%
2006	23.3%	24.7%	17.9%	18.2%	17.7%	12.4%	12.8%	6.3%	12.7%	11.9%	7.8%	6.1%
2007	24.2%	17.4%	15.2%	17.9%	13.4%	16.7%	15.5%	2.7%	8.2%	12.5%	7.5%	5.5%
2008	31.2%	28.7%	27.2%	19.6%	15.9%	14.2%	5.1%	25.0%	11.3%	11.6%	9.0%	6.8%
2009	28.6%	26.3%	32.8%	22.2%	28.9%	15.0%	21.1%	13.3%	9.5%	12.5%	7.3%	10.2%

ENDNOTES

¹ Authorship is alphabetical to reflect equal contribution.

² This analysis is based on Statistics Canada Microdata files which contain anonymized data collected from 1999-2009 Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics. All computations on these microdata were prepared by Andrea Noack (Ryerson University), and the responsibility for the use and interpretation of these data is entirely that of the author(s).

³ Ulrich Mückenberger, "Non-standard Forms of Employment in the Federal Republic of Germany: The Role and Effectiveness of the State" in Gerry Roberts & Janine Rogers, eds., *Precarious Jobs in Labour Market Regulation: The Growth of Atypical Employment in Western Europe* (Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies, 1989) 167; C.S. Büchtemann & S. Quack, "How Precarious is 'Non-Standard Employment? Evidence for West Germany" (1990) 14 Cambridge Journal of Economics 315.

⁴ See, for example: Cynthia J. Cranford and Leah F. Vosko, "Conceptualizing Precarious Employment: Mapping Wage Work across Social Location and Occupational Context" in Leah F. Vosko, ed., *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006) 43; Tania Das Gupta, "Union Renewal and Precarious Employment: A Case Study of Hotel Workers" in Leah F. Vosko, ed., *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2006) 318; Leah F. Vosko and Nancy Zukewich, "P precarious by Choice? Gender and Self-Employment" in Leah F. Vosko, ed., *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006) 67; Grace Edward Galabuzi, "Racializing the Division of Labour: Neoliberal Restructuring and the Economic Segregation of Canada's Racialized Groups" in Jim Stanford and Leah F. Vosko, ed., *Challenging the Market: The Struggle to Regulate Work and Income* (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004) 175.

⁵ See, for example: Pat Armstrong & Kate Laxer, "P precarious Work, Privatization, and the Health-Care Industry" in Leah F. Vosko, ed., *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006) 115.

⁶ Jean Bernier, Guylaine Vallée & Carol Jobin, "Les Besoins de Protection Sociale des Personnes en Situation de Travail Non Traditionnelle" Rapport final (Quebec: Ministère du Travail, 2003); Vallée,

Towards Enhancing the Employment Conditions of Vulnerable Workers: A Public Policy Perspective (Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2005); Stephanie Bernstein, "Mitigating Precarious Employment in Quebec: The Role of Minimum Employment Standards Legislation" in Leah F. Vosko, ed., *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006) 221; Katherine Lippel, "Prestigious Employment and Occupational Health and Safety Regulation in Quebec" in Leah F. Vosko, ed., *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006) 241.

⁷ Gerhard Bosch, "Towards a New Standard Employment Relationship in Western Europe" (2004) 42:2 British Journal of Industrial Relations 617 at 618.

⁸ See, for example: Büchtemann & Quack, note 1 at 51; Gerry Rodgers, "Prestigious Work in Western Europe: The State of the Debate" in Gerry Rodgers and Janine Rodgers, eds., *Precarious Jobs in Labour Market Regulation: The Growth of Atypical Employment in Western Europe* (Belgium: International Institute for Labour Studies, 1989) 1; Judy Fudge, "Little Victories and Big Defeats: The Rise and Fall of Collective Bargaining Rights for Domestic Workers in Ontario" in Abigail Bess Bakan & Daiva K. Stasiulis, eds., *Not One of the Family: Foreign Domestic Workers in Canada* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 119; Vosko, *Temporary Work: The Gendered Rise of a Precarious Employment Relationship* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

⁹ Wallace Clement, Sophie Mathieu, Steven Prus and Emre Uckardesler, "Prestigious Lives in the New Economy: Comparative Intersectional Analysis" in Leah F. Vosko, Martha MacDonald & Iain Campbell, eds., *Gender and the Contours of Precarious Employment* (London; New York, NY: Routledge, 2009) 240.

¹⁰ See, for example: Fudge, Eric Tucker & Vosko, *The Legal Concept of Employment: Marginalizing Workers Report* (Toronto: Law Commission of Canada, 2002); Cynthia J. Cranford, Fudge, Tucker & Vosko, *Self-Employed Workers Organize: Law Policy and Unions* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005) at 208; Karen D. Hughes, *Female Enterprise in the New Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005); Vosko, *Managing the Margins: Gender, Citizenship and the*

International Regulation of Precarious Employment (Politics and Business Series) (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹¹ Zhengxi Lin, Janice Yates and Garnett Picot, *Rising Self-employment in the Midst of High Unemployment: An Empirical Analysis of Recent Developments in Canada* (Ottawa: Analytical Studies Branch, Statistics Canada, 1999). Online: Statistics Canada , < <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m1999133-eng.pdf>> (last accessed: 18 September 2011)

¹² See, for example: Judy Fudge, "A New Gender Contract?: Work-life Balance and Working-time Flexibility" in Joanne Conaghan & Kerry Rittich, eds., *Labour Law, Work and Family: Critical and Comparative Perspectives* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) 261; Eric Tucker, "Star Wars: Newspaper Distribution Workers and the Possibilities and Limits of Collective Bargaining" in Cynthia J. Cranford, Judy Fudge, Eric Tucker & Leah F. Vosko eds., *Self-Employed Workers Organize: Law, Policy, and Unions* (Montréal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2005) 29.

¹³ Sylvia Fuller and Vosko, "Temporary Employment and Social Inequality in Canada: Exploring Intersections of Gender, Race and Migration" (2008) 88:1 *Social Indicators Research* 31.

¹⁴ See, for example: Vosko, note 6 at 52; Katherine Stone, *From Widgets to Digits: Employment Regulation for the Changing Workplace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Fuller & Vosko, note 11 at 53.

¹⁵ Based on research examining trends in Canada, Australia, the United States and the EU 15, elsewhere Vosko (2010) also shows that when we conflate precarious employment and non-standard employment we risk obscuring and reinforcing the very problems that need to be addressed – namely, the SER-centric nature of labour regulation (Vosko, note 8 at 52).

¹⁶ In this analysis, we rely on the reported hourly wage for the main job at the end of the reference year (or at the end of the job, if it concluded before the reference year). This is compared to the low wage cutoff of 1.5 times the minimum wage at the end of the reference year.

¹⁷ Statistics Canada, *Low Income Lines, 2009-2010*, Income Research Paper Series, Income Statistics Division, Catalogue no. 75F0002M, no. 002 (Ottawa: Minister of Industry, 2011).

¹⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁹ On Ontario, see especially: J. O'Grady, "Beyond the Wagner Act, What Then?" in D. Drache, ed., *Getting on Track* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991) 153; Fudge, *Meeting the Needs of Vulnerable Workers: Proposals for Improved Employment Legislation and Access to Collective Bargaining for Domestic Workers and Industrial Homeworkers* submitted by Ontario District Council of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Intercede. (Toronto: Intercede, Toronto Organization for Domestic Workers' Rights, 1993); Mary Gellatly, John Grundy, Kiran Mirchandani, Adam Perry, Mark Thomas & Vosko, "'Modernizing' Employment Standards? Administrative Efficiency, Market Regulation and the Production of the Illegitimate Claimant in Ontario, Canada" (2011) 22:2 Economic and Labour Relations Review 81.

²⁰ P. Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and their Segregated Work* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001).

²¹ Cranford, Vosko, & Zukewich, "The Gender of Precarious Employment in Canada" (2003) 58:3 Relations Industrielles/ Industrial Relations, 454.

²² For instance, in the Canadian context and elsewhere, Vosko (2000, 2006 & 2010), Fudge & Vosko (2001a and b), Cranford & Vosko (2006), Tucker (2006), and Fuller & Vosko (2008) show that women, immigrants and people of colour are more likely to hold jobs characterized by dimensions of labour market insecurity. (Vosko, note 16 at 53; Vosko, ed., *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006); Vosko, note 8 at 52; Fudge & Vosko "Gender, Segmentation and the Standard Employment Relationship in Canadian Labour Law and Policy." (2001a) 22:2 Economic and Industrial Democracy 271; Fudge & Vosko, "By Whose Standards? Re-Regulating the Canadian Labour Market" (2001b) 22:3 Economic and Industrial Democracy, 327; Cranford & Vosko, note 3 at 51; Tucker, note 10 at 52; Fuller & Vosko, note 11 at 58).

²³ Age is another prominent dimension of labour market inequality. We do not develop an age-based analysis here, however, as this dimension is being addressed more fully in the Law Commission's series on young workers.

²⁴ Statistics Canada, *Labour Force Historical Review 2009* (table 86), Catalogue No. 71F0004XVB (Ottawa: Minister of Industry, 2010).

²⁵ Shifts in the industrial and occupational composition of the solo self-employed and the employer self-employed may accompany this apparent constancy but tracking these patterns is beyond the scope of our analysis.

²⁶ Fudge, Tucker & Vosko, note 8 at 52; Hughes, "Pushed or Pulled? Women's Entry into Self-Employment and Small Business Ownership" (2003) 10:4 *Gender, Work and Organization*, 433.

²⁷ Vosko, "The Challenge of Expanding EI Coverage: Charting Exclusions and Partial Exclusions on the Bases of Gender, Immigration Status, Age, and Place of Residence and Exploring Avenues for Inclusive Policy Redesign," monograph prepared for Mowat Commission on Unemployment Insurance (Toronto: Mowat Centre for Public Policy, Toronto, 2011).

²⁸ Throughout this analysis, we use data from 2008 as the primary reporting year. At the time of submission, there was only limited access to the 2009 data through a remote access system. Wherever possible, we have included data from 2009 in order to show changes over time.

²⁹ Timothy J. Bartkiw, "Manufacturing Descent?: Labour Law and Union Organizing in the Province of Ontario" (2008) 34:1 *Canadian Public Policy*, 111.

³⁰ Harry Arthurs, "A Fine Balance: Safe Pensions, Affordable Plans, Fair Rules" (Ontario, Report of the Expert Commission on Pensions, 2007).

³¹ The minimum wage cut-off has been adjusted to reflect provincial minimum wages each year.

³² Mark P. Thomas, *Regulating Flexibility: The Political Economy of Employment Standards* (Montréal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2009); Gellatly et al, note 17 at 53.

³³ Andrew Jackson, "Forum: Reorganizing Unions: Solidarity Forever? Trends in Canadian Union Density" (2004) 74 *Studies in Political Economy*, 124 at 141; Sharanjit Uppal, "Unionization, 2010", Catalogue no. 75-001-X (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, October 2010) at 18.

³⁴ Bernstein, note 4 at 51.

³⁵ See also Gellatly et al, note 17 at 53.

³⁶ Fudge & Vosko 2001b, note 20.

³⁷ Antonella Picchio, "Wages as a Reflection of Socially Embedded Production and Reproduction Processes" in Linda Clarke, Peter de Gijzel & Jorn Janssen, eds., *The Dynamics of Wage Relations in the New Europe* (London: Kluwer, 1998) 195.

³⁸ Ernest B. Akyeampong, "Collective Bargaining Priorities" (2005) 17:3 *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, 41 at 44.

³⁹ Patrice A. Dutil and Ronald Saunders, *New Approaches in Achieving Compliance with Statutory Employment Standards* (Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks; Toronto: Institute of Public Administration of Canada, July 2005).

⁴⁰ This apparent decline should be interpreted with caution as it may be the result of precarious jobs in agriculture being increasingly filled by temporary foreign workers, whose experiences are unlikely to be reported in this survey. The household telephone sampling methodology used in the SLID relies on land-line telephones, which are unlikely to be used in the temporary or group living accommodations used by some foreign workers. Further, temporary foreign workers – especially those with limited English skills – may be less likely to respond to telephone survey requests.

⁴¹ Data on the racial and ethnic composition, as well as the immigrants status, of the agricultural industry in Ontario is suppressed by Statistics Canada because of small cell sizes, which pose a threat to the confidentiality of the data.

⁴² For more information on the industry classifications used in this analysis and the specific jobs which they include, please see: <<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/subjects-sujets/standard-norme/naics-scian/2002/naics-scian02l-eng.htm>> (last accessed: 18 September, 2011).

⁴³ Jane Jenson, "The Talents of Women, the Skills of Men" in Stephan Wood, ed., *The Transformation of Work? Skill Flexibility and the Labour Process* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989) 141; Sylvia Walby, "Flexibility and the Changing Sexual Division of Labour" in Stephan Wood, ed., *The Transformation of Work? Skills, Flexibility and Labour Process* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989) 127.

⁴⁴ P. Armstrong & Laxer, note 7 at 52.

⁴⁵ For more information on the occupational classifications used in this analysis and the specific jobs which they include, please see: <<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/subjects-sujets/standard-norme/soc-cnp/2001/noc2001-cnp2001-menu-eng.htm>> (last accessed, 18 September, 2011).

⁴⁶ Vosko, *Temporary Work: The Gendered Rise of a Precarious Employment Relationship* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

⁴⁷ P. Armstrong, "The Feminization of the Labour Force: Harmonizing Down in a Global Economy" in Isabelle Bakker, ed., *Rethinking Restructuring: Gender and Change in Canada* (Toronto, Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press, 1996) 29.

⁴⁸ Chinese Interagency Network "Chinese Workers are not protected by ESA", (August 2010) online: Chinese Canadian Council Toronto Chapter <<http://www.ccnctoronto.ca/?q=node/343>> (last accessed: 13 September 2011).

⁴⁹ More than 80% of Ontario's population lives in a metropolitan area (Census Data, Statistics Canada, 2006) Online: accessed via University of Toronto SDA < <http://sda.chass.utoronto.ca/sdaweb/index.html>

⁵⁰ Das Gupta, note 2 at 51.

⁵¹ Bartkiw 2008, note 27 at 54; Uppal 2010, note 31 at 55.

⁵² Vallée and Jean Charest "Globalization and the Transformation of State Regulation of Labour: the Case of Recent Amendments to the Quebec Collective Agreement Decrees Act," (2001) 17:1 International Journal of Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations, Kluwer Law International, 79; Michel Grant, "Deregulating Industrial Relations in the Apparel Sector: The Decree System in Quebec" in Jim Stanford & Leah F. Vosko, eds., *Challenging the Market: The Struggle to Regulate Work and Income* (Montréal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2004), 135. See also Cranford, Fudge, Tucker & Vosko, *Self-Employed Workers Organize: Law Policy and Unions* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005) at 186-192.

⁵³ Fudge, Tucker & Vosko 2002, note 8 at 52.

⁵⁴ Fudge & Vosko 2001a, note 20; Vosko 2010, note 8 at 52.

⁵⁵ Stephen J. Blumberg & Julian V. Luke , *Wireless Substitution: Early Release of Estimates Based on the National Health Interview Survey, July-December 2006* (Atlanta, GA: U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 14 May 2007).

⁵⁶ Although large national surveys must necessarily strike a balance between the breadth and depth of content, the integration of better measures of job quality into one or more national surveys would signal a policy commitment to improving job quality in Canada. There are several international models for improving survey data related to job quality; for instance, the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey includes twelve items assessing subjective psychosocial characteristics of work,

which appear to reflect three general components of job quality: job demands and complexity, job control and job security (Liana Leach, Peter Butterworth, Bryan Rodgers & Lyndall Strazdins 2010). In order to better capture the situation of workers in precarious jobs, we would also recommend sponsoring research that specifically captures the experiences of workers who are likely to be underrepresented in randomly-selected telephone surveys. More diverse sampling strategies and measurements of job quality will allow policy makers to make better informed decisions. (Liana Leach, Peter Butterworth, Brayn Rodgers & Lyndall Strazdins, "Deriving an Evidence-Based Measure of Job Quality from the HILDA Survey" (July 1, 2010) No. 9 *Australian Social Policy Journal* 67.)

⁵⁷ Statistics Canada, *Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) – 2009 Survey Overview*, Cat. No 75F0011X (Ottawa: Statistics Canada 2010b) Online: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75f0011x/75f0011x2011001-eng.htm> (last accessed: 18 September, 2011)

⁵⁸ Statistics Canada, *Methodology of the Canadian Labour Force Survey* (Ottawa, ON: Ministry of Industry 2008) Online: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/71-526-x/71-526-x2007001-eng.pdf> (last accessed: 18 September, 2011).

⁵⁹ Bastien, Jean-François, *Data Quality for the 2009 Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID)* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2009) Online: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/imdb-bmdi/document/3889_D13_T2_V3-eng.pdf (last accessed: 18 September, 2011).

⁶⁰ *Ibid*