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Article abstract

This study analyzes the factors that might influence career opportunities for unionized part-time professionals in comparison to their full-time counterparts. The results suggest that employers' less favourable perceptions of part-time professionals, the differences in career goals and interests of full-time and part-time professionals, and the constraints that operate in collective agreements or lack of collective agreement clauses, all influence part-time professionals' career opportunities. These three factors lead to differences in filing full-time vacancies and training for equally qualified professionals who perform the same job but are in full-time and part-time schedules

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This study analyzes the factors that might influence career opportunities for unionized part-time professionals in comparison to their full-time counterparts. The results suggest that employers' less favourable perceptions of part-time professionals, the differences in career goals and interests of full-time and part-time professionals, and the constraints that operate in collective agreements or lack of collective agreement clauses, all influence part-time professionals' career opportunities. These three factors lead to differences in filling full-time vacancies and training for equally qualified professionals who perform the same job but are in full-time and part-time schedules.

Although the literature (see, for example, Beechey and Perkins 1987; Kassalow 1989; ILO 1989; Belous 1989; Mangum, Mayall and Nelson 1985), has demonstrated that part-time workers are more likely to be employed in the periphery of their employing organizations¹ with little opportunity for career progression and training, there are no empirical studies on why part-time employees, particularly those in unionized professional occupations receive such treatment. The purpose of this study is to examine the factors that might influence career opportunities for part-time professionals vis-à-vis their full-time counterparts. In order to ensure that the comparison being made is between unionized professionals performing the same or substantially the same jobs in the same work place but employed in different schedules of work as full-time, regular part-time and casual part-time (see Appendix A – definitions), this

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1. In this study the term "organization" is used instead of the usual term "firm" to denote the non-profit, public or semi-public characteristics of the work places where the majority of part-time professionals are employed.

study focuses on single occupation bargaining units where all three types of professionals perform the same job.

Data for the study were collected from four sources: (i) a survey of employers with collective agreements covering full-time and part-time professionals; (ii) interviews with union leaders; (iii) the unions' own membership surveys and studies on the supply side; and (iv) a content analysis of collective agreements. The data were analyzed, first, to establish the factors that might influence part-time professionals' career opportunities; and second, to show that as a consequence of these factors, differences in career opportunities exist for equally qualified full-time and part-time professionals.

LITERATURE ON PART-TIME WORKERS CAREER OPPORTUNITIES

Where part-time work is concerned, the literature (see, for example, Mangum, Mayall and Nelson 1985; Beechey and Perkins 1987; Osterman 1987; Atkinson 1987) acknowledges the existence of a dichotomous employment structure in organizations, whereby full-time workers are the 'core' group, and part-time workers are employed in the 'periphery' of the work place. The core group is characterized as one in which employees with permanent status are central to the long-term future of the organization. Training and development resources are mainly devoted to them, and they are more likely to enjoy good career and promotion prospects. The peripheral group has less access to promotion opportunities and receives little investment in training by the organization. In this study the periphery is further divided into two: casual part-time workers are found at the outer edges of the periphery, as compared to regular part-time workers.

Core full-time and peripheral part-time² employees might come from the same highly skilled occupation and might be covered by the same or substantially the same agreement negotiated by the same union. In addition, they might perform the same tasks in the same organization while employed in different schedules of work. I believe the most probable career progression, particularly for part-time employees, will start with filling full-time vacancies and having access to training programs which would provide advancement in their careers.

The career opportunities of full-time and part-time employees might be influenced by a number of factors. Employers, in the first place, based on their experiences, might have different opinions of full-time, and

2. If not specified, "part-time" refers to both regular and casual part-time employees.

regular and casual part-time employees as a group. Some employers, as characterized in the literature (Osterman 1987; Labour Canada 1983; Martin and Peterson 1987), might perceive part-time employees as less committed, less efficient and having higher voluntary turnover (quit) rates than their full-time counterparts. Other employers might perceive part-time employees as committed and efficient, if not better, than their full-time counterparts (Dombois and Osterland 1987; Granrose and Appelbaum 1986; Bergsman 1989; Gallagher, Wetzel and Ellis 1989), and with lower turnover rates (Pierce, Newstrom, Dunham and Barber 1989). Any differences in the employers' perceptions of part-time professionals in comparison to full-time professionals³ could influence their decisions as to who should fill full-time vacancies and have access to training programs (ILO 1989; Belous 1989).

Since the results of existing studies on part-time employees' employment characteristics are contradictory and inconclusive, and since no common theory is used in explaining the job related attitudes of part-time workers (Gallagher, Wetzel and Ellis 1989), exploratory comparative analysis is used in this study to determine the ways in which employers' perceptions of the three groups of professionals' commitment, efficiency and turnover rates might influence their career opportunities. If the study were to find that part-time professionals were perceived⁴ by their employers as less committed, less efficient, and more likely to quit than their full-time counterparts, then one would expect employers to make decisions consistent with their perceptions, and be less inclined to select part-time professionals to fill full-time vacancies or to provide them access to training.

The work-related goals of the part-time professionals themselves constitutes a second factor that might influence their career opportunities. If, as is shown in the Statistics Canada (1989) data for all part-time workers, the majority of part-time professionals in this study were similarly working part-time by choice or had to work part-time because of family responsibilities, then they would be reluctant to accept full-time job offers and would not be interested in training for advancement to higher level (full-time positions) in their organizations. As a result, one would expect to find differences in their career progression.

3. The differences in individual characteristics also influence career opportunities. In this study we do not examine such differences since our goal is to study full-time and part-time professionals' career opportunities as a group rather than on an individual basis.

4. Employers do not make precise calculations in their employment decisions as some academic literature might suggest, but rather construct their decisions on general and experimentally based conceptions of employees' characteristics and on those employment strategies that have proved viable in the past (Bills 1987). Therefore, in this study employer perceptions are captured through a single question for each characteristic.

A third possible factor arises out of the clauses in collective agreements that deal with job posting, seniority, and training. Employment rules and procedures negotiated and agreed upon in collective agreements might require certain conditions to be met prior to filling vacancies or access to training. Such clauses might constrain the career opportunities for regular and casual part-time professionals in comparison to their full-time counterparts.

I argue that, as a consequence of these factors, differences in career opportunities would exist between the three groups of equally qualified professionals. Focusing first on filling full-time vacancies, the hypothesis is (Hypothesis 1):

If there were equally qualified full-time, regular part-time, and casual part-time professionals, in practice a full-time professional will tend to be the first to fill a full-time vacancy, a regular part-time professional will tend to be the second, and a casual part-time professional will tend to be the last.

Training for proficiency on the job is important for all employees. This study, however, focuses on a different type of training – the sort that provides employees with opportunities for career progression. In this study, therefore, training is defined as the kind that prepares professionals for advancement to higher grades or other job opportunities. I predict that in the organizations studied, in practice, there will be differences in the three groups of professionals' access to such training programs. For this reason, the hypothesis is (Hypothesis 2):

In access to training programs, full-time employees will tend to be considered first, then regular part-time employees, and lastly casual part-time employees.

STUDY DESIGN

A complete listing of collective agreements (461) covering full-time and part-time professionals was obtained from the Ontario Ministry of Labour in October 1986. In order to ensure that the comparison being made is between unionized professionals performing exactly or substantially the same tasks during their hours of employment, regardless of their full-time and part-time positions, the study focused on single occupation bargaining units. Nurses and elementary school teachers were the only two groups of professionals that fit into this criteria (see Appendix A – tasks).

A questionnaire was designed that would reveal employer perceptions and test the hypotheses. (Appendix B gives all the questionnaire items.) Before sending the questionnaire, I conducted

semi-structured interviews with a sample of (seven) employers and all five unions representing these professionals. This procedure helped the researcher to get in-depth information on the part-time phenomenon in unionized professional occupations. Interviews with employers also amounted to pre-tests of the survey.⁵ Union interviews provided me access to unions' own membership surveys and/or reports on part-time workers in their profession.

From the Ontario Ministry of Labour list 140 collective agreements were selected for the survey sample.⁶ It represented roughly 30 percent of the agreements in Ontario covering both full-time and part-time professionals in bargaining units of 100 or more workers. Of the 140 agreements, 89 were from hospitals and the rest were from elementary schools. In terms of the total number of agreements covering elementary school teachers and hospital nurses in Ontario, this survey population represents 33 and 32 percent respectively.

After following the usual procedures of the survey method, the response rate was 64 percent from the employers.⁷ The majority (73 percent) of the respondents were human resources and/or industrial relations directors/specialists. One-way analysis of variance tests were conducted on survey data to see if the means were significantly different for each group of employees in each practice or perception. The qualitative data came from the interviews, internal union surveys and reports, the contents of the collective agreements, arbitration awards, legislation for the professionals, and remarks provided in responses to the survey.

Characteristics of the Employee Groups

The responses to our survey showed that about half of the employers referred to teachers (51 percent) and the rest (49 percent)

5. Prior to the interviews, a copy of the questionnaire was sent to all employers in the interview group with a request that they fill in the questionnaire and return it with their comments, on the day of the interview. This procedure resulted in minor changes in the questionnaire, such as including "not applicable" as a possible response item.

6. In order to keep the sample size within the budgetary limitations and to ensure a high response rate (Craig, Garnsey and Rubery 1984) agreements covering less than 100 workers were excluded. Also excluded were agreements that had an expiry date of 1988, the year the questionnaires were to be mailed.

7. Employers' responses include 10 organizations which sign separate but substantially similar agreements for full-time and part-time professionals. Although these two agreements are legally separate documents, in practice, they are implemented together as a single document. Therefore, the respondents provided a single reply covering both agreements. In the analysis section, the responses for these organizations are combined into one.

referred to nurses. The mean bargaining unit size was 727 employees (std. dev. 819, median 485, N=82). Of the nurses and teachers covered in this study, 50 and 12 percent, respectively, were working part-time.⁸ Although the percentage of unionized part-time nurses in our sample may seem quite high, it is comparable to the unionized part-time nurses population in Ontario (44 percent according to the nurses union). The percentage of part-time teachers in bargaining units is also representative of the part-time population in elementary schools in Ontario (14 percent according to union and employer interviews). Such a difference in the percentage of part-time professionals in each occupation is probably related to the work schedule in each occupation. While nurses work round-the-clock in two or three shifts, teachers have a relatively comfortable work schedule. They work approximately between 9 a.m.–4 p.m., and have two months off in the summer. It is possible that as a partial result of this shift work a higher percentage of nurses than teachers choose to work part-time.

As might be expected in dealing with two female dominated occupations (97 percent female for nurses and 79 percent female for elementary school teachers in Ontario) (Meltz and Marzetti 1988), the majority of the professionals covered in this survey were also female (76 percent). Although the survey asked for the percentage of females in the part-time group, in many cases the respondents had no information about this subject. In interviews, however, both employer and union representatives acknowledged that those working part-time were predominantly female.

RESULTS

Employer Perceptions

As presented in Table 1, means for employer perceptions of full-time, regular part-time, and casual part-time professionals' commitment to their jobs, efficiency at work, and the voluntary turnover rates were significantly different (at $p < .01$ level). Full-time professionals were perceived as having the highest commitment ($\bar{X}=1.07$, std.dev. 0.25), and efficiency ($\bar{X}=1.06$, std.dev. 0.23), as well as the lowest turnover rate ($\bar{X}=2.04$, std.dev. 0.86). Regular part-time professionals were perceived as relatively less committed ($\bar{X}=1.36$, std.dev. 0.48), and less efficient ($\bar{X}=1.28$, std.dev. 0.45). They were also perceived as having higher turnover rates than their full-time counterparts ($\bar{X}=1.88$, std.dev. 0.62).

8. Part-time employment figures include regular and casual part-time, where available.

Casual part-time professionals were perceived as a separate group with the least commitment (\bar{X} =2.24, std.dev. 0.78) and efficiency (\bar{X} =1.93, std.dev. 0.77), and the highest turnover rate (\bar{X} =1.44, std.dev. 0.78).

TABLE 1

Employers' Mean Perceptions on Full-Time and Part-Time Professionals (Standard deviations in parentheses)

Type of Worker	Commitment			Voluntary Turnover			Efficiency		
	N	mean	<i>F</i> ^a	N	mean	<i>F</i>	N	mean	<i>F</i>
Both Groups (N=83)	(std.dev.)			(std.dev.)			(std.dev.)		
Full-Time	73	1.07 (0.25)		72	2.04 (0.86)		71	1.06 (0.23)	
Regular Part-Time	72	1.36 (0.48)		73	1.88 (0.62)		71	1.28 (0.45)	
Casual Part-Time	62	2.24 (0.78)		63	1.44 (0.78)		58	1.93 (0.77)	
			85.25***			10.91***			48.84***
Teachers Only (N=42)									
Full-Time	34	1.12 (0.33)		32	2.03 (0.82)		35	1.09 (0.28)	
Regular Part-Time	33	1.21 (0.42)		32	1.72 (0.63)		35	1.23 (0.43)	
Casual Part-Time	25	2.00 (0.82)		26	1.12 (0.43)		26	1.92 (0.80)	
			22.87***			13.97***			21.56***
Nurses Only (N=41)									
Full-Time	39	1.03 (0.16)		40	2.05 (0.90)		36	1.03 (0.17)	
Regular Part-Time	39	1.49 (0.51)		41	2.00 (0.59)		36	1.33 (0.48)	
Casual Part-Time	37	2.41 (0.72)		37	1.68 (0.88)		32	1.94 (0.76)	
			70.45***			2.44*			27.04***

a: One way analysis of variance tests for significant differences in the means of employer perceptions for full-time, regular part-time and casual part-time employees.

* Significant at p<.10 level, **significant at p<.05 level, *** significant at p<.01 level.

Responses were: 1=highest commitment, highest voluntary turnover (quit) rates and highest efficiency, 2=perceived as second, 3=perceived as the last.

Examining employer perceptions separately for teachers and nurses (see Table 1) showed that for teachers the commitment, efficiency and turnover means were significantly different at p<.01 level.

For nurses, commitment and efficiency means were significant at $p < .01$ level, but turnover mean was significant only at $p < .10$ level. In particular, for regular part-time and full-time nurses the turnover rate was similar and lower than casual part-time nurses.

Union Views and Membership Surveys

Interviews with union leaders indicated that for those unions which had predominantly female membership,⁹ part-time work was considered a necessity or a preferred employment option for many of their part-time working members. While some of their members had chosen part-time work as a long-term career option, others wanted to work part-time while they were raising their children. The unions' membership surveys¹⁰ and recent studies on these professionals (Goldfarb Associates 1988; ACNM 1988; Meltz and Marzetti 1988; Zeytinoglu 1990) also indicated that part-time professionals, particularly those working in regular part-time schedules, had chosen part-time work because of their family responsibilities, and many wanted to continue to work part-time, at least for the foreseeable future.

For the nursing profession, in addition to the above reason of family responsibilities, the shift work as well as the increasingly demanding and stressful job also seemed to influence some nurses' preference to work part-time (Goldfarb Associates 1988; ACNM 1988).

Collective Agreement Clauses

According to the collective agreements¹¹ of professionals covered in this study, all vacancies are initially posted internally and qualified candidates from within are given priority in filling these vacancies. These professionals have relatively short career ladders. Below the managerial level, there is a single rank for all staff nurses and elementary school teachers, and new as well as senior professionals, whether working full-time or not, are employed in the same rank and perform the same job.

9. One of the interviewed unions was legally required to organize only male professionals, who were predominantly full-time. This union's president concurred with the other union leaders, saying that because of societal expectations, some of their female colleagues who were members of the other unions, had family responsibilities and therefore chose to work part-time.

10. The representatives from two unions were kind enough to share the preliminary results of membership surveys they were conducting at that time.

11. There is a master agreement for full-time and part-time staff nurses in all the hospitals covered in this study. In schools, there is a separate agreement in each school board. For this study, 30 randomly selected agreements from the school boards and the master agreement for nurses were analyzed.

However, nurses can move laterally from one nursing unit to another, and teachers from one class level to another, filling a full-time (or a part-time) vacancy, while continuing to be employed in the same rank.

In order to be considered for a full-time vacancy, the employee has to be qualified and has to have the skill, ability and the experience required for the vacant position. If two candidates were equal in terms of these three factors, then the employee with the greater seniority would be considered. Still, however, the final and binding selection decision is the employer's.¹²

Since seniority is an important factor in selection decisions, the seniority clauses in collective agreements were analyzed in detail. This analysis showed that in teachers' collective agreements seniority was prorated and there was a single seniority list for full-time and regular part-time teachers. Moreover, there were some other teachers' agreements¹³ which provided full year seniority only to a regular part-time teacher who worked 50 percent or more of a full-time schedule. Interviews with union representatives indicated that these clauses were incorporated into the collective agreements in the early 1980s when there was both an oversupply of teachers and a decline in budgets, and some teachers were forced to choose between working part-time and being laid off. Since this was considered a problem for all those in the teaching profession rather than for individual teachers alone, it had to be resolved by asking sacrifices from everyone rather than from a certain number of members. Therefore, in some collective agreements they negotiated the "part-time work with full-time seniority" clause to compensate for at least some of the costs incurred by those who were forced into part-time positions.

On the other hand, many of the teachers working on a casual basis as occasional or supply teachers are not organized (Zeytinoglu 1990). Those that were organized, however, had a separate seniority list because by legislation, they were excluded from the full-time and regular

12. See, for example, collective agreements of Wellington Board of Education, Art. 2.02, 13.08 and 13.15, 1986-88; Windsor Board of Education, Art. 18.09(a,f), 1987-89; Lanark County Board of Education, Art. 29.01, 1986-88; Carleton Board of Education, Art. 6.05(a), 1987-88; Central Agreement (Toronto Region), Art. E.1.10 and E.2.4, 1985-86; Durham Board of Education, Art. 5.12(b), 1986-87; ERC, Cases # 81 and 131; Frontenac County Board of Education, Art. 3.1, 1986-88; ONA - Participating Hospitals Agreement, Art. 10.01-10.06 (full-time agreement) and 10.01-10.05 (part-time agreement), 1988-91.

13. See, for example, collective agreements of City of Hamilton Board of Education, Art. 21.04, 1987-88; Windsor Board of Education, Art. 15.06, 1987-89; Central Agreement (Toronto Region), Art. ME.24.7, 1985-86; Sault St. Marie Board of Education, Art. 19.1.2, 1986-88.

part-time teachers' agreements.¹⁴ Therefore, as indicated in our interviews, in filling vacancies, casual part-time teachers were considered as new applicants and were eligible for vacancies only after full-time and regular part-time teachers had been given a chance to apply.

Analysis of nurses' collective agreement showed that in any employment decision, if all qualifications were equal, seniority governed. In filling vacancies, the most senior applicant, regardless of her full-time or part-time position, was considered preferentially.¹⁵

For the professionals covered in this study, advancement in their career was equivalent to moving vertically into a managerial position; and training, such as the Principals' Course for teachers and a Bachelor of Science in Nursing Degree for nurses, was a prerequisite for such positions (ACNM 1988; ERC, Case #54; Wintz 1987).

For teachers, collective agreements did not cover the Principals' Course. This course had to be taken on an individual's own time and expense. However, if full-time and regular part-time teachers wanted to move within the rank to a better position on their salary grid, according to their agreements they could request an educational leave which might be fully or partially reimbursed for this training period.¹⁶ Those working in occasional teaching schedules and covered under separate agreements were not provided with the same benefit since training clauses were not included in their collective agreements.

In a similar way, the nurses' agreement did not include a training clause which might help nurses to advance in their organization, although their agreement provided an educational leave which might be granted, without pay, only if the training was directly related to nurse's present employment.¹⁷

Employment Practices

The responses to our survey (presented in Table 2) revealed that, in practice, there were significant differences (at $p < .01$ level) in filling full-time vacancies for the three types of professionals, a finding which supports Hypothesis 1. The means indicated that a full-time professional

14. *School Boards and Teachers Collective Negotiations Act*, RSO 1980, c464, s1(m); *Education Act*, RSO 1980, c129, s1(230.1 & 2).

15. ONA – Participating Hospitals Agreement, Art. 10.06(c) (full-time agreement) and 10.05(c) (part-time agreement).

16. See, for example, Windsor Board of Education, Art. 18.07, 1987-89; Wellington County Board of Education, Art. 21, 1986-88.

17. ONA – Participating Hospitals Agreement, Art. 8.05 and 11.09 (both full-time and part-time agreements).

will fill a full-time vacancy ($\bar{X}=1.19$, std.dev. 0.54) prior to the other two groups of professionals. A regular part-time professional ($\bar{X}=1.93$, std.dev. 0.48) will be the second to fill a full-time vacancy, a casual part-time professional the last ($\bar{X}=2.89$, std.dev. 0.61).

TABLE 2
Filling Vacancies and Access to Training
(Standard deviations in parentheses)

Type of Worker Both Groups (N=83)	N	Filling Vacancies mean (std.dev.)	F ^a	N	Training mean (std.dev.)	F
Full-Time	74	1.19 (0.54)		53	1.04 (0.28)	
Regular Part-Time	72	1.93 (0.48)		52	1.42 (0.50)	
Casual Part-Time	61	2.89 (0.61)		31	2.42 (0.77)	
			163.02***			73.64***
Teachers Only (N=42)						
Full-Time	34	1.15 (0.50)		28	1.07 (0.38)	
Regular Part-Time	32	1.97 (0.54)		27	1.19 (0.40)	
Casual Part-Time	24	3.00 (0.59)		10	2.10 (0.74)	
			83.38***			19.77***
Nurses Only (N=41)						
Full-Time	40	1.23 (0.58)		25	1.00 (0.00)	
Regular Part-Time	40	1.90 (0.44)		25	1.68 (0.48)	
Casual Part-Time	37	2.81 (0.62)		21	2.57 (0.75)	
			80.77***			57.83***

a: One way analysis of variance tests for significant mean differences in the application of an employment policy on a given type of worker.

* Significant at p<.10 level, ** significant at p<.05 level, *** significant at p<.01 level.
 Responses were: 1=first to be considered for the policy, 2=second to be considered, 3=last to be considered.

As far as access to training programs to prepare employees for advancement to higher grades or other job opportunities is concerned,

more than a third¹⁸ of our employer respondents considered this question as not applicable to full-time and part-time professionals employed in these bargaining units, meaning that training for career advancement for these professionals was not within their responsibility. For casual part-time employees the not applicable responses were within the range of 48 to 75 percent.

Those employers that provided a ranking responded in line with Hypothesis 2. The survey results (see Table 2) revealed that full-time professionals had the priority ($\bar{X}=1.04$, std. dev. 0.28). Regular part-time professionals were considered second ($\bar{X}=1.42$, std.dev. 0.50), and followed by casual part-time professionals ($\bar{X}=2.42$, std.dev. 0.77). The differences in means were significant at $p<.01$ level.

Analyzing the employment practices data separately for nurses and teachers (see Table 2) also showed that for full-time, regular and casual part-time workers in each profession means in filling full-time vacancies and access to training were significantly different at $p<.01$ level.

DISCUSSION

Our results suggest that three factors might influence the career opportunities of full-time and part-time professionals. First, employers might perceive differences in work-related characteristics among full-time, regular part-time and casual part-time professionals. Influenced by these perceptions, they might provide different career opportunities to employees with the same qualifications. Second, professionals working in part-time employment schedules might have different career goals and interests than their full-time colleagues, and might therefore not be interested in career advancement which requires a full-time employment schedule. Third, collective agreement clauses or lack thereof might inhibit career opportunities for part-time professionals.

The analysis of collective agreements suggested that the procedure for selecting candidates based on seniority – when experience, skill and ability were equal – did indeed slow down the career progression of part-time professionals. Since part-time workers generally accumulate less seniority (Statistics Canada 1989) because they work fewer hours or days, they will automatically be considered after full-time employees. This is not, however, a deliberate act of either the employers or the unions to differentiate between employees, but simply a result of

18. 33% for full-time teachers, 36% for regular part-time teachers, 75% for casual part-time teachers; 38% for full-time and regular part-time nurses, and 48% for casual part-time nurses. There were two missing responses for casual part-time teachers and one missing response for full-time, regular and casual part-time nurses.

the collective agreements' general policy to provide equal and objective treatment to all employees working the same amount of time.

On the subject of access to training for possible managerial positions such as a principal's position, teachers' collective agreements did not have any clauses. It is generally accepted that taking the required courses for a principal position is an individual initiative and costs incurred has to be covered by the individual. However, for training to move to a better salary level within the rank, teachers' collective agreements have already established rational and objective application procedures which are equally accessible to full-time and regular part-time teachers. For teachers designated as casual part-time, there is no similar training clause in their agreements, and it seems that from the point of view of both employers and unions in the education sector, training is not considered necessary for casual part-time teachers. In addition, since many of these casual part-time teachers are not unionized they do not have the bargaining power to support their interests.

Similarly, the nurses' agreement has no clauses designed to prepare them for higher level positions. Negotiating such a clause might not be important for the union, since those trained will be placed in managerial positions which are outside their bargaining units. Without the pressure of the union, nurses' employers may not be willing to go to such an expense, despite the fact that it would represent an investment in their own human resources.¹⁹

Even though employers are subject to the constraints that operate in collective agreements, it is they who make the final decisions as to who should fill full-time vacancies and ultimately who should be promoted to managerial positions. Their decisions could possibly be influenced by their perceptions of their employees' work related characteristics. As employer responses to our survey indicated, they prefer to choose full-time employees whom they perceive as having "good" work characteristics, place them in the "core", and invest in them. However, they are less inclined to devote their resources to those part-time professionals whom they consider less committed, less efficient, and generally not as stable as full-time employees.

The simple economic theory dictates that for general training such as the type needed for promotion to managerial positions the majority of the training costs should be incurred by the individual. It is also an accepted fact that if employers were to share training expenses, then the rational behaviour would require them to choose full-time employees for training and promotion since there is a shorter period of return. While both of these arguments are plausible I do not believe that they are

19. Here readers should be reminded again that in hospitals and schools vacancies are initially filled from within.

unchangeable facts. For the employer, in terms of monetary costs it might be more profitable to provide access to training and promotion to full-time employees prior to their part-time counterparts. However, if one considers nonmonetary advantages of providing equal treatment to all employees in terms of employee loyalty, stability and satisfaction, then monetary costs might be less important. In addition, if employers were to share the cost of managerial training with their employees, then to cover training costs, employers could require these employees to provide an extended period of service. For part-time employees the service requirement could be further extended but performed on a part-time basis.²⁰

As our interviews with union leaders, union membership surveys, and the literature on the supply side showed, the differences in full-time and part-time professionals' opportunities for filling full-time vacancies and access to training were also related to the differences in career goals and interests of the employees themselves. The part-time professionals covered in this study were part-time by choice.²¹ Almost all of them start their careers full-time, and later on, during their child bearing/rearing years they opt for part-time jobs. Furthermore, in the last few years there has been such a labour shortage in these professions in Ontario, in practice, it is the professionals who dictate which employment schedules they want to work in; and an increasing number of those in their child bearing/rearing years are choosing to work part-time. Therefore, even if employers were to offer full-time vacant positions or training for advancement to these employees, it is possible that many part-time professionals would refuse, since they would be unwilling or unable to work full-time.

As a consequence of these factors, differences in career opportunities exist between full-time, regular part-time and casual part-time employees. As our results indicated, although full-time and part-time professionals perform the same tasks and have the same qualifications, full-time professionals are the first to fill full-time vacancies (which consists of the same duties performed in part-time employment), and have priority of access to training programs. Regular part-time professionals are second, and casual part-time professionals are last.

20. For example, if a full-time employee were required to provide 2 years of continuous employment for each year of training, then a 1/2 part-time employee might be required to provide 4 years of 1/2 part-time continuous employment for each year of training.

21. Some might be forced to choose part-time work because of family responsibilities, and others might work part-time voluntarily in order to spend more time with their families. The discussion of such reasons is beyond the scope of this study.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study analyzed the factors that might influence career opportunities for unionized part-time professionals in comparison with their full-time counterparts. The results of our study suggest the following conclusions. First, employers' less favourable perceptions of part-time professionals, the differences in career goals and interests of full-time and part-time professionals, and the constraints that operate in collective agreements, influence the career opportunities of part-time professionals. Second, although part-time professionals are in highly skilled and well-paid occupations, their overall work environment exhibits the typical employment characteristics of the periphery: there exists little opportunity for filling full-time vacancies and little access to training programs.

The results of this study raise an important practical question for the professionals working on a part-time basis: how is progress possible in their organizations? If collective agreements – as the ones studied here certainly do – require certain factors to be fulfilled or do not include clauses that give consideration to part-time employees' career progression, if employers have less favourable perceptions of part-time professionals, and if most part-time professionals are unable or unwilling to work in full-time schedules, then the possibility of advancement in their employing organizations will cease to exist.

It is possible that employers, unions, and even part-time employees themselves, might have a preconceived idea that career opportunities should be based on full-time employment only. Because, traditionally, in order to move up the career ladder, individuals have had to devote themselves to the employing organization on a full-time basis, it might be difficult for employers, unions, and for most employees to conceive of any other model. However, in the changing work environment of the 1990s, career opportunities do not have to be based only on the concept of full-time work only. Part-time career ladders, including managerial levels,²² could be established for those professionals who would like to pursue their career only on a part-time basis. The existence of part-time career ladders might spark the interest of part-time professionals in training programs which in turn might lead to higher level (including managerial) positions.

Creating part-time career ladders can be administratively difficult, but it is not unfeasible. Employers and unions could cooperate in designing part-time career ladders and developing evaluation systems for such

22. Although part-time principal and vice-principal positions exist in schools, these positions require the individual to spend full-time hours at work: 50 percent in a managerial capacity and 50 percent as a teacher.

careers. In the long term such a policy would be profitable for the organization because employees would be satisfied and thus more committed to their jobs, more efficient workers, and more likely to stay with the organization. Negotiating for and cooperating with the employer to develop part-time career ladders would also benefit the union. Part-time workers would perceive that their union is working towards improvement in working conditions for all workers, regardless of their employment schedules. Ultimately, such a strategy would produce a satisfied membership with confidence in their union and the benefits it provides to them.

For those part-time professionals who do not want to be promoted to a managerial position (whether full-time or part-time), but to excel in their profession, promotion within the profession, such as to a part-time specialist position could also be developed as an option. For others who would like to work in full-time jobs, employers as well as unions should provide career counselling, training and support for a smoother transition from part-time to full-time work.

The analyses presented here, though informative, are far from complete. Although this study suggested the impact of certain factors on the existing differences in part-time professionals' career opportunities, further research is needed to present clear linkages between them. One possible approach is to compare full-time, regular part-time and casual part-time professionals' records on filling vacancies, promotion, training, efficiency, and turnover in each organization on a longitudinal basis. This would be time-intensive, but necessary, I believe, to clearly substantiate the findings of this study.

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APPENDIX A

Definitions

FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES: Employees who regularly work the number of hours normally scheduled in the employer's work week.

PART-TIME EMPLOYEES: Employees who work less than full-time hours. This includes regular and casual employees.

REGULAR PART-TIME EMPLOYEES: Employees who usually work fewer than full-time hours in a week, month or year but on a regular basis.

CASUAL PART-TIME EMPLOYEES: Employees who work on a temporary, casual or occasional basis, usually for brief periods of time.

* Employees, who are not under the employer's payroll but are paid by an outside employment agency rather than the employer, are excluded from the survey.

Tasks

NURSES: The duties of full-time, regular part-time and casual part-time nurses are exactly the same: nursing care and health protection for patients, and supervising nursing students (ONA – Participating Hospitals Collective Agreement, Art. 2 and 8.08 (full-time and part-time agr.)). During the interviews, respondents representing both the employers and the union agreed that nurses deal with patients not as objects but as human beings. Because hospital management cannot entrust its patients to uninformed persons, it follows that all nurses, whether full-time or, regular or casual part-time, have exactly the same responsibilities towards their patients and towards the nursing unit.

TEACHERS: According to the *Education Act* full-time, part-time and occasional teachers [in our study referred to as full-time, regular part-time and casual part-time professionals, respectively] have the same duties: teaching, supervision and evaluation of students, and course design. Part-time teachers tasks are exactly the same as full-time, but comprise a percentage of the full-time teaching work. Occasional teachers' duties are exactly the same as full-time when they are employed for a long term (20 or more consecutive days). If employed for a short time period (less than 20 days, then the duties are substantially the same as full-time teachers (See, collective agreements between Ontario Catholic Occasional Teachers Association and Separate School Boards; Gillless 1984).

APPENDIX B

Survey Questions

A. BACKGROUND DATA

1. What is the approximate number of full-time, and part-time employees covered by this agreement? Full-Time Total Number __, Full-Time Female Only __, Part-Time Total Number __, Part-Time Female Only __.

C. PERCEPTIONS ON PART-TIME EMPLOYEES

- C.3. In your opinion which group of employees are more committed to their jobs? (Order from 1: most committed to 3: least committed; if ordering is the same write the number; if it is not applicable write NA.) Full-Time Employee __, Regular Part-Time Employee __, Casual Part-Time Employee __.
- C.4. In your opinion which group of employees have higher voluntary turnover (quit) rates? (Order from 1:highest to 3:lowest; if ordering is the same write the number; if it is not applicable write NA.) [The three groups of employees listed as in question #3.]
- C.5. In your opinion which group of employees work more efficiently? (Order from 1:most to 3: least; if ordering is the same write the number; if it is not applicable write NA.) [The three groups of employees are listed as in question #3.]

D. EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

- D.7. In practice who is promoted to a full-time vacancy (above entry-level) if there are equally qualified applicants? (Order from 1:first to 3:last; if ordering is the same write the number; if it is not applicable write NA.) [The three groups of employees are listed as in question #3.]
- D.13. Training refers to preparing employees for advancement to higher grades or other job opportunities.
In access to training programs priority is given to: (Order from 1:first to 3: last; if ordering is the same write the number; if it is not applicable write NA.) [The three groups of employees are listed as in question #3.]

***Le personnel professionnel à temps partiel
Possibilités d'emploi à plein temps et de formation***

Bien que les études publiées (voir, par exemple Beechey et Perkins 1987; Kassarow 1989; BIT 1989; Belous 1989; Mangum, Mayall et Nelson 1985) aient montré qu'il est plus probable que les personnes qui travaillent à temps partiel exercent leurs fonctions à la périphérie des organisations qui retiennent leurs services – une situation moins favorable aux perspectives de carrière et à la formation – aucune étude empirique n'existe sur la question de savoir pourquoi ces personnes, particulièrement celles qui occupent des postes professionnels syndiqués, sont soumises à de telles conditions. Le but de cette étude est d'examiner les facteurs qui pourraient influencer les possibilités de carrière du personnel à temps partiel par rapport à celles de leurs collègues à temps plein.

Les données de l'étude proviennent de quatre sources: i) un relevé des organisations ayant des conventions collectives couvrant le temps plein et le temps partiel; ii) des entrevues avec des membres de la direction des syndicats; iii) les relevés des syndicats sur leur propre effectif et des études sur la disponibilité de la main-d'oeuvre; iv) une analyse du contenu des conventions collectives. Les données ont été analysées pour déterminer, en un premier temps, les facteurs qui pourraient influencer les possibilités de carrière

du personnel à temps partiel et pour montrer, en un deuxième temps, que suite à ces facteurs, des différences existent en ce qui concerne les possibilités de carrière de la main-d'oeuvre à temps plein et de celle à temps partiel de même qualification.

Les résultats de cette étude suggèrent les conclusions suivantes. En premier lieu, les perceptions moins favorables qu'ont les gestionnaires du personnel professionnel à temps partiel, les différences qui existent entre les objectifs et les intérêts de carrière des personnes à temps partiel d'une part et de celles à temps plein d'autre part, et les contraintes que comportent les conventions collectives ou l'absence de clauses de convention collective, constituent autant de facteurs qui influencent les chances de carrière du personnel professionnel à temps partiel. En deuxième lieu, bien que ce personnel occupe des postes hautement qualifiés et bien rémunérés, leur milieu de travail, pris dans son ensemble, présente les caractéristiques typiques de l'emploi telles qu'on les trouve dans la périphérie: peu de possibilités de remplir des postes vacants à plein temps et peu d'accès aux programmes de formation.

**L'ENSEIGNEMENT ET LA RECHERCHE EN RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES
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