

SEGMENTATION, DISADVANTAGE AND DEVELOPMENT
AN ANALYSIS OF THE MARGINAL WORK WORLD,
ITS LINKAGE WITH THE CENTRAL WORK
WORLD, AND ITS ROLE IN THE
EVOLVING MARITIME PROVINCES.

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B. EVOLVING MARITIME PROVINCES.

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C O N T E N T S

I	Statement of the Research Problem	1
II	Substantive Importance of the Problem	8
III	Theory and Literature	16
	A. The Emergence of Concern	16
	B. Theoretical Paradigms	23
	C. Policy Prescriptions	51
IV	Key Research Questions	61
V	Research Program: Projects	71
VI	Summary List of Projects	128
VII	References	132

I. STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

In modern, post-industrial society we have become accustomed to think of ourselves as affluent, highly organized, well-trained and reasonably secure in employment; the organizational analogues to such characteristics are well-paying, stable and full-time jobs, big unions, big government and big corporations, technocracy, occupational mobility, centralized planning and effective control vis-a-vis market forces. This phenomenological and organizational composite delineates the concept of the central work world (C.W.W.).

The marginal work world (M.W.W.) as an ideal-type stands out in contrast. There one perceives relative poverty and poor bargaining position, lowly-valued skills, frequent job change, and vulnerability. Organizationally, the M.W.W. is characterized, again ideal-typically, by enterprises of modest scale, a competitive market situation, weak unionization or none at all, semi-skilled and routine work roles, insignificant job ladders, and the predominance of social rather than individual characteristics in labour force make-up and differentiation.

We are concerned with a long-range multifaceted research investigation of the marginal work world, and its

linkages with the central work world in the Maritime provinces.

The ideal-type of the M.W.W. raises some questions and problems as one tries to apply it in concrete terms. A multiplicity of criteria is implied, producing grey areas in application since the criteria are not completely congruent. Certainly there are many ill paid workers in the C.W.W. who have lowly valued skills, routine and boring work roles, and an apperception of vulnerability. Then, too, on an organizational level, some economic enterprises often referred to in discussions of the marginal work world (e.g., large textile factories, hotel chains) are multinational, and feature highly centralized planning, high profit-margins, and reasonable market security. Rather than focusing exclusively on one criterion such as job instability or low income to define the sector, we are using the M.W.W. concept because it encourages a more complex, multidimensional perspective; it has a rich background in the theoretical literature, it suggests a number of important research questions, and it appears to correspond with an important part of Maritime reality.

In talking of the M.W.W. and the C.W.W. we refer to hypothesized realities, the term "world" conveying the idea of a meaningful heuristic sector that is definable and has systematic characteristics; that is, a coherent set of factors which develop and react to extraneous forces in unique ways

and interrelate differently with other systems or institutions. The diversity of work settings placed in either the C.W.W. or the M.W.W. is considerable, and a major conclusion of our research program will be the determination of whether the postulating of these different realities by ourselves, scholars, government officials, and others is indeed meaningful and heuristic. Examples of work settings tentatively located in the M.W.W. are secondary manufacturing enterprises of small and modest scale (e.g., textile, carpet and instrument factories, usually located outside the metropolitan area), food processing plants, hotel and restaurant operations, cleaning and repairing work, retail and wholesale trade service, as well as small scale farming, fishing and woodlot enterprises with their associated labour.

We are concentrating on the world of work, rather than those of the family, community, and welfare-unemployment, because of its importance in shaping the status, life experiences, and self concept of the individual and because of its centrality regarding the present and future of the Maritimes. The connection between work and the above systems, however, will be a relevant consideration (e.g., dual earner families, community development strategies as a means of overcoming marginality, and mobility between welfare-unemployment and the M.W.W.).

Postulating different work worlds does not preclude connectedness, but it does raise important theoretical and research questions concerning the integrity and unity of the work world. What are the continuities and discontinuities? If the labour market is stratified into a C.W.W. and a M.W.W., then it becomes important to understand what the linkages are between them: Who are the intermediate groups and what role do they perform? To what extent, under what conditions, does occupational mobility take place between the sectors, and what other forms of interaction occur? *both ways*

From the point of view of social policy, an examination of the M.W.W. and its connection to the C.W.W. appears especially crucial. Insofar as there are relatively segmented work worlds, one can well appreciate phenomena such as structural unemployment and conversion barriers. Obstacles to labour mobility and the institutional arrangements of different work situations yielding low economic return need to be closely examined. Clearly the effects of general monetary and fiscal policies, training programs (purportedly aimed at encouraging mobility from the M.W.W. to the C.W.W.), and social security measures could be complicated, many-sided and often unintended. Policies specific to each sector may well be needed either to eliminate the M.W.W. or to promote its improvement.

On the surface at least, one is struck by the diversity of work settings conventionally placed in the M.W.W. A host of important distinctions can be drawn for utilization in generating a typology of institutional arrangements: rural/urban location, production for export/local markets, unionized/non-unionized labour force, multinational/family controlled enterprise, type of economic activity, and conventional/irregular working schedule. It is important to determine the way in which the type of institutional setting is related to differences in worker mobility, education and training, participant phenomenology, membership in social groups (e.g., minority groups, sex and age divisions), and relationships with other societal systems, agents of social change and of social policy. Some common patterns transcending the diversity of work settings are to be expected if the conceptualization of a marginal work world is justified.

To talk of the marginal work "world" suggests an underlying ethos and/or an interrelatedness among components or variables. The ethos of the M.W.W. is usually considered from a negative point of view (i.e., it is not part of the C.W.W.) and "disadvantage" is the operational code word. It is important to have an historical perspective, to determine the trends and patterns of social development in the M.W.W. Is it the case that the M.W.W. is "falling behind" in relation

to the C.W.W. having less and less bargaining power and significance in terms of general economic decision-making and receiving little government assistance or attention? Certainly, from this perspective, one would expect to find a decline in relative well-being of workers in the M.W.W. vis-a-vis workers in the C.W.W., especially given modern society's difficulty with the simultaneous problems of inflation and unemployment; one would expect, also, increasing relative deprivation among the former.

A general policy question concerns the possibility of social and economic development flowing from reorganization and improvement within the marginal work world. Such a consideration is relevant in view of the increasing government attention to demand-side policies regarding the work world (e.g., L.I.P., L.E.A.P.) and the desire of some minority and other groups, currently disproportionately involved in the M.W.W. to effect an improved condition that does not sacrifice their identity and preferred life style. In the Maritime Provinces we have become accustomed to thinking of development as necessitating the luring of branch plants of multinational corporations. The dividends from such economic growth presumably are partially utilized for social improvements. Critics of this approach have emphasized the need to encourage the development of community and local initiatives.

Such a program, particularly outside the metropolitan area, might well fit in with an economic development policy which seeks to expand the opportunities within the M.W.W. It would be important to ground any such alternative policy on research regarding the quality of life and work among persons in the M.W.W., particularly the multi-job-holder in the rural areas. It would be important as well to study attempts at group organization such as unionization of employees or organizations of independent entrepreneurs and experiments with alternative development plans (e.g., cooperatives, community employment programs) in the M.W.W.

*Piston
Michelin
Workers
R. Blake
E. Fredericks
B. Mc Nabb*

In line with the above point concerning development policy, a cautionary aside should be mentioned. While we have focused on the problematic aspects of the M.W.W., there are undoubtedly some advantages to work in that sector and many persons for whom involvement there may be voluntary. Given the lack of perfect correlation between job satisfaction and wages/income, it is useful to ask to what extent work in the M.W.W. involves selection among possible options and what are its merits.

*Service
Retirements*

II. SUBSTANTIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

When the Social Policy Research Program was established at the Institute of Public Affairs, its principal purposes were stated as (a) generating knowledge by means of a research program about specific social welfare issues where critical gaps in knowledge now exist, and (b) bridging the gap between the availability of knowledge and the formulation of social policy. It was felt that the following criteria should be used for selecting research topics:

- (1) the program should involve problem focused research dealing with some aspect of social welfare, broadly defined;
- (2) the research should be of importance to revising social policy and social theory;
- (3) a coordinated set of research projects should be considered; and
- (4) the research program should reflect the considered opinion of the members of groups and organizations in the area, especially those outside the centres of societal power, on what needs to be researched.

The research program discussed in this proposal is consistent with the above purposes and criteria. The marginal sector is of substantial and perhaps unique importance in the Maritime region.* Although data is scarce and is not readily applicable to the M.W.W. concept, some indication of the size

*In the research program outlined below, primary data collection will be undertaken largely in the three Maritime Provinces. Historical and secondary data collection will be undertaken for the four Atlantic Provinces.

of the group involved can be derived from the 1967 Statistics Canada compilation on poverty in Canada.* For all families and unattached individuals, the incidence of poverty in the Atlantic region is virtually double the national average (34% vs 18%); among those who are working, the incidence of poverty is also double (29% vs 15.5%). Despite high unemployment in the region, however, the percentage of low income family heads and unattached individuals who are working is higher than in other areas of Canada (60.7% vs 52.8% nationally). In other words, the majority of low income people are working either part or full time for inadequate incomes, and this pattern is particularly evident in the Maritime region. The low income worker is usually (though not exclusively) found in the marginal work world. In this connection the region stands out in the relatively high proportion of part-time rather than full-time low income work, particularly among male heads of families (53% vs 39% nationally), and probably in the relatively low proportion of the labour force which is union organized. For example, only about 10% of the workers in the hotel and restaurant industry are organized.

How defined?

*It should be recalled, however, that low income does not in itself adequately measure the marginal work world. The poverty criterion is broader, because it includes the non-working poor and those with low income in the central work world, but it is also narrower in the sense that it excludes the higher income segments of the marginal sector.

The Maritime Provinces have often been seen as "underdeveloped", as an "industrial backwater" where there is high underemployment, low wages, and enterprises characterized by modest size and low profit margins. This portrait and the above statistics are understandable in the light of the importance of marginal farming/fishing/lumbering in the region and the relative scarcity of centre sector industries. It appears that not only is the marginal work world more prominent in the Maritimes but also that its character here is quite different from that in other provinces: Harp has observed, for example, that multiple job holding patterns are different in the Maritimes than in Ontario and that there appears to be less mobility to the central sector (Harp and Hofley, 1971).

Insofar as poverty has been an issue in Canada over the last decade, the focus of public attention and of research has been on those unemployed and receiving social assistance. Government policy therefore has been preoccupied with creating employment in the public and private sector and with improving the adequacy of the welfare system. For the low income worker the major recommended solution emerging out of recent policy papers is that of wage supplementation to bring income up to a certain guaranteed annual income level (see the Special Senate Committee's Report on Poverty in Canada (1971) and the Department of Health and Welfare's Working Paper on Social Security in Canada (1973)).

There is, however, virtually no research on the marginal work world in Canada. The Special Senate Committee's report, for example, devotes about three pages to the working poor and then moves on to a detailed examination of the welfare system. A preliminary check of existing research data indicates that very little is available in the Maritime region. Exceptions include the Operation Newstart material on the rural sector, several research reports dealing with the economics of the in-shore fishing industry, and some macro-level regional economic analyses (e.g., George, 1970 and 1974). In Newfoundland, largely through the Institute of Social and Economic Research (notably Brox, 1972, and Wadel, 1973), there have been a few excellent theoretical and policy studies of parts of the marginal work world.

There are many indications that more attention is beginning to be paid, by social policy planners and theorists, to the marginal work world. In government, in organized labour, and in the community itself, a new awareness is being manifested. If the sixties could be considered (as it has been by many commentators) the decade where poverty was "re-discovered", then perhaps the seventies could be characterized as the decade when public attention became focused on the working poor and the work world itself. Social policy discussions pertinent to the marginal work world are becoming

Joe N.B. Franklin

the subject of major public debate: the difficulty of securing farm labour and workers in forestry; the trade-off between social security/welfare and low-paid work; the high job turnover rate among the young; the possibility of a new life style/work style mix.

Organized labour, relatively successful and strong in the C.W.W., is considering new strategies to assist the working poor outside its ranks. There are real difficulties concerning the effectiveness of the labour movement in the M.W.W., partly due to the structure and prevailing ideology of the movement and partly due to the characteristics of the sector. There is some question as to the way organized labour rooted in the centre sector, may be implicated in the disadvantage of the M.W.W. Nevertheless, in terms of organizational social programs, and political activity, there is reason to believe that within the next five years organized labour will adopt more aggressive policies vis-a-vis the problems of the M.W.W.

On the government side, and subsequent to the Senate report on poverty, there has clearly been a new interest in the M.W.W. New ideas concerning social security and the welfare system - such as enlarging the concept of work so that sustained governmental funding can be devoted to community service activities, funding community development corporations, and, possibly, providing a guaranteed annual income - appear to

have considerable implication for low wage work and the elimination/development of the M.W.W. The possible establishment of national standards regarding welfare and social security can be of special significance in a currently "disadvantaged" region such as the Maritimes where the M.W.W. is so prominent. Under these conditions it is not surprising that federal departments, long preoccupied with organized labour and the big corporations, are launching new surveys and studies dealing with the M.W.W. and the low income worker. Accordingly, we find the Department of Labour studying low-wage industries and "new initiatives"; Statistics Canada revising its Labour Force Survey to focus more on the conditions and work histories of the low income person; Canada Manpower turning its attention to demand-side policies and the work ethic; and Health and Welfare studying the effects of a G.A.I. variant on work orientation and the M.W.W. generally. While one can only speculate, it appears that over the next five to ten years policies and debates concerning the M.W.W. will increasingly capture society's attention.

In the course of discussing possible research emphases for the Social Policy Research Program with community organizations (over a four-month period between September and December 1973) most persons indicated either that research should be done on low-wage enterprises or that they were concerned with policy innovations whose primary implications would

be in the world of work. Minority groups such as Blacks, Indians and Acadians reported high levels of underemployment and lack of job ladders as their key problems. Current programs to effect change were considered inadequate. A key issue for some leaders was how to develop new economic development policies while simultaneously retaining sensitivity to other group goals. Other community organizations representing welfare recipients and public housing tenants indicated that work-related problems were critical to their attempts to alter dramatically the life-opportunities of their members. The linkages between the welfare system and the M.W. particularly underscored. Among union leaders, especially those organizing in the M.W.W., the need for new research with a policy perspective was appreciated. In many instances these persons suggested quite specific innovations which might yield far-reaching change.

In the research program detailed below projects are described which have either a substantive or policy primacy, or both. If research is to be both theoretically and practically relevant it seems to us to be necessary to arrange for continuous interaction of perspectives - rather than for example, to do theoretical/substantive work for a few years and then at the end of this time cull out the policy implications. By engaging in some projects that are oriented primarily to policy simultaneously as we focus on questions

and issues derived from a theoretical consideration of the M.W.W., we can not only reap the benefits of cross-fertilization but we can more readily structure feed-back and liaison with our advisory committee.

Lead among

III. THEORY AND LITERATURE

A. The Emergence of Concern

During the past few years North American social scientists, especially sociologists, have begun to develop a micro-level structural orientation regarding the world of work. This has been partly due to experience and analysis derived from the war on poverty movement, especially in large urban centres. Underlying the war on poverty a "human capital" perspective (Becker, 1964) was dominant emphasizing that problems such as poverty, inequality, unemployment and so forth could be significantly attenuated through considerable attention and effort being focused on the supply side of market determination. A manpower development strategy was advanced, focusing on "the education, skills, training, health, mobility and attributes of the labour force" (Bluestone, 1970).

The perceived lack of success of the war on poverty has shifted attention back to demand-side considerations which resonate better with macro and structural analyses of the work world. More recent analysis has emphasized, as fundamental to effective social policy in this area, the number and quality of job opportunities for the poor and the economic reorganization of the industries and regions where the poor are prevalent (Bluestone, 1970). It

has posited that the institutional setting within which the low income worker functions, and not his intrinsic qualities, accounts largely for the poverty, underemployment, and lack of mobility so resistant to change. Industrial and social barriers over which the person has virtually no control preclude change. Out of this analysis has emerged a model depicting a pervasive segmentation in the work world: "immobilities on the one hand and the segmented nature of the 'demand' side on the other, in terms of differential ability of industries to pay adequate wages, appear to force large numbers of adequately skilled workers, both white and black, male and female, to remain in low-wage industries" (Bluestone, 1970).

The conception of a segmented work world has been reinforced from a variety of other sources. Concepts emerging from the literature on the process of socio-economic development in "Third World", and especially Latin American, countries have been important. With large majorities belonging to the marginal sector and the differentiation from the central work world delineated more sharply, there has been extensive discussion and application of concepts such as dualism (Boeke, 1953) centre-periphery (Prebisch, 1949) marginalization and dependence (Frank, 1969) and internal colonialism (Casanova, 1965). Some development theorists, especially Myrdal (1962), connected these themes to underemployment in

dual economy

mature industrial societies and posited that improved economic growth there necessitated the incorporation of the underemployed and unemployed into the economic mainstream. Supply and demand were not only seen as out of kilter with one another, but the labour force itself was viewed as radically segmented. The implication of multiple work realities lurked behind much of the analysis. Myrdal coined the term "underclass" to refer to those persons outside the institutional setting of the central work world who were poorly paid, usually underemployed, often unemployed and who, perforce, supplemented wages and income through welfare and "hustling".

Sociologists on the whole are more likely, in view of their professional socialization, to assume participant models and to posit multiple realities, whereas economists, for similar socialization reasons, stress continuities and advance policies assuming an integrated, mobile labour force. It is, perhaps, for such reasons that Myrdal's work has been more popular among sociologists. The concept "underclass" carries a meaning roughly similar to the older Marxian term, "lumpen-proletariat". Increasing concern with this particular population (enlarged to include many of the working poor outside the field of big corporations, big government, and big unions) by sociologists

(Gans, 1972) has helped to bring into focus the institutional setting of the segmented work world.

Sociological models of society based on a centre-periphery classification are pervasive in contemporary sociological analyses of power and influence. The major differentiation among such models concerns the unity and exploitativeness of the centre in relation to the periphery (Dahlstrom, 1968); radical social scientists emphasize the polarization (e.g. Touraine, 1971), while the more conventional point to the diversity and counter-exploitative elements in the centre. Connected to these models is a theory of societal consensus which refers to three groupings - elites, relevant population, and the irrelevant (Shils, 1968). In this perspective the stability of society is a function of "agreements" between the elites and the relevant population. While both these groupings have shifting membership and are not without internal conflict, it is more or less appropriate to link them as the centre and to identify the "irrelevant population" as the periphery. One's normative disposition towards this consensus theory depends largely on how one views the centre-periphery relationships. It seems reasonable that interest in the periphery and in the so-called irrelevant population would lead to an increased concern with motivation and opportunity in the work world and that more social scientists would connect the above models with a model of segmentation there. This overall conception of society, consensus, and

work world fits well with contemporary analyses of power (Dahl, 1961), lobbying (Prestus, 1973), the role of government (chiefly mediating between big corporations and big unions, between elites and the relevant population), and economic exploitation (Galbraith, 1969).

Sociologists and anthropologists, in studies of the "irrelevant population" or the periphery in North America, have documented that usually this grouping is not characterized by a significantly different commitment to official morality or official values, nor can their socio-economic status be adequately accounted for in terms of variables such as education and level of skills. At the same time these studies do reveal a life and work style profoundly different from the core of society and a unique constellation of system linkages (training systems, secondary labour markets, low-wage industries, minority groups, regional underdevelopment). Most of the best American studies have focused on the Black ghetto situation (Valentine, 1969; Liebow, 1967), so that generalization to other groupings and to the Canadian scene necessitates systematic research (e.g., Clairmont and Magill, 1971, 1974). Nevertheless, since work style was a central focus in studies of the "irrelevant", these studies have contributed to our understanding the segmentation processes in the work world. It is important that the urban setting has been the focal point of this re-

search, since earlier and analytically less sophisticated research bearing on the segmented work world in North America was almost totally preoccupied with regional and non-metropolitan developments (Bluestone, 1973). Since segmentation was seen in terms of metropolitan/non-metropolitan distinctions, it was not considered as a central characteristic of the modern work world by metropolitan-oriented sociologists; in that sense previous research was sociologically interesting but less provocative theoretically.*

The increased attention by social scientists to the "irrelevant" population and to the marginal work world that it tends to inhabit has generally featured a social problems orientation. New organization and militancy among those outside the societal consensus - minority groups, welfare recipients, deviants, etc., - has been instrumental in effecting this attention and perspective. For some scholars and activists, however, interest in the "irrelevant" population and the M.W.W. goes well beyond a social problems context. Rather, they see in that population and in that world the seeds for broader societal change. While Myrdal and others have posited that greater societal economic growth is contingent on the incorporation into the mainstream of

* This previous literature indicated that few non-farm jobs could be developed in the non-metropolitan area and that firms attracted were generally undesirable since their wages were below the poverty line and their labour intensity made their flight to another area a real danger after the period of subsidization ended (Till, 1974).

the "underclass", some sociologists and social commentators (e.g., Cleaver, 1968; Cardinal, 1969) have gone beyond this to identify that grouping as the vanguard and mobilizing agent of social evolution. Their contention is that the centre (including well-paid workers and large business-management unions) is unlikely to be fertile ground for the structural changes deemed necessary to eliminate poverty, inequality, and so forth.* From this perspective the burden of change falls on the "underclass", the "irrelevant population", the marginal workers who profit least from existing societal arrangements and who, it is predicted, will become increasingly alienated and subject to relative deprivation. In sum, for some contemporary researchers the "underclass" represents not simply a grouping of defectives needing therapy and care but, rather, a vanguard to be celebrated as an agent of change. Whether misleading or not, this orientation also helps to explain the renewed interest in the empirical patterns and innovations in the M.W.W.

It is clear from the above that interest in persons outside the mainstream of society is found both in dominant orthodox social science, where a social problems orientation is pervasive, and in radical social science, where social conflict and political functions are emphasized. Given the

* Not surprisingly the intellectual fascination with the lumpen-proletariat is related to a frustration among radical social scientists with the blue collar workers and their highly bureaucratized unions. Many radicals no longer posit the steady, stable working class (i.e., the proletariat) as a progressive force.

centrality of work in shaping life experiences, it is not surprising this interest has increasingly focused upon work motivation and barriers to mobility in the work world. It is also not difficult to link a segmented work world with current models of society and a pervasive theory of the societal consensus.

B. Theoretical Paradigms

There are several theoretical frameworks which have been utilized in examining the phenomenon we are referring to as the M.W.W. We now turn to a discussion of this literature, outlining the assumptions, focal concerns, and policy implications of the different perspectives. In a separate section we will formulate, where possible, some researchable questions that are derived from the conflict of perspectives.

1. The mainstream orthodox theoretical position in both economics and sociology would clearly question the usefulness of the concept, marginal work world. According to the dominant sociological frame of reference (structure-functionalism) the status of specific work roles, and specific industries, is basically determined by their functional importance in society. Functional importance, a complex concept, is related to "system needs" but is often indirectly measured in terms of the level of skill requirements for specific work roles. The basic casual sequence effecting

*Value of
Marginal
Product*

changes in functional importance, runs as follows:* continual increases in the stock of knowledge, applied in the form of technology, plus increasing population density lead to more elaborate divisions of labour (structural differentiation). This results in the obsolescence of certain previously important roles and a decrease in the functional importance of others for the maintenance or growth of society; it also leads to the upgrading of the skill/training requirements for some positions. Associated with the loss of function is a corresponding loss of power, so that the incumbents of the downgraded positions are less able to adapt to the continuing changes taking place in the society and therefore suffer a decline in their relative position. This process is accentuated by a transition from particularistic to more universalistic standards of evaluation, which also accompanies the increase in structural differentiation.

The above perspective assumes a continuum of functional importance, and in its differentiation of work roles and industries places major emphasis on productivity and skills. Orthodox economists are very similar in their assumptions and focal concerns. Marginality in economics has certain specified meanings, none of which imply the kind of segmentation we have been referring to with the concept M.W.

*The following propositions are adapted from Whyte, "Sociological Aspects of Poverty: A Conceptual Analysis" (Harp and Hofley, 1971).

The economists point to a variety of differentials from which, given the operation of the market, one can deduce an unfavourable bargaining situation for certain workers and industries and, consequently, low monetary return. The main variable for this school is marginal productivity: "in the short-run, given assumptions of perfect competition and market equilibrium, workers' wages equal their marginal productivities" (Gordon, 1972). A worker's marginal productivity, in turn, is determined largely by his stock of human capital, i.e., his native ability, formal and vocational education, and on-the-job training and experience.

The mainstream sociologists and economists may recognize the existence of some rigidities in the work world and do not deny short-run immobilities in the labour market, but they down-play segmentation processes and stress fluidity, continuities, and the long-run. Orthodox economists typically assume the validity of Keynesian regulating strategies at the macro-level; these strategies (e.g. influencing demand) presuppose a single, fluid system to be regulated. In the functionalist perspective there is an underlying evolutionary theory of modernity and development; rigidities and immobilities in the work world are seen as becoming less and less significant, since social barriers fall and "citizenship" broadens due to increasing prominence of universalistic

independent

standards of evaluation and of cultural emphasis on achievement and self (Parsons, 1971). The development of society always creates short-run adjustment problems and some structural unemployment but, it is contended, the more "modern" the labour force and the society in general the more flexible and mobile it is; accordingly, as levels of education continue to rise, labour force homogeneity increases and phenomena such as structural unemployment become less significant.

It may be seen that in the mainstream perspective of sociologists and economists virtually no consideration is given to the M.W.W., as we use this categorization, either as an exploited or a vital link to the C.W.W. Indeed they consider the M.W.W./C.W.W. classification to be of questionable heuristic value. The sociologists would contend that the common participant phenomenology suggested by the concept M.W.W. is unlikely since those disadvantaged by the process of evolutionary change have such disparate backgrounds and life styles that there is no basis for solidarity and consciousness of kind (Whyte, 1971). Some of the orthodox economists have pointed out that the M.W.W./C.W.W. differentiation has enabled Manpower officials, who point to the fact that many jobs are available in the face of high unemployment, to rationalize their lack of success in achieving a better fit between supply and demand.

Clearly the mainstream social science perspective on the work world makes a number of assumptions which appear to render the M.W.W./C.W.W. distinction insignificant. In the first place considerable stress is placed on the individual, as opposed to his institutional environment. A second assumption appears to be that the forces of technology operate in an impersonal, unbiased, and inevitable manner. To the extent that particularistic considerations such as sex or race influence the process, they are considered to be imperfections that are gradually being overcome. The role of class, power, or vested interests as influences in the process usually is down-played, and that of merit and efficiency/productivity overemphasized. Proponents of the position claim generally that, while high barriers can exist in the work world without skill differences (e.g. by workers' tough bargaining and fighting off of outsiders), in the long run there will be the predictable surge of technology and skills. As Vietorisz and Harrison contend, "activity inherently requiring skills will become primary but random shocks (e.g. scarcity, technology) can also start an initially low-wage, low-skilled activity on a dynamic upward path" (Vietorisz and Harrison, 1972).

As has often been pointed out, there is a further assumption that a consensus or harmony of interests exists among the various actors, subject to only minor variation from the norm of equilibrium; to use the centre/periphery

Chuck Broufenbrenner →

Chuck Perlman ↓

language, the centre does not exploit the periphery. This implies that policies can be designed to benefit all actors. It also suggests that to the extent low monetary return for labour and/or capital is a problem, it is a result of neglect rather than exploitation. Because of the advance of technology, some people have been left behind; they have either inadequate resources, and these should be enhanced by centre institutions, or the resources they possess are of the wrong kind - they may, for example, have the wrong cultural attributes or live in the wrong region and therefore need help in adjusting to the progressive modern stream (Kuitenbrouwer, 1973).

In sum, the mainstream social science perspective does not utilize the M.W.W./C.W.W. distinction and emphasize variables which do not suggest the segmentation, rigidities and immobilities associated with it. Nevertheless the perspective does provide an explanation for low economic return and vulnerability of work roles and industries. Policy implications which flow from this model include academic upgrading and skill training programs, subsidies to employers for on-the-job training, relocation programs, job information provision, industrial incentives, and anti-discrimination measures. The key questions that emerge from this perspective are: To what extent are the historical trends posited concerning labour force homogeneity and rigidities in the work

$$\frac{w}{MP_L} = \frac{M K^1}{MP_L} \quad r = MP_K$$

world valid? What is the nature of the relationship between skill/experience and monetary return? Is relative deprivation among those occupying low income work roles increasing as this perspective suggests it might? Are there patterns of attitudes, behaviours, and system-linkages common to those in low status work roles, or are the functionalists correct in their postulation of diversity and lack of consciousness of kind? The mainstream perspective assumes individual choice and trade-offs; to what extent is this valid and what are the trade-offs? Another research question concerns the evaluation of the policy strategies associated with the mainstream perspective.

2. The advocates of the M.W.W./C.W.W. model, in the more moderate formulations of this position, have been pre-occupied with the empirical situation. The theoretical work has been of the "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) variety - exploring the concrete phenomena and trying to conceptualize from the data. Typically these social scientists have been more successful in criticizing the mainstream, orthodox model of the work world than they have been in constructing a neat and powerful paradigm. They have pointed, for example, to the inadequacy of Keynesian regulating strategies in making sense out of contemporary patterns of high inflation and high unemployment; they have countered the "modernity of the labour force thesis" with

data suggesting a more rigid institutionalization of differences by work setting; they have alluded to patterns of occupational mobility and societal linkages which belie the homogeneity and fluidity presuppositions of conventional theory; they have acknowledged the pervasiveness of relatively low levels of education and skill in the M.W.W. but disagree that such factors can account for the poor wages and vulnerability observed there. In general they have attacked conventional, orthodox social science pertaining to work for its failure to take into account institutional context.

In the U.S. the M.W.W. model is usually identified with the dual labour market (d.l.m.) approach developed in the late sixties as a result of evaluations of the government programs applied to the inner city ghetto populations.

Typical of these evaluations was Harrison's (Harrison, 1972). He found that the training programs associated with the war on poverty had little positive effect; that is they yielded no significant change in wages and were seen by enrollees as just another form of low wage, marginal activity, as a temporary source of income. According to Harrison the training programs could not penetrate the central work world and employers in the M.W.W., having no choice and no need for skilled labour, hired irrespective of training. He also observed that the low wages, high turnover, unstable participation, and dissociative participant phenomenology

characteristic of the "training economy" appear to be characteristic as well of the illegal and irregular "hustle economy", the world of welfare and the secondary labour market.

Rather than a division between marginal and central work worlds, the dual labour market theorists speak of the bifurcation of the economy into primary and secondary labour markets.* They stress the barriers to mobility and suggest that there are basic differences between the two markets along the following dimensions: the attitudes, personalities, and behaviour of both employees and employers; job characteristics (e.g., availability and type of career ladders, reward structure); type of industry (e.g., size, degree of market control); demographic characteristics of workers, according to age, sex, and race; recruiting patterns; and so on.

It is difficult to differentiate operationally between the primary and secondary labour markets, since so many factors have to be taken into consideration. Most d.l.m. proponents emphasize that the secondary market at the minimum is characterized by low wages and below average skill requirements. Some scholars have proffered simple operational

* The term "secondary labour market" is close to, but narrower than our conception of the M.W.W. in that the main focus of attention in the former is the employee (vs. the marginal economic sector as a whole) and the kinds of questions raised about him tend to reflect the interests of the labour economist.

micro-operational concept

definitions - e.g. Harrison suggested in 1972 that the three-
hold wage-wise between the sectors was between \$1.75 and
\$3.50 per hour (Harrison, 1972). Another operational tactic
has been to delineate the type of industry being served by
the secondary labour market. Here d.l.m. theorists point
to a variety of mostly urban work situations such as laundry
and cleaning services, eating and drinking places, retail
and wholesale food operations, gasoline service stations, and
so forth. On the whole, however, it is contended that each
of the two segments have associated with them clusters of
institutional factors producing qualitative differences that
can only be grasped by a complex multi-dimensional operat-
ional definition (Ginsburg, 1971; Pohlman, 1971).

The institutional characteristics which d.l.m.
theorists posit concerning the secondary labour market comprise
in effect the ideal-type we have been referring to as the
M.W.W. It is a world featuring unsophisticated economic
practices, low-capitalized firms and businesses, little or
weak unionization, and insignificant political influence.
Economic enterprises associated with the secondary labour
market, it is suggested, tend to be small in size, face
greater intra-industry competition, have less steady product
demand and little support via government purchases of their
product. The M.W.W. characterized by economic enterprises
of the above sort and by the secondary labour market can be
found in all concrete occupational categories, wherever the

is the combination of "individuals with little opportunity and economic markets with little realized potential" (Bluestone, 1968).

Proponents of the dual labour market thesis have spent considerable effort attacking the mainstream perspective on the world of work referred to earlier. They have stressed, for example, that attention should be placed not upon individuals and their skills or lack of same but upon the failure of the economy to produce enough good jobs, leading to a situation where many people with adequate skills are denied adequate employment. Not surprisingly they have been particularly sensitive concerning the relationship between education/training and the monetary return of different work roles. Their data indicates considerable discrepancies in the income levels of individuals with the same level of human capital resources.* Persons with the same occupation have been shown to earn sharply different wages according to which of the two markets they were employed in. Moreover, d.l.m. proponents contend that education has economic implication less for providing advanced cognitive, reasoning skills than for identifying "suitable" employees (i.e., those who have been socialized to be steady, reliable, and accepting

* For example, controls on education and age reduced the wage discrepancies between whites and blacks by no more than 50% and were much less effective for comparisons between the sexes.

of conventional societal values and rules) and enabling vested interests to control recruitment and thereby maintain their hegemony.

Because the d.l.m. approach has been largely inductive, it is not clear how it accounts for the development of a bifurcated economy. Clearly there is not a wholesale rejection of the mainstream thesis concerning displacement and technological development. Other causal arguments are added, however, such as historical explanations involving factors like regional, racial, and sexual inequality and demographic explanations referring to the expansion of the labour force combined with a slow rate of job expansion. What mainstream theorists consider to be imperfections or temporary aberrations from equilibrium are more central components of dual labour market analysis. There is recognition of a greater role for vested interests in the latter than in the former. Factors such as the above are adduced by d.l.m. advocates to account for the fact that technological advances in many kinds of work could be performed in either the primary or secondary labour markets; over time, however, some work normally performed in the primary has been shifted to the secondary market through procedures such as subcontracting, temporary help services, recycling of new employees through probationary periods, and so on. Once rooted, the jobs become institutionalized and hard to change because it would invol

changes in techniques of production and management (Gordon, 1972).

D.L.M. proponents contend that the segmentation of the work world is maintained by institutional factors representing barriers to occupational mobility and influencing individual behaviour. They suggest that within labour market segments mobility is high and wages tend to converge, whereas between labour market segments mobility is low and, consequently, the wages diverge (Vietorisz and Harrison, 1972). It is also suggested that many government programs, which try directly to reduce the barriers to occupational mobility between segments, are either deflected (e.g. kept as trial experiments) or are co-opted to serve the existing power distribution. For example, Manpower agencies essentially become the personnel service for the secondary sector rather than increasing secondary to primary mobility, and on-the-job training programs are neglected by the C.W.W. and used by the employer in the M.W.W. as a source of subsidized labour.

ESSO
NSFI

Perhaps some public

Doubtful

Any well managed

Apprenticeship @ WW Firm Programs

The dynamic postulated by the d.l.m. theorists is quite different from the optimism of mainstream social scientists; rather, it follows along the lines of Myrdal's conceptualization of the vicious or virtuous circle (Myrdal, 1962). In the M.W.W. labour-saving innovations presumably are relatively absent and there is no need for higher skills. Self-investment in higher skills by the workers is neither

This means poor management

motivated nor financed. Because of the low profit margin employer investment in specific or general skills of the work force is held to the minimum. Under these circumstances stagnation results. Moreover, workers and industries in the M.W.W. do not have the bargaining power of their counterparts in the C.W.W. For example, the wage rate in the M.W.W. is "not determined by the immensely complicated apparatus of 3-way bargaining between large-scale employer, large-scale union and government that determines the fundamental conditions of life for most of the nucleus of our working population" (Ginzberg, 1967).* Galbraith makes a similar point, noting that negotiations in the C.W.W. are no longer a zero-sum game; because of corporate power to pass on increased labour and other costs to the public at large, labour tension there is reduced and the problems are exported to the M.W.W. where the workers bear the brunt of inflation in addition to their low wages (Galbraith, 1968). Ferman has noted that most work situations in the M.W.W. in the United States (and we expect similar patterns in Canada) are not even covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act (Ferman, 1968).

Not wholly determined in the C.W.W. either

*0220
1724
Lafayette
Ferman
Ginzberg*

* In the M.W.W. there is a different kind of three-way "negotiation" whereby workers look to the government to raise minimum wage levels periodically since there is often an understanding that employers will usually pay a certain amount above the legal minimum.

The means of management

The fact that M.W.W. workers are drawn mainly from the ranks of women, youth, older workers, and minority groups - an immense non-competing group of workers - reinforces the poor bargaining position and makes Myrdal's conceptualization appropriate.

It seems clear that for the d.l.m. theorists disadvantage characterizes the secondary labour market and their marginal work world as a whole. The worker and the enterprise in the M.W.W. are presumed to have relatively low productivity. It is contended that the prevalence of job instability in the M.W.W. is due in large part to the influence of job characteristics on the worker - the menial tasks, low pay, lack of ^{upward} mobility opportunities, low degree of skill and training required, and so on. This influences worker behaviour which in turn leads to further adaptation on the part of the employer, the result being the establishment of a kind of negative exchange system. It may be noted that d.l.m. proponents do not often emphasize the exploitation of the worker by the employer in the M.W.W.; rather they emphasize that in certain institutional settings there is both low productivity and the kind of employee-employer relationship referred to above. It is generally considered that most employers dependent on the secondary labour market could not exist, under present circumstances, without a pool of cheap labour.

Perlman

Any model which stresses the duality of the work world faces serious questions concerning the types of linkage between the two, including the existence of intermediate groups. On these points the d.l.m. school has apparently not advanced very far; rather, they have described the patterns of linkage between the labour markets and other societal subsystems. Following Harrison (1972) it is contended that there is a steady recirculation of persons among the secondary labour market, the illegal economy, the training economy, and the welfare rolls. In addition to positing considerable inter-system mobility, d.l.m. proponents report numerous functional interdependencies among these four subsystems (e.g. "without some welfare workers might not work in the low-wage, secondary labour market" and "the best operational definition of a 'secondary job is one which the (government) employment service has on its file and is able to fill").* Associated with the central work sector are the formal educational systems (at least high school and, increasingly, universities), banking and similar financial intermediaries, and most departments of government.

* Other societal institutions such as private personnel companies and finance companies have been shown to be closely identified with the M.W.W.

The d.l.m. school appears to be somewhat vague and uncertain concerning the linkage between the two labour markets and, more generally, between the C.W.W. and the M.W.W. There is some tendency to see the secondary labour market (and the M.W.W. as a whole) as an exploited but vital link to the central work world. It is often suggested, for example, that the existence of a secondary labour market serves the economic interests of centre employers, as a source of casual labour or as a means of farming out the production of some components. Centre unions may be able to reduce job competition by supporting or acquiescing in labour market segmentation. Generally, it is contended that the peripheral worker and enterprise provide the economy with a very important part of the flexibility which it must have if it is to be efficient and dynamic (Ginzberg, 1967).^{*} Yet d.l.m. theorists, as we noted earlier, remain sensitive to the mainstream thesis that the M.W.W. is an unintentional by-product of technological development, and, consequently, their claim that it is an exploitative and vital link to the centre is somewhat muted.

^{*} Centre employers may also define career patterns so that the initial and perhaps the final period have some secondary characteristics (e.g., recycling new employees through probationary periods; part-time employment of retiring workers).

The question of intermediate groups has also been neglected by the d.l.m. school. There are suggestions in its literature, however, that the sharpness of the division between sectors is increasing and that the stepping stones, intermediate stages or potential role models that would facilitate mobility are disappearing. There are, however, interesting patterns of interaction between the two worlds, the significance of which warrant further investigation. These include the intermediate occupational roles (e.g. lower level supervisory personnel in hotels); the placing of minority group members as teaching or dental assistants; the common Maritime pattern of "moonlighting" where individuals with modest paying jobs in C.W.W. work during extra hours at "secondary" jobs (e.g. military personnel working as bartenders in the evenings); dual earner families in which the wife may have marginal employment, the role of centre unions in organizing in the marginal work world; and the use of the latter by centre employers, in the form of casual labour or sub-contracting.

The d.l.m. perspective is critical and provocative but clearly in need of much theoretical and empirical work. The fact that training programs in a specific period did not produce significant change is taken, prima facie, as evidence of powerful conversion barriers separating the different

work worlds. There is little theoretical treatment of the segmentation process; the institutional basis for segmentation is not spelled out adequately, and more attention has to be directed to the boundary-maintaining mechanisms. Also there are few studies of the historical, long-run dimension of either the segmentation process or of the linkages with different associative subsystems.

It is evident that the d.l.m. perspective is closely identified with the reality of the American inner city ghetto. How applicable its insights are in the Canadian context is in question. There is reason to expect many parallels. Canada Manpower training programs, for example, have been criticized on similar grounds (Canadian Council on Social Development, 1973) and the type of institutional setting characteristics of the secondary labour market in the U.S. is also found in Canada. Some differences certainly can be noted, however. It is unlikely that in the Maritimes the "hustle economy" would be as significant as d.l.m. theorists find it to be in the large American cities; moreover, their urban work world is peopled chiefly by Blacks, and matters of institutional racism and culture, which social scientists interested in that situation focus so much upon, need to be scrutinized carefully in the Canadian minority context. ?

The fact that the d.l.m. perspective is identified with the inner city ghetto may also have resulted in a biased viewpoint concerning the quality of work situations and employer-employee relations in the M.W.W. As noted above, secondary labour market workers are seen to draw little satisfaction from their work, and employee-employers relations are cast in a negative exchange mould. Whether such patterns characterize the urban M.W.W. throughout North America is questionable; and when one considers the rural work scene there is some data indicating an alternate work style involving paternal employers, more satisfying work routines, and so on, and some voluntaristic trading-off between income and life style. Clearly research is needed to fill out the portrait of the M.W.W.

A further problem of the d.l.m. perspective concerns its rather simplified conception of the enterprise in the M.W.W. and, more generally, the linkage between the M.W.W. and the C.W.W. There is increasing evidence that centre corporations and unions exercise considerable control vis-a-vis the M.W.W.

Although the degree of elaboration, historically and casually, is not as complete as the orthodox, mainstream approach, the d.l.m. paradigm does come more closely to grips with variables neglected by the former, such as worker motivation, job instability, and how these are affected by

institutional factors; the persistence of race, sex, and income inequalities, and the segmentation processes in the work world. Research attention is directed at occupational mobility within and across segments, the bargaining power associated with different work roles and industries, and the linkages between the economy and other societal subsystems. A dynamic is postulated for the work world which is quite different from that advanced by the mainstream social scientists.

3. The radical theoretical perspective is another body of literature which has salience for the marginal work world phenomenon. This school leans heavily on the Marxist interpretation of capitalist economies, although with significant modifications to take into account present-day conditions and the metropolis-hinterland (dependence) theory advanced by some Latin-American intellectuals.

In the classical radical paradigm a society is characterized and shaped by a particular mode of production. The capitalist mode is characterized by the continuous drive for capital accumulation, the treatment of labour as a commodity, the control of the work process by the owners/controllers of capital, certain legal relations of ownership (e.g. that income accrues to ~~be~~ the owners who dole it out to the workers), certain personality traits (e.g. motivation for individual gain), and by an ideology which rationalizes the intrinsic exploitative process.

The radical perspective, of course, strongly emphasizes the variable of class. Workers (proletariat) and owners/managers (bourgeoisie) are presumed to have different and incompatible interests which more or less consciously shape their actions. The objective conditions of capitalist development are presumed to be such that the bourgeoisie class becomes more powerful and more exploitative, though smaller in membership, whereas the proletariat class becomes more oppressed in and alienated from the workplace, more unified in sentiments of solidarity, and considerably larger in membership. Ultimately, it is contended the increasingly taut polarization erupts in successful proletarian revolution. Clearly the relationship between classes or strata in the radical paradigm is quite different from that posited by mainstream social scientists, who conceptualize classes only in a nominal sense and suggest counter-exploitative sentiments and values are pervasive among the elite*, and d.l.m. proponents, who exhibit ambiguity concerning whether classes are real and whether their relationship is primarily exploitative. The concept of exploitation between classes is fundamental for the radicals since in their conception of profits and surplus

* It is often assumed by the orthodox that there is a willingness to help the poor adjust to society and raise their incomes, providing that redistribution follows along the lines of Pareto optimal income distributions.

labour value the bourgeoisie can only profit and maintain their profit at the expense of the workers.

In the radical perspective the economic system is the primary societal subsystem; other institutions and subsystems of society such as the state and the educational system are extensions of it and therefore explainable in class terms. Whereas with the other perspectives these institutions were neutral and benign (orthodox) or somewhat representative of vested interests but still amenable to influence to take action on behalf of the disadvantaged (dual labour market), the radicals posit that they are solidly in the hands of the bourgeoisie and serving their interests.

Given the above classic radical scenario of the work world, it is clear that labour market segmentation and more general divisions in the work world have to be seen in historical context and in class terms. The radicals contend that one must always bear in mind that one is dealing fundamentally with a single economic system; therefore it is necessary to detail the linkages between the "markets" or "worlds" and interpret them in the light of current developments in capitalism, their implication for the hegemony of the bourgeoisie, their meaning regarding the development of proletarian consciousness, and so forth.

For the most part radical social scientists have viewed segmentation processes in the work world as cultivated

by and serving the interests of the powerful bourgeoisie. Through these means, it is contended, they have been able to maintain their hegemony despite the growing inner contradictions of capitalism and despite the emergence of objective conditions facilitating the development of working class consciousness. Factors such as racism, sexism, age- and regionalism which are associated with segmentation are subtly and as long as they are useful, largely cultivated and maintained by societal institutions controlled by the bourgeoisie and their allies.

It is contended further that the above "strategy" has only been successful because working class organizations have often been coopted and have been subject to false class consciousness as a result of the influence of mass media and educational institutions; that is, by stressing individual gain and the belief that people get what they deserve, such institutions reduce working class solidarity. Radical social scientists have generally been quite critical of the role of trade unions in the work world, suggesting that they have propped up capitalism with their business - management orientation (Mills, 1948) and that they have been thoroughly implicated in the erection of barriers to worker unity and in the exploitation of certain categories of workers. There is, of course, a large amount of evidence that large unions have acted in such a manner (e.g., Marchak, 1973).

Given the classical radical perspective's emphasis on the long-run and on the integrity of the economic system (and the total society), it is not surprising that in earlier periods radicals did not focus in a direct, substantive fashion on the phenomena of the M.W.W. Radicals were aware of the mobility barriers in the work world, of the greater exploitation of certain categories of workers, and of the variety of institutional settings for work, but, for the most part, these phenomena were considered only in terms of their implication for the basic movement of the total system; and in this sense these phenomena were considered short-run, diversionary, and often involving people outside the social mainstream. To the extent that radicals did focus on explaining differences among workers' return for labour, two factors were emphasized - the relative power of employees and employers and workers' average productivity determined by individual capabilities, technology, and so forth. It was considered that, as capitalism matured and as some workers became organized, capitalists, with at least the acquiescence of organized labour, would maintain their hegemony by shifting more of the burden of exploitation upon the least powerful workers either in foreign lands (imperialism) or at home (internal colonialism). Of course the radicals contended that this was merely "buying time", and ultimately capitalism would fall.

Recent versions of radical theory have shown an increased concern with segmentation processes and especially with the M.W.W. This new emphasis can be accounted for in terms of push and pull factors. Historical trends have not materialized as predicted by the classical radical theory and criticisms have mounted of its usefulness. Some class organization has taken place, of course, but this has been largely diffused by the fruits of higher productivity. Silverman and Yanowitch have observed that "the main trends in recent radical thought show that Marx's original conception of the revolutionary mission of a unified working class has become problematic" (Silverman and Yanowitch, 1974). Another push factor has been the development within the radical perspective of the metropolitan satellite (dependence) school which stresses the spatial (inter-regional and international) dimensions of the operation of capitalist forces. According to this school the expansion of monopoly capitalism, proceeding and directed from metropolitan centres, is argued to have created underdevelopment in regions such as the Maritimes and in Third World countries. Although some groups of workers in metropolitan areas have improved their relative position to one of affluence, it is argued that they have been bought off with resources drained from the hinterland, either domestic or foreign. The impetus for significant change

in the total system comes from the hinterland or satellite, and as it throws off its metropolitan chains it sets the stage for crisis in the metropolis. The impact of these two push factors - affluent workers and dependence theory - has led some radical social scientists to concentrate their research and thinking on workers and work situations outside the central work world.

An important "pull" factor in the radicals' increased emphasis on the secondary labour market and the M.W.W. has been their reassessment of the critical basis for social conflict in society and of the political function of different groupings of workers/interest groups. As noted earlier, many radicals see centre workers as too affluent, consumer-oriented, and indoctrinated to be a progressive force against the surprisingly flexible and productive capitalist system; as for organized labour, it is seen to have been virtually totally coopted into taking over the management of the internal labour market, allocating workers and generally legitimizing the segmentation process (Reich, 1972; Doeringer and Piore, 1971). Consequently, the basis for social change and social conflict are outside the centre, among those challenging the societal consensus (student idealists) and those ignored by it and having no stake in it (the underemployed, unemployed, most exploited workers). Such groupings, in many a radical scenario, become the vanguard of progressive structural change and their increased militancy

in recent years has considerably influenced the thinking of radical social scientists. So too have the studies of the d.l.m. proponents, who have highlighted the distinctive institutional realities of work world segments, the high rate of turnover and alienation among workers in the secondary labour market, and the generally low degree of commitment to the work world and the work ethic among urban marginal workers. These observations by the d.l.m. school have facilitated the recent radical reinterpretation of the classical class analysis, providing a distinctive niche for this grouping of workers.

While recent radical analysis indicates a significant change in radical thinking concerning emphasis on the secondary labour market and the M.W.W., the continuity of thought are still evident. Labour market segmentation considered functional for the maintenance of capitalist institutions, since it divides workers and legitimizes inequalities in authority and control (Reich, 1972). Increasing specialization of labour leads to the multiplication of status distinctions, and the hierarchical organization of work serves a similar function. There remains, too, the conventional radical premises of class, exploitation, and polarization/revolution. The new emphasis, however, has brought the radical concept of social class more into coincidence with the d.l.m. strata.

The radical perspective is useful, since it directs our attention to considerations neglected by the other "schools". It directs attention to class consciousness as opposed to relative deprivation; it raises questions concerning the relationship between centre unions and the secondary labour market; it emphasizes different political and economic implications of regional underdevelopment. The radicals would place more emphasis on the low income white male worker who is neglected in certain respects by the d.l.m. preoccupation with sex and race rather than class variables. The radicals would strongly stress the linkages between the M.W.W. and the C.W.W. They definitely see the former as a vital and exploited link to the latter and they would make predictions concerning economic development in the M.W.W. based on this premise (e.g. petit bourgeoisie enterprises in the M.W.W. increasingly fall under the sway of large multinationals). Moreover, the radicals, much more so than the d.l.m. proponents, would tend to see employers in the M.W.W. as exploiting workers.

C. Policy Prescriptions

Given the differences in the three perspectives outlined above, it is not surprising to find each framework having different policy implications.

The orthodox framework emphasizes programs aimed at improving the productivity of individual workers, on the assumption that this will lead to higher incomes. The provision of general education, vocational training, and on-the-job experience is advocated, since technological development necessitates a highly skilled, mobile labour force. Programs of modernization and encouragement of greater technological sophistication are advocated for enterprises, large and small. General Keynesian regulating strategies are assumed to be effective at the macro-level. Other policies are designed to overcome the imperfections in the system that prevent its proper functioning. For example, measures to avoid the overconcentration of industries, to bring the supply of and demand for labour into equilibrium, and reduce the cost of on the job training programs are advocated. If workers have the proper skills then perhaps something needs to be done about their motivation, their job information, or their location via policies affecting housing or public transportation facilities. Moderate policies designed to overcome sex and race discrimination may also be advanced. The encouragement of individual mobility out of low wage employment and especially out of unemployment is advocated to a greater extent than policies which affect the prevalence of undesirable jobs.

The main themes of the d.l.m. framework are also reflected in their policy recommendations. Given the importance of labour market stratification and the formidable structural barriers to be overcome by those who attempt mobility, educational campaigns against discrimination, for example, will probably not be sufficient nor will subsidies to employers for on-the-job training. D.l.m. proponents advance programs to change the nature of secondary employment - the reward structure, the type of work, the career mobility channels, and so on - and programs which provide more good jobs while circumventing vested interests. Generally, there is a call for public service employment which is seen as "squarely within the core of the economy" (Harrison, 1972). While acknowledging that at the lower levels of the public service there are often the low wages and high turnover characteristic of the M.W.W. (e.g., Ginsburg, 1971) most d.l.m. theorists see the public sector as where the change will have to come. There is some evidence that in times of almost full employment forces are unleashed leading to a general reduction of the divisions within the working class (Piore, 1972; Crotty, 1972). One of the few studies examining the structural unemployment/aggregate demand controversy found that if an economic boom was long and deep enough the lot of the urban underclass did improve (Wachtel, 1970). Such findings have reinforced the views of

many scholars that government should enlarge opportunities in the public sector, guaranteeing full employment. It is often contended that a full employment program of this type would not be inflationary, since the underclass is essentially a non-competing group vis-a-vis the remainder of the labour force (Ulmer, 1973).

Some d.l.m. prononents also contend that since many low income workers possess the requisite education and skills for primary jobs and/or the actual educational requirements for such positions have been exaggerated ("credentialism"), affirmative action programs which give preference to secondary workers or quota systems which require primary employers to take on and promote minority group and other disadvantaged workers should be implemented.

The range of policies arising from the radical analysis is somewhat more limited, given the more deterministic model and the class biased operation of institutions such as the state. The main initiatives would be directed at increasing the class organization and consciousness of low income workers so that ultimately a change in the structural relationship between classes and sectors can be attained. Since the ties between the satellite and metropolis are predominately exploitative, the dependence school contends that the link should be broken; only in that circumstance will economic growth, sensitive to local resources needs, occur.

The programs currently operative in Canada reflect almost exclusively the orthodox schools' recommendations. To a large degree these policies and the theory behind them are widely accepted in the Maritimes. There are signs of change to include affirmative action programs (advanced for race, ethnic, and sex, but not class, groups by provincial human rights commissions), an expanded public or community employment program, and some limited funds to allow racial minorities and a few other groups to organize themselves and make an input into the policy formulation process.

There are, of course, also program initiatives coming from private groups in the Maritime region, and these bear investigation on the assumption that they may reflect policy desires that are more regionally or locally based. For example, the co-operative and credit union movements still seem to be a viable force in the region. There are also experiments that attempt to adapt economic enterprises to the life and cultural style of the people who operate them (e.g. the "small is beautiful" school, Shumacker, 1974). These considerations tend to be neglected by American urban-based models, which do not appear to recognize the potential importance of cultural and life style differences for a region where the rural sector is still significant and multiculturalism is actively promoted. It should also be noted that many of the low income workers in the rural areas are self-employed as farmers, fishermen,

or woodlot owners. Although their work is in a sense unstable, it has more of a regular seasonal variation to it. Policies for this group, therefore, if built on the experience of the people involved, may lead to the encouragement of multiple job-holding as a positive and economically viable activity. In short, universal policies such as community employment programs or guaranteed annual incomes may not be suitable for all types of low income workers, in different institutional settings.

With the possible exception of the radical approach, the theoretical frameworks also seem to be biased in their policy recommendations on improving the employment prospects, the mobility, or the income of the individual wage earner. Furthermore, the solutions are envisaged in a technocratic context: institutions staffed with expertise will provide the critical missing element so that the low income worker will be released from his bonds. What seems to be missing here are the elements of community (organization, cultural group, etc.) and process (local initiative and control, involvement in the problem solving process). There are both public and private policy initiatives in Canada which reflect these concerns - e.g. the C.Y.C., credit unions, cooperatives, L.I.P., community controlled economic enterprises, and government funding of racial minority organizations.

Conclusion

The discussion of the main theoretical positions has served to indicate what the main issues of debate are. Given the amount of theoretical disagreement, the lack of sufficient data, as well as reservations about the applicability of some of the material to the Maritime region, it would seem inadvisable to adopt any one of the paradigms.

A more open, less evaluative framework is available, however, which gets at the main themes and debates that recur in this research outline and which has already been applied in some important empirical work in the Atlantic region. This is the theory of "spheres", generated by the economic anthropologists Polanyi, Bohanan and Dalton (Brox, 1972). Without attempting a lengthy description here, sphere theory deals with the flow of value, resources, and people within bounded systems and the conversion barriers separating these spheres. Originally developed as an aid to understanding the functioning of a cash economy and a subsistence economy both operating in the same society, it has been modified and generalized by the Norwegian social anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969), who emphasizes three components in his sphere paradigm: participant phenomenology, boundaries, and conversion barriers. The phenomenological component refers to the meaning systems associated with spheres and the apperception of differences. Boundaries refer to the criteria of membership and the boundary

Study of economic customs, beliefs & behavior of an ethnic group

Sociology
Study of origins evolution of society
How controlling organizations of a function

maintaining processes. Conversion barriers refer to "all factors that impede the flow of value and restrict people's freedom to allocate their resources and to reverse these allocations" (Brox, 1972); further, "the barriers which separate spheres and limit the amount and occasion of flow between them will allow considerable discrepancies of evaluation to persist as between items located in different spheres" (Brox, 1973). Barth suggests a relatively free flow of value within spheres and he notes that while there is considerable diversity within spheres, one should explore the clustering that occurs.

Sphere theory as a generalized analytical framework has strong affinity with a general systems perspective; indeed, it can be considered a subtype of the latter. Assumptions of systems analysis apply readily to the sphere paradigm (e.g., some stability is necessary to constitute a system [sphere] but morphological aspects "may change from time to time and even continuously without the dissolution of the system itself"

[Buckley, 1967]; while systems [spheres] must be discernibly distinct, it is not necessary to posit uniqueness in all respects. Given the ideal-typical conception of the marginal work world which initially guides this research, assumptions such as the above are crucial.

Sphere theory, dealing with sociocultural phenomena such as segmentation in the work world, can be conceived as

morphology:

study of form or structure of an organism as a whole

focusing upon complex, open systems. This means that there are many degrees of freedom in the relations of the components (e.g., various kinds of employee-management interactions). It also means that the interchange of the sphere or open system of the marginal work world with the environment is "an essential factor underlying [its] viability, continuity and ability to change" and that "the typical response to environmental intrusions is elaboration or change of structure to a higher or more complex level" (Buckley, 1967). The implication of this latter point is the necessity to examine interstitial roles and *interface* institutions in the work world and to study the linkages between the marginal work world, and the institutions and subsystems of society outside the work world. Finally, locating sphere theory in the context of general systems analysis directs attention to feedback mechanisms. An obvious consideration, in relation to segmentation in the work world, is how adaptation among those in the marginal work world (e.g., at the lifestyle and community levels) bears on matters of boundaries, barriers, morphology and linkages.

Sphere theory is a generalized analytical framework congruent with the way we and others have been thinking about the M.W.W. and open with respect to political judgment and evaluation. Such a perspective has helped to guide researchers discussing the marginal work world in Newfoundland. Brox, following Barth, has written a masterful book on the dualistic nature of Newfoundland development comparing the diverse

✓ economies, cash incomes, and bargaining positions of outport communities in relation to the modern economy (Brox, 1973). He also detailed the linkages between the M.W.W. of the outport fishermen and the welfare and social security systems. Wadel has contributed along the same lines, especially noteworthy being his analysis of welfare in the context of the changing M.W.W. (Wadel, 1973).

By adopting sphere theory, we can provide continuity with the Newfoundland studies mentioned above. At the same time it seems to us to represent a useful, open theoretical paradigm ^(system) with which to examine the controversies raised by a comparison of three perspectives and to consider some of the issues raised by interest groups in the region.

IV. KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

On the basis of the review of the literature and the emerging theoretical and policy concern with regard to the M.W.W., the following are seen as the major questions guiding our research program:

(1) What is the historical dimension of the M.W.W?

It is important to determine whether the M.W.W. is being enlarged or being reduced; whether its composition (structural, social characteristics etc.) has been changing; whether, relative to the C.W.W., the M.W.W. is becoming more or less distinct, more or less disadvantaged, and so forth. There is some indication that the multinationals' presence in the M.W.W. is increased (e.g. fish plants), that the social composition of some M.W.W. enterprises has changed, as in the hotel and restaurant industry, and that, generally, inflationary pressures have considerably worsened the relative situation of the M.W.W. participants.

(2) In view of the diversity of institutional work settings in the M.W.W., what are the parallels and common patterns?

These may be reflected along dimensions such as occupational mobility, participant phenomenology, work style, skill level, and social composition of the work force. Considerable micro-level analysis will therefore be required in examining marginal work in different institutional settings and in analyzing the factors creating low economic return, vulnerability, and instability in each case. It can be expected that

policy implications will not be the same for all work situations, although hopefully they will be patterned at a more general level than each work setting.

(3) What are the conversion barriers and boundary maintaining mechanisms that account for the segmentation of the work world into the M.W.W. and the C.W.W? Institutional arrangements in the labour market (such as the requirements of trade unions, licensing practices), discrimination, and "credentialism" may be significant. It would also be important to determine whether and how government legislation and the economic strategies of large firms maintain segmentation. Cultural factors, such as the internalization of barriers to mobility or life style considerations should be examined.

(4) What are the linkages between the M.W.W. and the C.W.W., and what is their role? A particularly significant form of linkage is that of occupational mobility: To what extent do persons move out of the M.W.W., as opposed to changing jobs within it, and what conditions are associated with mobility (career ladders, government programs, personality factors)? Other forms of linkage are organizational, involving the role of the centre firms and unions in the M.W.W. Connections are also provided in the form of interstitial work roles and institutions (e.g., lower level management, Office Overload, the moonlighter, and

*M. W. W.
McCalland*

the casual worker employed by centre enterprises).

- (5) To what extent is the identification of the M.W.W. as the exploited part of the work world valid? It is obviously important to separate out those for whom the M.W.W. represents an advantage and to determine whether, to the extent the peripheral worker is likely to be young, old, female, or non white, this is a function of self-preference and skill levels. To what extent does the worker in the M.W.W. have a sense of options? To what extent does he or she view himself as relatively deprived? The exploitation presumably refers to more than subjective phenomena, however. It is important, therefore to consider profit margins of enterprises in the M.W.W. and the ways in which centre unions, multinationals, and consumers may profit at the expense of the low bargaining power of the M.W.W.
- (6) What are the linkages that the M.W.W. has with the welfare system and programs of social security and income supplementation? Here it is important to consider functional interdependencies, to trace the implications over time and in concrete occupational activities. Especially significant are the role of welfare and social security programs in shoring up and making "viable" seasonal and intermittent work patterns and their effects on the supply side of the labour market equation. The amount and circumstances of mobility between the M.W.W.

and welfare dependency should be examined as well as individual and community attitudes towards welfare and work.

(7) What are the sources of stability and the patterns of trade-offs in the M.W.W.? This particular aspect of the M.W.W. has been almost completely neglected in recent literature on the M.W.W. In some instances, especially the rural areas, the possession of non-convertible assets results in a stable work force; in other instances it may be that a paternalistic style of work organization provides the basis for commitment to the M.W.W. activity. Organizational, phenomenological, and demographic factors will undoubtedly be important as well as kinship ties and patterns of exchange and reciprocity. The latter may be reflected in mutual tolerances by employers and workers of one another's idiosyncracies despite their costs regarding productivity and personal respect.

(8) To what extent does the stereotype of the enterprise in the M.W.W. sector fit the situation in the Maritime Provinces? Do most firms have low profit margins and insecure markets? How have these firms developed over time? Economic analysis and management study are important in understanding the present viability and future potential of the enterprises. It is critical as well to make comparisons across institutional contexts, (e.g., fish plants, secondary manufacturing, sub-contractors for multinationals).

(9) To what extent do larger contextual factors affect the segmentation of the work world and establish parameters for the M.W.W.? This is a broad consideration reflecting our belief that the M.W.W. may be quite different in an underdeveloped, as compared to a developed, region. Regional considerations, especially economic but also cultural, necessitate systematic study if one is to "place" the M.W.W. Through local studies, examination of the comparative literature and a program of visiting professors/researchers, it is hoped that larger contextual factors can be understood.

(10) What are the effects of current policies and programs oriented towards the M.W.W.? This is a very large consideration which includes evaluation of both public and private measures designed to deal with the marginal work situation. The various types are income floor and supplementation policies; programs encouraging mobility out of the M.W.W. (Affirmative Action, relocation, retraining/upgrading and job expansion); group organization measures (unionization, entrepreneur associations and community development); and alternative ownership and development models, as in the case of cooperative, credit union, and public employment undertakings. The effect of more general policies, such as immigration, will also be significant. We would like to get beyond the policies to assess the political effectiveness of organizations in the marginal work world and

the internally generated reasons for government adopting certain policies.

The ten general questions noted above indicate the parameters of our research program. Cross-cutting the questions are specific distinctions, four of which should be explicitly noted:

- (1) While we are interested in the work style of the worker in the M.W.W., we are especially concerned with understanding the occupational pluralist (the seasonal sequence of work), the moonlighter (the worker in the C.W.W. who participates in the M.W.W. and the multiple job holder in the M.W.W.
- (2) From the point of view of turnover, instability, union organization, and life style, the youthfull worker in the M.W.W. is especially interesting
- (3) Rural-urban differences appear to be critical, in several ways it appears that this difference is the most important pertaining to the M.W.W. Participant phenomenology, strategies of development, trade-offs between cash income and life style are dramatically different in the rural and urban areas. Some rural-urban connections seem to be very important in the Maritime region. For example we would want to investigate the urban careers of former woodlot owners, farmers and fishermen as well as the rural dweller who commutes to an urban area to work, at great cost to family and community life.

(4) The participation of minority groups in the M.W.W. is another area of emphasis. Some minority groups have especially high representation in the M.W.W. Focusing on the work sector from this perspective should yield insights regarding the social and normative barriers separating the M.W.W. and the C.W.W. In addition, due in part to different cultural-historical backgrounds, some interesting policy experiments have been developed by minority groups in the region. Special considerations, relating to the preservation of cultural identity, are introduced by minority groups into discussions of development policy alternatives. We have prepared a detailed proposal on this topic.

These then are the main research questions and areas of emphasis that guide the research program and, in the following chapter, projects will be outlined that will come to grips with the issues that have been raised. It is perhaps appropriate at this point to review briefly why these particular questions are felt to be important and to pull together the main themes of the research outline up to this point.

We have indicated how and why we came to choose the marginal work world as the research focus, for reasons having to do with the size and situation of this sector in the region, its neglect in previous Canadian research, its importance in emerging policy debates, and its centrality as a topic of importance to the organizations and individuals with whom we have been in contact.

In the section on the emergence of concern, we have also reviewed the changing levels of interest in and perspectives of the work world and the "irrelevant" population. More specifically, three distinct theoretical positions have been delineated, each with its own assumptions, areas of emphasis, group of proponents, and policy implications. We have attempted to compare the paradigms, showing the key points of divergence, and to assess their utility - what are their weak points; what has been neglected; how do they fit in with what we know about the Maritime region; what researchable questions do they raise.

Along with our continuing discussions with community groups, this process has led us to suggest a number of interrelated research questions that are designed to form the basis of a long-term research program, involving an inter-disciplinary group of researchers - especially in the fields of sociology, economics, business management and labour relations, and political science. They are the kinds of questions one asks to determine whether the conceptualization of a marginal work world is meaningful and heuristic: What are its unique characteristics and patterns? What are the main sources of internal diversity and how important are they (e.g. institutional setting and social composition)? What are the historical dimensions and prospects for the future? What are the boundaries or barriers that set the world apart? What is the nature of the linkages that tie it to other systems? What are the

dynamics that work toward stability and change? How does it compare to similar "worlds" elsewhere?

What we hope we have made clear, however, is the way in which the theoretical considerations have informed the framing of the research questions, and how both have important implications for social policy. They suggest the research results that are required if one is to evaluate, as we propose to do, the desirability and effectiveness of policies bearing on the marginal work world and the potential of experimental projects for the Maritime region.

As detailed projects are described in the next chapter, each will be justified not only for its bearing on the theoretical debate, but also for its relevance to current or potential social policy issues. The research program is in fact structured in such a way that the social and practical relevance of the research is an important, inescapable consideration throughout the five-year period, rather than a part of the concluding chapter of the research. The most obvious example of this point is the direct studies of policies and innovations pertaining to the M.W.W., involving social assistance and manpower policies, evaluations of organizations and innovations, and so forth. We have also defined the locale for some projects where the policy issues are most salient; for example, the study pertaining to welfare and the M.W.W. concentrates on Prince Edward Island, whereas the project involving the working poor in

the C.W.W. is located in New Brunswick, partly because the question of low income employees in the public service has been an issue there

To insure continuing consultations with community groups and government, funds have been budgeted to organize workshops and conferences, partially so that the appropriate groups and individuals can be brought together to provide guidance to the research, to communicate research results, and to consider their policy implications. We will also build in a liaison function through the personnel hired in some individual research projects, and through the use of persons with extensive policy and practical experience as consultants.

The consultation process is of course a particularly important consideration in a research program with a substantial social policy component. Given the fact that social policy is not a value-neutral subject, the researchers will need to articulate their own value positions; nevertheless, we expect to take a critical stand on the relevant policy issues, based on the research results derived through the use of scientific methodology. We believe that this critical function is well within the role of social policy analysis.

V. RESEARCH PROGRAM: PROJECTS

In this section the specific research projects and the overall integrity of the research program will be discussed. The analytical framework, in terms of which the five years of interrelated projects are organized, springs from our operationalization of sphere theory. Thus we refer to five analytical dimensions in terms of which the marginal work world can be conceptualized; these five are boundaries, morphology, barriers, linkages and adaptation, each of which is defined and discussed below in respective subsections. Each of the analytical dimensions entails certain theoretical and policy issues and are utilized in generating specific research projects. The projects designated under the specific analytical dimensions constitute concrete research activity dealing with the marginal work world; therefore each project has at least some salience for all of the analytical dimensions. The substantive theoretical and policy issues and hypotheses examined in each project reflect partly the review of the three schools outlined above.

The individual research projects (see chart on p. 72) each have a distinct primary focus but are interconnected in a variety of ways. In some instances research operationalization depends upon the results of previous research projects; in other instances, projects must draw on data collected in other projects in order to examine satisfactorily the

Analytical Dimensions	YEAR I July 1975 - June 1976 Projects	YEAR II July 1976 - June 1977 Projects	YEAR III July 1977 - June 1978 Projects	YEAR IV July 1978 - June 1979 Projects	YEAR V July 1979 - June 1980 Projects
<u>BOUNDARIES</u> Between the marginal and central work worlds	1.Public Service Em- ployment Study 2.Characterization of Firms	Public Service Em- ployment Follow-up	Labour Union Study	1.Public Service Em- ployment Follow-up 2.Interstitial Work Roles and Institutions	
<u>CONVERSION BARRIERS</u> Between the M.W.W. and C.W.W.	Barriers to Individ- ual Mobility	Barriers to Individ- ual Mobility	1.Barriers to Indiv- idual Mobility 2.Barriers to Firm Mobility		
<u>MORPHOLOGY</u> of the Marginal Work World	Historical and Secondary Data Analysis	1.Historical and Sec- ondary Data Analysis 2.Survey of Firms and Employees	Follow-up Survey of Firms and Employees	1.Integrative Data Analysis 2.Small Enterprise Study	1.Integrative Data Analysis 2.Small Enterprise Study 3.Follow-up Survey of Firms and Employees
<u>LINKAGES</u> to other sub-systems	The Welfare System and the Marginal Work World	The Welfare System and the Marginal Work World		Government Study	1.Evaluation of Man- power Programs 2.Community Response and Development
<u>ADAPTATIONS</u> in the M.W.W.		Case Study	1.Two Case Studies 2.Sub-Sample Adap- tation Study	1.One Case Study 2.Sub-Sample Adap- tation Study	Sub-Sample Adaptation Study

theoretical and policy considerations to which they are directed. In the case of surveys and guidelines for in-depth interviews, there will be considerable commonality in questions asked. Interrelationships, of course, also flow from the analytical framework adopted and the substantive research questions (pp. 61-70) within which the principal investigators of all projects are functioning. Additionally, the entire research program will be coordinated by a research group nucleus composed of all the principal investigators.

BOUNDARIES

In this research program, the boundary that is of particular interest is that between the marginal and central work worlds. In operational terms, however, the exact boundary is difficult to identify unless we take a single criterion such as income level, or size of enterprise, and decide on an arbitrary cutting point between the two sectors - a procedure which is not appealing.

Rather than making an a priori decision on the boundary question, we therefore intend to deal with the problem of ambiguity in two ways. On the one hand, it is possible to study enterprises and employees which are close to the ideal-type definition of the marginal work world i.e. the work situation outside strong unions, government service and large, capital intensive industries. On the other hand, we have designed a number of projects that deal explicitly with the boundary issue in an attempt to get at the following questions. For different units of analysis (unions, firms, and individuals), where is the boundary and what are the differences between the two worlds? What are the processes that reinforce or alter the boundaries? How have they shifted over time? What kinds of interaction patterns take place across the boundaries (e.g. the role of central unions and businesses in the M.W.W.; the mobility of individuals in firms and unions)? What is the extent and function of certain interstitial work roles, such as casuals, moonlighters, and

intermediate occupations, and how have they been institutionalized (e.g., through Office Overload and regular, seasonal work with the Post Office or the Department of Highways)?

Four projects are described below whose main research direction is toward the boundary questions. They do not exhaust our interest in the topic, however, since additional information will come from projects associated primarily with other analytical dimensions.

Boundaries - Project I: Low Income Public Service Employment and the Marginal Work World:
A Comparison

Time: Phase 1 July 1, 1975 to June 30, 1976

Phase 2 January 1, 1977 to March 30, 1977

Phase 3 Fall, 1979 (3 months)

Principal Investigators: D. Clairmont and W. Jackson

Objectives:

The project will address itself to the boundary questions discussed above, by comparing the low income worker in the C.W.W. (especially in public service) with a matched group of workers from the M.W.W. Numerous studies suggest that, if there is segmentation in the economy, low income workers in the C.W.W. would have, for example, less job stability, greater mobility opportunities, different phenomenology, and so on.

The project is relevant for public policy in that many analysts are now recommending that public service employment

be expanded to take up marginal workers; in practical terms this means employment at the lower echelons of government.

Policies will also differ, depending upon the extent to which the critical variable differentiating groups is a pervasive segmentation in the structure of the economy, or the individual's location (e.g., low or high income) in the structure.

Data Frame:

New Brunswick is the locale for primary data collection because the question of low income workers in public service, especially in hospitals, has been of late a key public issue. Important policy changes have also been made recently with regard to the relationship between the minimum wage and payments to social assistance recipients. In addition, secondary data will be obtained concerning the working poor in other parts of the region and in other institutional settings to determine whether the structural situation differs in these locations.

In terms of the research questions specified earlier, this project will be especially relevant for questions # 4 and # 10.

Methodology:

Survey data will be collected from a sample of 200 low income public service employees and from an analytically matched sample (e.g., ethnicity, age, skill levels, sex) of workers from the M.W.W. In order to test adequately the

hypotheses of the study, a longitudinal analysis is required and therefore two follow-up studies are planned at 18-month intervals. The initial survey will involve a personal interview, with each follow-up relying on a mailed questionnaire, although provision will be made for an interviewer to contact the non-respondents. In this and the other longitudinal study, the budget includes a modest payment to the respondent for each interview in order to establish a more adequate exchange with him/her and thereby minimize the case loss over the four-year period. Public service employment is chosen because segmentation theorists define it to be clearly in the C.W.W. and the main alternative to marginal employment.

Boundaries - Project II: The Characterization of Firms
in the Marginal Work World

Time: July 1, 1975 to June 30, 1976

Principal Investigator: Research Associate with PhD in
Business Management or Economics

Objectives:

As with the employee level, there is also ambiguity at the enterprise level regarding the identification of the boundary between firms in the marginal and central work worlds. Beyond this, it is necessary to explore the differential functioning of firms in the two worlds, to determine whether reward structures, market security, labour-management relations or other dimensions differ significantly. There is also theoretical disagreement about the composition of firms in the M.W.W. and the role of centre firms in it, with the orthodox school taking the position that, for the most part, enterprises are small, local, and family owned, whereas the more radical position emphasizes the pervasive and increasing influence of multinational corporations in the M.W.W.

These points have implications for public policy as well, in the light of current public debate about the desirability and feasibility of developing locally owned firms at intermediate technology levels.

The project provides an opportunity for new personnel to become integrated into the research program, and

particularly to undertake preparatory work for a major survey
of firms and employees, to be undertaken in the second year of
the program.

In terms of the research questions specified earlier,
this project is especially relevant for questions # 1, # 2 and
8.

Data Frame: Atlantic Region

Methodology:

The main data sources will be in-depth interviews with
firm management personnel, and secondary data analysis. Much
of the latter will be contributed by the historical and sec-
ondary data analysis project, described under the morphology
dimension, and therefore the research costs in this project
are kept to a minimum.

Boundaries - Project III: The Labour Union Study

Time: July 1, 1977 to June 30, 1978

Principal Investigators: D. Clairmont and F. Wien and Research Associate with PhD in Labour Relations

Objectives:

Labour organization is obviously a major strategy for attempting to bring about change in the marginal work world. Although the extent of union organization is less than in the C.W.W., it is hypothesized that the unions that do exist in the M.W.W. are also part of a segmented work world, i.e., they are different from centre unions with respect to membership, bargaining strategies, relationship with management, power position in the firm and in the labour movement as a whole, and so on. Some of the main theoretical issues to be investigated in this project, therefore, concern the boundaries and relationship between unions in the marginal and central work worlds; the role of centre unions in organizing in the M.W.W.; and the determinants of labour union mobility from "marginal" to "centre" status. The extent to which unions themselves contribute to segmentation by restricting access to some occupations will also be investigated.

From a policy perspective, the project will assess union organizing techniques in the M.W.W., and the effectiveness of organization as a strategy for change. Labour legislation and innovations in other regions will also be examined to

determine their applicability to the Atlantic region, (e.g., the C.N.T.U. sponsored credit unions in Quebec and industry-wide collective agreements for the hotel-restaurant trade in British Columbia).

In terms of the research questions delineated earlier, this project is particularly relevant to questions # 4, # 5 and # 10.

Data Frame: Atlantic Region

Methodology:

The main source of information will be from a modest but systematic interviewing of union officials, organizers, employers, and relevant government officials. Survey data from other projects will provide some information from the union membership, and secondary data analysis will also be carried out (e.g., contract settlements, union membership requirements, etc.). A workshop to bring together union and government officials and other interested parties will also be convened - perhaps under the auspices of the Institute of Public Affairs' long-standing Labour-Management Study Committee.

Who are the leaders in wage and benefit gains in the Atlantic Region? Unionized or Non-Unionized firms. Which way does spillover occur? To what extent do public employee unions or bargaining units lead or follow?

BOUNDARIES - PROJECT IV: Interstitial Work Roles and Institutions

Time: July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979

Principal Investigator:

P. M. Butler

Objectives:

This project will deal with the occupations that define the boundaries between the marginal and central work worlds; for example, the worker who is employed on a casual or short-term basis in the central work world, or the moonlighter who is regularly employed in the central work world but who participates on a part-time basis in the marginal work world.

We shall also direct our attention to the institutions that serve both worlds, such as employment agencies that specialize in part-time work (e.g. Office Overload, Drake Personnel) in order to examine how they obtain workers and the contractual arrangements they establish with the workers and firms involved.

In concrete terms we need to know the number of people involved in these interstitial work roles and the kinds of activities they are engaged in. It is of practical and theoretical importance to determine the extent to which casual labour employed in the C.W.W. is exploited by being restricted to temporary employment, or whether it is in a position to utilize these interstitial channels for upward mobility. A similar question can be addressed to institutions such as employment agencies specializing in part-time work.

The implications of the relationship between interstitial work role occupants and worker organization need to be drawn out. To what extent are moonlighters and casuals willing, able or required to join unions? To what extent can moonlighters operating in marginal work be seen as weakening union bargaining power or alternatively preventing unionization from occurring? To what extent do unions help to advance the interests of the casual employee? These questions underscore the logical connection of the project to other projects concerning labour organization in the marginal work world.

The investigation of these issues provides some insight into the overall analysis of the rigidities between the centre and marginal work worlds. It is also important for policy purposes to know if the number of people who occupy interstitial work roles is being reduced significantly and if the opportunities for mobility via gradual stepping stones are thereby becoming more limited. The theoretical literature is ambiguous on this question.

In terms of the research specified earlier this project would especially be relevant for questions # 3, # 4 and # 5.

Data Frame :

Nova Scotia will be the main area of primary data collection. However, secondary data will be utilized and drawn from the whole Atlantic region to determine whether similar structural conditions are associated with similar interstitial types of work roles. Generalizations to other provinces in the region will be in terms of secondary data analysis.

Methodology :

The study will involve an initial analysis of secondary data to determine the answers to demographic questions such as the distribution of casuals and moonlighters in the region, the kinds of industries they are located in, as well as rural-urban differences. Similarly it will be important to obtain background data on interstitial institutions.

The main thrust of the project will be the collection of primary data through a small scale survey, involving interviews with 200 cases of casuals and moonlighters drawn from the Nova Scotia labour force.

At the level of the organization, information will be obtained through key informants, and in depth interviews with employers and union officials.

CONVERSION BARRIERS

This analytical dimension refers to the internal and external obstacles to conversion between the marginal and central work worlds. It may entail, for example, a lack of convertible resources, as in the case of rural home owners who may be locked in to possessions that are not highly valued in the centre market economy (e.g. low-priced homes and land; non-market sources of produce). The dimension may also involve external barriers, such as credentialism, sexism, racism and licensing. Finally, internal barriers or opportunity cost considerations are involved, whereby what is required to be given up in exchange for mobility or conversion is deemed to be too much (e.g. ethnic identity and protection; a desirable life style or residential location). The term "conversion barriers" is used, therefore, with both positive and negative connotations.

The term is meaningful for enterprises as well as for individuals, and projects dealing with both levels of analysis will be described below. The conversion barriers facing unions in the M.W.W. are investigated in the labour union study, which has been outlined under the boundary dimension.

CONVERSION BARRIERS - PROJECT I :

Time : July 1, 1975 to June 30, 1978

Principal Investigators : F. Wien and Research Group Nucleus

Objectives :

Although this project will deal with the barriers experienced by the work force in the M.W.W. as a whole, there are some groups for whom the question of internal and external barriers is of particular importance e.g., racial and ethnic minorities, women, and youth. These groups have below average labour force participation rates, and yet are overrepresented in the M.W.W. They experience more profound barriers to mobility and therefore some interesting policies and experiments have been developed both to overcome the barriers (e.g. Affirmative Action programs in Nova Scotia) and to provide more satisfactory adaptations within the bounds of the M.W.W., as in the case of the Eskasoni oyster cooperative which appears to permit a more remunerative, stable source of income without the sacrifice of native residential and cultural preferences.

There are a number of theory-inspired issues which can be investigated in the project. The position of the orthodox school, for example, is that the external conversion barriers are not very significant and that a large element of individual free choice is operative in labour market decisions. It would suggest that what barriers exist can be successfully overcome by government programs such as Affirmative Action. There is

also debate regarding the relative importance of different types of barriers: is individual racial discrimination, for example, a significant barrier to mobility, or are other considerations more important?

From the perspective of social policy, the evaluation of existing programs will be pertinent, particularly from the point of view of the wider applicability of minority group innovations. The question of the licencing of occupations is a controversial issue in the Atlantic region, particularly in Newfoundland at this time where the potential licencing of in-shore fishermen is advocated in order to improve living standards for the professional fishermen, while critics are concerned with the question of control of access to the occupation and the supply of job opportunities.

In the Atlantic region, it is often assumed that the internal barriers are more important than the external, and that therefore little change in the latter need take place. The research results should shed some light on this issue.

The aims of the study, then, are to identify the relevant conversion barriers, assess their function and importance, and evaluate the means (programs, career ladders) and the costs (assimilation, life style sacrifice) of overcoming barriers or of adapting to them. An additional practical objective is to provide research training for members of three minority groups, (Black, Indian, and Acadian) so that they can join or establish the research wing of appropriate minority group organizations.

In terms of the research questions specified earlier, this project is especially relevant for questions # 3, # 5 and # 10.

Data Frame :

Initial focus on Nova Scotia, with gradual expansion to New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, as relevant.

Methodology :

Over a three year period, we are budgeting for a total of 8 "person"/years at the level of research assistants. The emphasis in the first year will be on the racial/ethnic minorities, with the addition subsequently of the female component. The latter will be considerably enriched by data from the various survey projects since at least half the samples will in all likelihood be female. The principal investigators will devote much of their attention to the barriers experienced by the non-minority work force in the M.W.W. Some flexibility is envisaged in the utilization of research assistants, to allow for the pursuit of academic degree programs in addition to the research function.

After an initial phase for training and the establishment of liaison with relevant organizations, a period of participant observation followed by more systematic data collection techniques is planned. (e.g. in depth interviews, secondary data analysis, modest survey, evaluation study). Since a considerable number of surveys have been completed, with which we are familiar, and since data will become available from other studies

in the program, a major survey is not planned in this project. We will use the global conference/consulting item for this project as well, in order to inform the study and disseminate its results.

PROJECT II : BARRIERS TO FIRM MOBILITY

Time : July 1, 1977 to June 30, 1978

Principal Investigator:

Senior Research Associate in Business
Management or Economics

Objectives :

The main focus of this project is the mobility of firms from the marginal to the central work worlds. It will investigate the barriers to such mobility with a view to identifying those that are most important in the Maritime region (e.g., labour supply, technological capacity, entrepreneurial skills, market control). As with the individual level, there may be internal barriers relating to tradition and life style of management and employees that would evaluate the costs of increasing size and capital intensity, for example, as excessive.

There are also different hypotheses about the forms of industry mobility and development. One hypothesis is that firms in the marginal work world provide spread effects e.g., providing some training for the local labour force, and are then replaced by larger, more sophisticated enterprises. Another pattern is for a local firm to be taken over by a multinational company. A third pattern, of course, is for the same unit to expand in size and complexity.

From a policy standpoint, it is important to understand the nature of the barriers to firm mobility if policies are to be designed to overcome them. Similarly, if local enterprises in the marginal work sector are increasingly being taken over by multi-

national or national firms, then the development policy considerations raised are quite different from those called for by an image of a sector composed of independent entrepreneurs without experience and resources. It would be important to know whether the "small is beautiful" prescriptions and the encouragement of indigenous development at intermediate technology levels is a realistic policy option, given the structure of the economy (ownership trends, segmentation, etc.).

In terms of our main research questions, this project will provide information pertaining to questions # 1, 3, 4, and 8.

Data Frame :

Cases will be selected from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.

Methodology:

An in-depth case study method will be used to examine at least six enterprises. The latter will be selected to reflect those presently in the M.W.W., those that have moved to the C.W.W., and those that have ceased operations. More general information will be obtained through interviews and from other studies in this research program. Of particular relevance here will be the "Characterization of Firms in the M.W.W." project, the historical and secondary data analysis; and the longitudinal survey of firms and employees in the M.W.W.

Again with this project, the global conference/consulting category will be used, both to guide the research program and to bring together the managers of firms whose experience bears on these questions. The Advanced Management Centre of the Institute of Public Affairs will be especially helpful in this respect.

MORPHOLOGY

At the core of the conceptualization of the marginal work world guiding this research is an ideal-type characterization. It refers to the work world outside the big corporations, strong unions and government. The ideal-type posits, at the level of the worker, relative poverty and poor bargaining power, lowly valued skills, frequent job change and vulnerability; at the organizational level, it posits enterprises of modest scale, a competitive market situation, weak unionization or none at all, semi-skilled, routine work roles and insignificant job ladders. The marginal work world, even in its ideal-typical characterization, may apply to a large variety of work situations (e.g., small-scale farming, fishing and woodlot enterprises, small secondary manufacturing, and restaurants). Moreover, as one proceeds to utilize the M.W.W. concept in research and moves away from the core characterization, one encounters work settings which, while departing in some respects from the ideal-type, are, nevertheless, usually identified as being in the marginal work world (e.g., large textile mills; hotel chains). Projects designated under the morphology dimension are primarily directed to sorting out the patterns of clusterings and diversity that exist in the marginal work world, at the levels or units of analysis of workers, enterprises and entrepreneur/management-worker interaction. A variety of research methodologies will be employed, including

surveys, case studies, field observation, contextual analysis, and historical and secondary data analysis. The methodology is geared to exploring both static and dynamic considerations. The morphology projects for the most part are descriptive and explanatory, rather than policy-directed, but, as will be indicated below, they are conceptualized in ways that should contribute to policy evaluation and public debate.

Morphology - Project I: Historical and Secondary
Data Analysis and Coordination

Time: Year 1 - July 1, 1975 to June 30, 1976

Year 2 - July 1, 1976 to June 30, 1977

Objectives:

Primarily to collect, analyze and prepare reports, using secondary and historical data, on the form and structure of the marginal work world as a whole. The researcher would develop a data bank relevant to both the individual and enterprise levels, analyze trends in the marginal work world and gather and dissect appropriate comparative data dealing with the central work world.

The researcher also would be concerned with available data pertinent to the consideration of contextual factors affecting the segmentation of the work world and the nature of the marginal work world. In order to compare the situation in the Atlantic provinces with that in other regions, it will be necessary to have liaison with other studies and with other data sources.

The researcher also would provide some support for other projects in the form of background and comparative data, data analysis and generalization of results. Especially important would be groundwork pertinent to the development of typologies and sampling frames for surveys.

In terms of the research questions specified earlier,

*Memory
associations?
stereotypes? Symbols?*

Morphology - Project I cntd:

this project would be especially relevant for questions # 1, # 8 and # 9.

Data Frame: Atlantic Provinces, with some comparison to other regions where appropriate and where data are available.

Supervision: The Research Group Nucleus via its chairman

Morphology - Project II: A Longitudinal Examination of Firms, Worker and Management-Labour Relations across Institutional Settings of the M.W.W.

Time: Phase I : July 1, 1976 to June 30, 1977
Phase II : January 1, 1978 to March 31, 1978
Phase III: July 1, 1979 to September 30, 1979

Principal Investigators: Research Group Nucleus and a Senior Research Associate in Management/Economics

Theoretical Consideration:

It has been noted that there is considerable diversity in the institutional settings of work activities conventionally identified as being in the marginal work world. In this project such diversity will be examined, the institutional settings varying from multinational enterprises (e.g., textiles) to family-owned, non-unionized firms with a work force as small as twenty. Other institutional settings, entailing operational work units of less than twenty members (e.g., small farming and woodlot operations, cleaning and domestic work) and having no connection to multinationals, will be examined in a separate project.

This project at a theoretical level is concerned with an examination of the segmentation model guiding the overall research program. It focuses on the clustering that exists amongst the diversity, the commonalities or patterns at the levels of the worker and the enterprise, as well as at the level of the interaction between employers/management and workers. The project, also, is directed to discovering what factors appear to control significant variance in these three regards. It also seeks to determine what, if any, are the

integrating processes in the marginal work world. Finally, it is longitudinal primarily because hypotheses concerning stability, mobility and vulnerability among workers, and viability and change at the enterprise level, necessitate a longitudinal approach if one is to capture the underlying dynamics of the situation (e.g., it facilitates understanding job turnover, participant phenomenology across work settings and related worlds of welfare and training, and life-style choices, by enabling us to use the individual as his "own control"; it facilitates understanding stagnation, adaptation and development of the enterprise by enabling us to monitor and probe controlling variables such as labour supply, profit margins and market flexibility).

At the level of the worker, data will be obtained pertaining to horizontal and vertical occupational mobility, interaction with the worlds of welfare and training, skill level, income, job-holding, job satisfaction, participant phenomenology (e.g., self-image as regards to location in the work world, perception of the structure of the work world, its barriers, opportunities and diversity), attitudes concerning work, unionization and management, adaptive responses and demographic characteristics. Numerous hypotheses concerning workers in the marginal work world have been noted above and these will be examined in this project; particularly significant is the exploration of rural-urban differences (the theoretical literature is almost schizophrenic on this consideration) and sex

and age differentials.

On the level of the enterprise, data will be obtained on reward-punishment structure, work style, productivity, and demand/supply regarding workers; profit margin and general financial accounts; skills, attitudes and managerial styles of entrepreneurs and managers; dependence, elasticity and security concerning markets; and decision making and planning and occupational mobility among entrepreneurs and management. The variety of institutional settings examined and the relatively small number of enterprises surveyed (about fifteen) necessitate intensive probing and analysis as well as the examination of trends in the area of economic activity of the specific enterprises. Hypotheses concerning the enterprise in the marginal work world will be examined, especial attention being given to the portrait conveyed by structure-functionalists and dual-labour market theorists.

On the level of the interaction between employers/management and workers, data will be obtained on the exchange relationships which, in literature dealing with the urban marginal work world, are usually depicted as negative and, in the corresponding rural literature, as paternalistic. The research will be concerned with the closeness of relationships, the "cross-overs" between management and employees, labour-management relations (and, where unions do not exist, attitudes towards unionization from both employer/management and worker points of view), the humanistic nature of the work

scene, and attitudes towards and perceptions of one another by workers and employers/management.

Finally, this project will attempt to determine what, if any, are the integrating processes in the marginal work world. Apperception of self and other workers in other work settings of the marginal work world, as vulnerable and disadvantaged, as well as horizontal occupational mobility, may be conceptualized as integrating processes at the level of the workers. Vertical mobility between worker and management statuses and actual shared work activity (e.g., working side by side or doing, for the most part, similar work at least occasionally) may be conceived as integrating processes at the enterprise level. Considerations, such as the above, need to be more fully examined; rural-urban differentials appear likely to be significant.

Policy Considerations:

An important policy issue, to which this research project is directed, concerns whether subjectively experienced or objectively determined (in relation to profit margins or, in the case especially of ultimate control by multinationals, terms of trade) exploitation characterizes the workers' situation. Alternatively and/or additionally, are there job satisfactions and trade-offs at the worker level and low-profit margins among the enterprises? Is it possible to develop new strategies of development, applicable at least in some important respects, across such an apparent diversity of institutional

work settings? Moreover, this research should contribute to public debate over policies directed at the encouragement of rural to urban mobility by workers, the subsidization of enterprises within the marginal work world, and the training and supply of the labour force in the marginal work world. While this project is more descriptive and explanatory than policy-directed, it should be capable of generating and examining policy issues from the perspective of the marginal work world.

In terms of the research questions specified earlier, this project would be especially relevant for questions # 2, # 5 and # 8.

Data Frame: Atlantic Provinces

Methodology:

The methodology of this project is complex and multifaceted. An interdisciplinary research team will conduct the project in three phases. The first phase, the initial data collection phase, will cover a twelve-month period; subsequently, at eighteen-month intervals, there will be two follow-up phases, each of approximately three months. In each of the three phases, there will be a survey of approximately five hundred workers employed in about fifteen enterprises and case studies (in-depth interviews and some field observations) of the firms. Prior to the beginning of this project, and as a function of other projects (Boundaries - Project II; and Morphology - Project I), a typology will be generated to guide the

selection of enterprises. Important categories include type of ownership, rural-urban locale, and type of economic activity. Also there will be a close connection between this project, the case studies dealing with adaptation (see below) and the study of small-scale enterprises.

Morphology - Project III: Integrative Data Analysis
and Coordination

Time: Year I : July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979
Year II : July 1, 1979 to June 30, 1980

Principal Investigators: D. Clairmont and F. Wien

Objectives:

Primarily to collate and coordinate data, analyses and reports from the divers projects dealing with the form and structure of the marginal work world, and to analyze mutual implications and interrelationships among all projects. This is necessary in order to avoid the situation of "not being able to see the forest for the trees". In this project, contextual implications of the Atlantic region for work segmentation and for the morphology of the marginal work world would also be emphasized through comparison with other regions where appropriate and where data are available; and also by the principal investigators coordinating the visiting researchers program and working closely with them in thinking and writing about the comparative and generalizable significance of the research. Some travel by the principal investigators also will be necessary.

While this project will emphasize analysis and writing, there will also be continuation of historical and secondary data collation and monitoring, and direct linkage to on-going projects through support in the development of background and contextual data and data dissection.

Morphology - Project III cntd:

In terms of the research questions specified earlier, this project would be especially relevant for questions #1, # 2, # 4, and # 9.

Data Frame:

Primarily Atlantic Provinces, with some comparison to other regions where appropriate and where data are available; and in conjunction with the visiting researchers project.

MORPHOLOGY - PROJECT IV : The Small Enterprise Study

Time : July 1, 1978 to December 30, 1979

Principal Investigators :

W. Jackson and the Research Group Nucleus

Objectives :

It would appear that smaller, locally owned enterprises in the M.W.W., especially those employing less than about 20 employees in both urban and rural locations, have been particularly neglected in previous research - both in academic and in regular government data collection endeavours. From a sociological point of view, very little has been written on the small, often family owned and operated, enterprise; the nature of interpersonal relations; paternalism, dependence, and the implications of these factors for change and stability; trade-offs among income, life and work style considerations; and non-monetary exchange of labour and other resources.

The existing literature indicates that the small entrepreneur and the associated labour force are particularly involved in patterns of occupational pluralism (i.e., regular, seasonal changes in type of employment) and multiple job holding (e.g. operating a small farm in addition to working in a food processing plant). From a policy standpoint it would be important to determine whether these work patterns are primarily a matter of individual choice or whether they are adaptations to external barriers. A related question concerns the potential for stimulating or reorganizing job opportunities so that the preference to follow the plural-

istic/multiple work patterns, if it exists, can be realized.

The small rural and urban enterprise also represents another type of institutional setting within the M.W.W. In addition, therefore, to the adaptation questions outlined in the above paragraph, the project will further contribute to our understanding of the internal diversity of the M.W.W. (e.g., by institutional setting; rural and urban) and the integrative processes that tie it together. Since this type of enterprise will not be represented in the survey of larger firms, and since it represents a neglected but very substantial proportion of the firms and individuals composing the M.W.W., a separate study is necessary.

One of the key questions from a policy perspective is the potential of organization in this group of enterprises - both among entrepreneurs and within individual operations. The former is of significance as a means of raising the bargaining power and income of small enterprises, which in turn has implications for the level of remuneration of employees. An interesting example, pertinent to both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, is the organization attempts of small woodlot owners, the effectiveness of which will be evaluated in this project. Labour organization within small enterprises is of course very difficult, in part because of the small size and interaction patterns of the actors, not to mention kinship ties. This type of enterprise is, nevertheless, part of the new frontier for the labour movement, and it will be valuable to assess the potential of labour organization as a strategy of change for employees and its impact upon the enterprise. The comparative experience of other regions or countries

will need to be considered.

In terms of the research questions specified earlier, this project would be especially relevant for questions # 2, # 7 and # 8.

Data Frame :

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick

Methodology :

The units of analysis for this study include small farming, fishing and woodlot enterprises, as well as food outlets, dry cleaning concerns, maintenance and repair services, small retail outlets, and so on. The main criteria are size (less than 20 employees), local ownership and market, and clear identification in the marginal work world.

Data will be collected through a survey methodology, as well as by field observation, modest case studies, evaluations of organizations, and in-depth interviews. As indicated above, other studies will also contribute relevant information, especially the study of labour unions, the adaptation project, and the survey firms and employees in the M.W.W. In order to provide comparable data with the latter, the small enterprise study will also obtain information on dimensions such as firm and employee characteristics, integrative processes, and so on.

LINKAGES

In conceptualizing the marginal work world as an open social system, one of the key considerations is how it retains its viability and continuity, and how it changes, in its interaction with the environment. We have previously specified projects which examine its boundaries and interrelationships with the central work world. In this section, we will be concerned with the linkages between the marginal work world and the sub-systems and institutions somewhat more removed from the work situation. The American literature specified three sub-systems closely related to the M.W.W.: the welfare, training and the "hustle" economies. Although we will continue to be sensitive to evidence of the latter, it does not appear to be a significant factor in the region except in such forms as moonlighting, and multiple job holding (vs. deviant activity).

The relationship between welfare and the marginal work world is, however, an important one from both a theoretical and policy standpoint and a project has been designed to address these questions. Similarly, Manpower programs involving upgrading and retraining, job creation and the encouragement of local initiatives are of obvious salience for firms and employees in the marginal work world. Some analysts suggest there is considerable similarity and interconnection among the M.W.W. and the welfare and training economies. It is hypothesized for example that

individuals rotate through the three sub-systems, and that stability, low motivation, lack of opportunity, dependence and other features are characteristic of each.

In addition to examining specific social assistance and manpower policies, we have also developed a project that examines at a more general level the role of government in the marginal and central work worlds. How decisions are made, how resources are allocated, and how government is involved in the segmentation of the work world are examples of the kinds of questions that will be raised in this project.

A final research undertaking investigates the linkage between the M.W.W. and the community level of analysis, with particular attention to the way in which community programs and organizations affect the marginal work world.

LINKAGES - PROJECT I : The Relationship Between The Welfare System and the Marginal Work World

Time : Phase 1 July 1, 1975 to June 30, 1976
Phase 2 July 1, 1976 to September 30, 1976

Principal Investigator : P. M. Butler

Objectives :

This project deals with the relationship between the M.W.W. and the welfare system, including programs of social assistance and income supplementation. A critical theoretical issue concerning the work-welfare relationship is whether welfare programs supplement and ensure the viability of work in the marginal sector or whether, presumably by drawing off potential labour or abetting labour instability and turnover, they contribute to its stagnation. A description of the relationship between welfare and work in the Atlantic Provinces is necessary to determine provincial and other sources of variation. The variables that may govern this relationship include rural-urban differences, the type of economic activity dominant in the local area, the ideological climate, and so on. In addition there is a need to explore the ideological climate in which welfare assistance is distributed and to examine from the viewpoint of the individual what the implications of the work-welfare trade-off are in terms of self-image or community reputation.

Data is also required on the movement back and forth between welfare and work, not only in terms of number and frequency, but also, if possible, to get at the factors which are associated with such mobility patterns.

Given the likelihood of changes in welfare policy affecting the participation of workers in the M.W.W., one objective of this project will be to evaluate innovative policies and programs in the Atlantic region which are designed to alter the linkage between welfare and work in the marginal sector and, more generally, low income work throughout the economy.

This research project is, of course, most directly relevant to question # 6.

Data Frame :

We intend to adopt a regional focus, but will be paying particular attention to the province of Prince Edward Island. This emphasis is especially relevant for policy evaluation as the economy of Prince Edward Island, more than any other province in the region, depends to a large extent on primary processing, which involves a low paid seasonal work force. This province is also significant because in some communities a large proportion of the potential work force is in receipt of some welfare assistance.

Methodology :

The study in phase one will involve the collection of data through in-depth interviews with welfare and labour union officials, employers, welfare rights groups and opinion leaders in the community. An examination of secondary data from a comparative and historical perspective will also be conducted, making use of resources generated in the secondary data analysis project. Data pertaining to the question of the pattern of mobility between the welfare and M.W.W. will be obtained through surveys conducted in other projects. In phase two, this project will concentrate on an evaluation of innovative policies and programs having implications for the marginal work world.

LINKAGES

PROJECT II : An Investigation of the Role of Government
in the Marginal and Central Work Worlds:
Function, Resource Allocation and
Decision Making

Time : July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979

Principal Investigators: P. Pross and F. Wien

Objectives :

Our discussion of theory and literature in an earlier section revealed considerable disagreement among the different paradigms concerning the role of government in the marginal work world, and its independence from, and the potential of its policies for overcoming, the segmentation of the work world.

In this project then, one of our interests is the role that government plays with regard to the segmentation of the work world. Is its role the same in both sections? Observation suggests that, for the M.W.W., a main concern of government is with establishing thresholds, or the basic expectations of citizenship, whereas, in the C.W.W., it may be more of a mediator or referee between strong competing interest groups.

It is important to examine whether and how government reinforces segmentation (e.g., by sanctioning the licencing arrangements of elite occupational groups) and how it distributes resources such as time and funds between different segments of the work world.

A related interest is the interchange with government from the point of view of the work world. In general, what kinds

of policy initiatives come from the M.W.W., and how are they treated by public decision makers? What are the patterns of communication and contact? What are the internally generated (i.e., within government) reasons for the adoption of relevant policies?

Detailed policy and program evaluation will be carried out in other projects, so that this study will attempt to provide an overview of the linkage between government and the work world. There are some policies, however, such as immigration, trade and tariff policies, which affect the marginal work world as a whole and which will therefore provide a subsidiary focus for this project. With regard to immigration policy, for example, we would be concerned with the composition, size, and utilization of immigrants in the Atlantic region. It is often argued that, rather than attempting to reduce barriers to mobility or encouraging the organization of indigenous labour, governments and firms are more inclined to use immigrants as a solution to labour supply problems.

Data Frame :

The main source of data for the project will be the federal government in Ottawa and the provincial government in Nova Scotia. However, some investigation of patterns in the other Atlantic region provinces will be undertaken.

Methodology :

The project would not be feasible at the budget and personnel level indicated below without extensive input from other policy-related studies that form a part of the overall

Linkages - Project II cntd:

research program. Almost all the other projects can give valuable insights into these questions. The primary data collection in this project will come from in-depth interviews with government officials, actors in the marginal work world, and key informants; selected secondary data analysis will also be undertaken (e.g., budget allocations and appropriate immigration statistics.)

LINKAGES - Project III: An Evaluation of Manpower Programs

Time: July 1, 1979 to June 30, 1980

Principal Investigators: P. M. Butler and Research Associate
to be named

Objectives:

The literature we have reviewed has referred to the training economy as being another sub-system of society where important linkages with the marginal work world exist. The overall aims of this project will be to tackle a descriptive analysis of the nature of this linkage. Other studies in the program, particularly those dealing with the characterization of firms in the marginal work world and the case studies of adaptation in marginal enterprises, will provide feedback and guidance to this project. However, the main thrust of this study will be to illuminate issues such as the extent to which the training economy is used by employers to their advantage. It may be, for example, that marginal entrepreneurs and management merely utilize such programs to obtain a temporary subsidized work force. It may also be that, contrary to intent, training programs serve to maintain segmentation in the work world. Indeed, one hypothesis suggested in the literature is that training programs allocate people to available jobs, but they do not do anything about the restrictive factors that operate to keep people in the marginal work world. Hence, the programs do not materially affect the worker's real opportunities

and may lead therefore to low motivation and high labour turnover - characteristics which are hypothesized to exist in the marginal work world as well.

An important policy implication may be that manpower programs cannot be effective because they primarily perform a liaison function between employer and employee and do not concern themselves sufficiently with structural factors in the economy.

This project also offers the opportunity for a direct policy evaluation study at the level of the program as well as at the level of the effectiveness of the individuals' involvement in it. We also have the opportunity for comparative analysis with other studies designed to evaluate the effectiveness of manpower employment programs. In larger compass, the study would be directed at the issue of whether one can bring about significant occupational mobility without directly changing the structure of the work world itself.

In terms of the main research questions outlined earlier, this project is particularly relevant to questions # 3, # 4, and # 10.

Data Frame: Atlantic Region

Methodology:

The main source of information will be from field interviews with individuals on an in-depth basis (i.e., employers, trainees and relevant government officials). We

Linkages - Project III cntd:

would also utilize the data we have obtained in prior study of the linkage of the marginal work world with the welfare system and the survey of firms and employees being conducted by the research team. Finally, we have the possibility of using secondary data gathered by others in their attempts to evaluate Manpower programs.

at the community level, a necessary feature of the research program.

In more general terms, the linkage with the community is an important consideration because community development strategies could have an important effect on the marginal work world. Most often, community development attempts, especially in urban areas, have tended to concentrate on providing services (e.g., health, education, recreation) directed at residential areas rather than directly at the work world. In the smaller, less diversified rural areas, however, community development is more directly related to employment considerations. The New Brunswick Newstart experiment in fact has explicitly attempted to manipulate community level variables such as external linkage, differentiation and fluidity (solidarity) in order to bring about improved employment and income opportunities in some small, rural communities.

Depending, therefore, upon the policy innovations that take place in the next two or three years, and upon our own research results, a modest research project along the lines indicated above can be given more concrete definition.

ADAPTATION

Utilizing the sphere theory paradigm we have thus far looked at the marginal work world in terms of boundaries, morphology, barriers and linkages. It seems that, additionally, an analytical dimension that can be referred to as adaptation is salient. It would focus upon the implications of work world involvement and their feedback on the other dimensions and the sphere as a whole. Thus, for example, it might be hypothesized that in the rural marginal work world, adaptive responses often lead to cultivation of non-market economic activities producing real income and personal satisfaction; this adaptation in turn may enable enterprises in the marginal work world to command an adequate labour supply and remain viable while having low productivity and paying low wages.

It is important to examine adaptation in a descriptive static sense and, dynamically, in terms of its feedback implications for segmentation. In the former fashion, at the level of the worker, one could explore coping behaviours (e.g. non-market production and exchanges), attitudes and life style satisfaction, comparing these across the diverse institutional settings of the marginal work world. From a dynamic perspective, one could explore the ways in which adaptative responses reinforce or effect changes in the patterns of, for example, linkages (e.g. bringing about informal understanding between welfare officials and employers concerning stringency of application of eligibility criteria).

New Brunswick Woodworkers

Static and dynamic examination can be conceived

as occurring on different levels of analysis - the worker, the enterprise, the sphere as a whole. The projects outlined in this section are focused at the worker level. To a modest though not insignificant extent, other projects associated with other analytical dimensions will yield some insight regarding adaptation at the enterprise and sector level.

ADAPTATION - Project I: Participant Observation Case Studies
of Work in the Marginal Work World

Time: Year I : May 1, 1976 to September 30, 1976
Year II : May 1, 1977 to September 30, 1977
Year III : May 1, 1978 to September 30, 1978

Principal Investigators: Research Group Nucleus

Objectives:

In this project, graduate students in social science, under the supervision of departmental faculty who are members of the research group nucleus, will undertake participant-observation studies in several marginal work world settings. The main objective is to obtain a subjective picture of what it means to be a worker in the marginal work world. Participant-observation may not yield better data than that obtained in surveys, but it does generally generate different and supplemental material.

This project will obtain data bearing on participant phenomenology and attitudes towards work, management and unions among workers. It should shed light on social interaction among workers and between workers and entrepreneurs/management. In addition to data pertaining to work and work style, it can produce rich information on the connection between work activity and adaptation outside the work place (e.g., life style, leisure activities, community participation).

From a policy point of view, this project can be useful in understanding coping behaviours, perceptions of barriers

and opportunities, and response to current and potential strategies of change.

In terms of the research questions specified earlier, this project would be especially relevant for questions # 5 and # 7.

Data Frame: Nova Scotia

Methodology:

The graduate students would be placed in regular work roles in marginal work world settings which are particularly significant for the understanding of that sector. It is planned in the first phase to place a participant-observer in the metropolitan service trade (i.e., in a large hotel operation). In the second phase, two students would be placed in quite different secondary manufacturing establishments in the same community (i.e., a multinational, union-organized firm and a non-unionized, family-owned enterprise, both manufacturing cloth or yarn and demanding semi-skilled workers). The fourth participant-observation in the third phase of this project would take place in a rural, seasonal work setting. The sequence of participant-observation activity would correspond with ongoing research surveys.

Title : Subsample Survey Analysis of Adaptive Responses
Among Workers in the Marginal Work World

Time : October 1, 1977 to December 31, 1977
October 1, 1978 to December 31, 1978
October 1, 1979 to December 31, 1979

Objectives :

In this project the implications of work for coping behaviour, leisure, time budgets and life-style satisfaction are systematically examined in the context of different institutional settings of the marginal work world. The most general theoretical concern is to obtain an objective and subjective picture of what it means to be a member of the marginal work world as far as one's life outside the workplace is concerned. The feedback of this general adaptation on the workplace itself will also be systematically explored. The work settings particularly important for comparison purposes are rural-urban and primary enterprise - secondary manufacturing. This study will link up, through subsample analysis and follow-up, with the surveys of the morphology of the marginal work world. In similar fashion it will connect with the survey concerning interstitial work roles.

A particularly important focus of this project will be non-market components of income or sources of sustenance and services. Non-market exchanges with neighbours, relatives and friends of services and equipment will be explored. The theoretical literature suggests rather profound differentials in relation to the comparison categories referred to earlier, especially

the rural-urban. In general this project will seek to measure the relative significance of market dependence through quantification of amount and sources of market and non-market value.

The interchange between work and non-workplace activities and satisfaction define the "trade-offs" associated with the marginal work world. Through time budget analysis, the focus mentioned above and longitudinal analysis (i.e., panels) a more adequate understanding of "trade-offs" and their underlying dynamics may be achieved. Worker movement in and out of the labour force can be examined, in terms of its implications for adaptation; moreover probing in the instances of such labour force movement can explore the possible feedback of the adaptive responses for job satisfaction and job stability.

The policy implications of this project are indirect but potentially significant. It should yield better understanding of job instability and turnover and be useful in assessing current policies encouraging relocation and rural to urban work mobility. It should contribute to public debate concerning income supplementation policies.

In terms of the research questions specified earlier, this project would be especially relevant for questions # 2, # 7 and # 10.

Methodology:

Survey analysis is the research tool used in this and much data for this project will come from other, more exten-

sive surveys. Subsamples, however, will be drawn and special panels generated. In general there will not be the usual interviewing of respondents; rather time activities diaries and self-completed questionnaires will be used. Some direct interviewing is anticipated, however, in instances of labour force movement. An attempt will be made to design questionnaire items and coding categories to be compatible where desirable and feasible, with data sets such as that of the Institute of Public Affairs (Dalhousie University) and the Income and Welfare data set at the University of Michigan.

Conclusion

In the introduction to the research program projects, throughout the detailed specification of the individual projects and in the description of the research organization, reference to the integrity of the research program has been continuously reiterated. Rather than again pulling together the research ideas and framework, we can perhaps address ourselves to several of the questions a reader might raise after examining the above pages.

In examining the marginal work world in Atlantic Canada, has there been provision for obtaining adequate comparable data on the central work world, such that the distinctive nature of the former will be explored? In this research program, data will be collected on the central work world at what we think are the most salient comparison points; these include low income public service workers, casuals and moonlighters; union organizations and the characteristics of enterprises; and the role of government. Additionally, much secondary data analysis will focus on a comparison of the two work worlds. Still, it remains largely the case that, insofar as a choice has to be made between full comparison on the one hand and concentration on the marginal work world to understand it in an holistic fashion on the other, we choose the latter alternative.

A reader might also question whether the research objectives in the case of certain projects are excessive or un-

realistic, given the budgetary resources. In a few of the projects this question is especially pertinent. However, it is considered quite important to obtain an overview of the marginal work world situation and, in a few instances, we quite deliberately choose breadth over depth in terms of research strategy. Presumably this tactic, as long as it is not excessively employed, is consistent with the program grant's rationale. Certainly, it appears desirable from the standpoint of theoretical work which has a strong social policy component.

Perhaps the most general question a reader might pose regarding this proposed research program is, to what extent its theoretical value and policy relevance depends on the "social realism" postulate of a dichotomy in the work world. Certainly there is some entailment. The concept, marginal work world, means something to us and has become part of our own phenomenology of the work world. At the same time, to talk of spheres in connection with socio-cultural phenomena necessarily means reference to open, complex systems. A lot of our research effort is devoted to the examination of boundaries with and linkages to other spheres, and regardless of our subsequent evaluation of the heuristic value of the dichotomy postulate, important theoretical issues will be examined. Moreover, while each project is guided by our framework and discussed in relation to research questions posed at the level of the marginal work world, it is also directed to theory and policy concerns specific to the concrete research area.

VI SUMMARY LIST OF PROJECTS

YEAR I (July 1, 1975 to June 30, 1976)

- Project 1: A Longitudinal Comparison of the Low Income Public Service Employee with a Matched Sample of Employees in the Marginal Work World (18 mos. total, 12 mos. in Year I; D. Clairmont and W. Jackson)
- Project 2: The Characterization of Firms in the Marginal Work World (12 mos.; Research Associate in Business Management or Economics)
- Project 3: An Investigation of Barriers to Individual Mobility, with Special Emphasis on Minority Groups, Women, and Youth (3 years; 12 mos. in Year I; F. Wien)
- Project 4: Historical and Secondary Data Analysis and Coordination (24 mos.; 12 mos. in Year I; Research Assistant supervised by Research Team)
- Project 5: The relationship Between the Welfare System and the Marginal Work World (15 mos. total; 12 mos. in Year I; P. Butler)

YEAR II (July 1, 1976 to June 30, 1977)

- Project 1: Follow-up of Public Service Employment Study (3 mos.; D. Clairmont and W. Jackson)
- Project 2: Continuation of Barriers to Individual Mobility Study (12 mos.; F. Wien)
- Project 3: Completion of Historical and Secondary Data Analysis and Coordination Study (12 mos.; Research Assistant supervised by Research Team)
- Project 4: A Longitudinal Survey of Individuals and Firms in the Marginal Work World (18 mos. total; 12 mos. in Year II; Research Team)
- Project 5: Completion of the Welfare/Marginal Work World Study (3 mos.; P. Butler)
- Project 6: A Participant Observation Case Study of Work in the Marginal Work World (5 mos.; graduate student)

YEAR III (July 1, 1977 to June 30, 1978)

- Project 1: A Study of Labour Union Involvement in the Marginal Work World (12 mos.; D. Clairmont and Research Associate in Labour Relations)
- Project 2: Completion of Barriers to Individual Mobility Study (12 mos.; F. Wien)
- Project 3: An Examination of Barriers to the Mobility of Firms Between the Marginal and Central Work World (12 mos.; Research Associate in Business Management or Economics)

YEAR III cntd.

- Project 4: Follow-up Study of the Survey of Firms and Individuals in the Marginal Work World (3 mos.; Research Team)
- Project 5: Participant Observation Case Studies of Work in the Marginal Work World (5 mos.; 2 graduate students)
- Project 6: A Sub-Sample Survey Analysis of Adaptation in the Marginal Work World (9 mos. total; 3 mos. in Year III; A. Harvey)

YEAR IV (July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979)

- Project 1: Final Follow-up of the Public Service Employment Study (3 mos.; D. Clairmont and W. Jackson)
- Project 2: An Examination of Interstitial Work Roles and Institutions, e.g., Casuals, Moonlighters, Intermediate Occupations (12 mos.; P. Butler)
- Project 3: Integrative Data Analysis (12 mos.; D. Clairmont and F. Wien)
- Project 4: An Examination of Small Rural and Urban Enterprises (18 mos. total; 12 mos. in Year IV; W. Jackson)
- Project 5: Sub-Sample Survey Analysis of Adaptation in the Marginal Work World; Continuation (3 mos.; A. Harvey)
- Project 6: An Investigation of Government in the Marginal and Central Work Worlds; Function, Resource Allocation and Decision Making (12 mos.; P. Pross and F. Wien)
- Project 7: Participant Observation Case Study of Work in the Marginal Work World (5 mos.; graduate student)

Year V (July 1, 1979 to June 30, 1980)

- Project 1: Integrative Data Analysis (12 mos.;
D. Clairmont and F. Wien)
- Project 2: Completion of Small Enterprise
Study (6 mos.; W. Jackson)
- Project 3: Final Follow-up Study of Individuals
and Enterprises in the Marginal Work
World (3 mos.; Research Team)
- Project 4: An Evaluation of Manpower Programs
(12 mos.; P. Butler)
- Project 5: Community Response and Development:
The Linkage with the Marginal Work
World (12 mos.; F. Wien)
- Project 6: Sub-Sample Survey Analysis of Adapt-
ation in the Marginal Work World;
Completion (3 mos.; A. Harvey)

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