# Contingent 

 Work
# A Chart Book on Part-Time and Temporary Employment 

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## INTRODUCTIION

The U.S. economy is undergoing a major change in the way labor is used and people are employed. Individuals are now less likely to stay with one company for the duration of their career and employers are investing less in maintaining a stable workforce. Instead, workers are much more likely to work at several companies throughout their career and employers increasingly maintain only a core of traditional, full-time employees, opting to use other employment arrangements to adapt to changes in production. A new term has been coined to describe the workers who are directly affected by these changes: contingent workers. Contingent workers are those who are employed in jobs that do not fit the traditional description of a full-time, permanent job with benefits. Contingent work can take many forms, including part-time, temporary, and contract employment.

Although there has always been a contingent workforce, the number of contingent workers has risen dramatically since 1970, prompting calls to improve procedures for identifying and tracking these workers. Further, questions have been raised concerning the effects of a growing contingent workforce on the economy and on workers themselves.

The growth of contingent work is an indication that employment relations are being transformed from those in which employers provide full-time, permanent jobs with opportunities for advancement and substantial benefits -- such as vacation and sick pay, health insurance and retirement pensions -- to more "flexible" arrangements that often mean less job security, limited advancement, lower wages, and fewer benefits.

Part of the increase in the number of contingent workers is due to the legitimate needs of employers and employees who must adapt to the pressures of competing in a global market. If, however, the impetus for change is only to meet the evolving needs of the work environment, then we would not expect to see the lower wages and lack of fringe benefits which are currently part of the price of being a contingent worker.

Despite on-going difficulties with accurately identifying and tabulating the numbers of contingent workers, certain trends and issues have become increasingly clear:

- it is the demands of employers for a more flexible workforce and not employees' needs which have fueled the increasing numbers of contingent workers. The increase in contingent employment consists mainly of workers who would choose full-time employment if it were available;
(he contingent workforce is growing more rapidly than employment overall;
- contingent workers receive lower pay than regular full-time employees and are usually barred from the available fringe benefits;
- because of the uncertain nature of contingent work, these workers -- and society as a whole -- lose out on the investments in human resources such as on-the-job-training which would raise the skill level of the workforce and improve economic productivity;
n contingent workers generally fall outside the web of worker protections that have been established for full-time workers;
nomen, minorities, and workers under 24 or over 65 years of age are overrepresented in the contingent workforce;
ne growing number of contingent workers is altering employment for all workers. New policies must be developed to address these changes in the employment relationship.
Yet, despite these clearly emerging trends, little has been done to compile data on these workers and to extend employment protections to them.


## HOW MANY CONTINGENT WORKERS?

It is difficult to measure the amount and growth of contingent employment because it is such a new development that the data collection methods of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) are not geared toward counting these workers as a group. We can get an idea of contingent employment, however, by looking at the different parts of the contingent workforce for which the BLS or other agencies do collect data: part-time workers, temporary workers, and contract employees or independent consultants. Although this method is imprecise, since some contingent workers will appear in more than one category and others fall outside of these categories, Richard Belous (1989) has developed a range that factors in these reporting difficulties. He estimates that the number of contingent workers in 1988 was between 29.9 million and 36.6 million, representing $25-30$ percent of the civilian labor force.

Contingent forms of employment, then, are important because they now represent a substantial part of the labor force. Further, they are growing faster than the workforce as a whole. Thus, their share of total employment can be expected to continue to grow.

## Part-time Workers

Part-time employment, a form of contingent employment that is relatively long-standing, grew from 16.4 percent of all nonagricultural workers in 1970 to 18.0 percent in 1990, mostly as a result of increased employer interest in hiring part-time workers. Part-time employment grew more rapidly before 1970. Between 1957 and 1970, part-time employment grew from 12.1 to 16.4 percent of all employment. Currently, almost 1 in 5 workers is a part-timer, 19.6 million workers, out of the total civilian workforce of 108.7 million, worked fewer than 35 hours per week in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1991). ${ }^{1}$

Part-timers are classified by the BLS into two categories: voluntary and involuntary. A voluntary part-time worker is defined as someone who works fewer than 35 hours a week by choice. An involuntary part-time worker is defined as someone who works fewer than 35 hours a week because she or he cannot find a full-time job. The recent growth in part-time
employment (since 1970) has been almost entirely due to the growth in involuntary part-time employment. As the Table in Figure 1 shows, between 1970 and 1990 part-time workers increased as a share of the workforce. Nearly 90 percent of this increase was due to the growth in involuntary part-time employment. Voluntary part-time employment as a share of total employment grew only 0.3 percentage points over the two decades.

FIGURE 1
Part-Timers At Work As A Percent Of Total At Work

| Year | Total <br> Part-Time | Voluntary <br> Part-Time | Involuntary <br> Part-Time |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1970 | 16.4 | 13.3 |  |
| 1971 | 16.8 | 13.4 | 3.1 |
| 1972 | 16.8 | 13.5 | 3.4 |
| 1973 | 16.6 | 13.5 | 3.3 |
| 1974 | 17.1 | 13.6 | 3.1 |
| 1975 | 18.4 | 13.8 | 3.5 |
| 1976 | 18.0 | 13.8 | 4.6 |
| 1977 | 18.0 | 13.9 | 4.2 |
| 1978 | 17.7 | 13.9 | 4.0 |
| 1979 | 17.6 | 13.8 | 3.8 |
| 1980 | 18.4 | 13.8 | 3.8 |
| 1981 | 20.6 | 13.9 | 4.5 |
| 1982 | 20.0 | 13.7 | 4.9 |
| 1983 | 18.9 | 13.8 | 6.5 |
| 1984 | 18.7 | 13.5 | 6.5 |
| 1985 | 18.7 | 13.2 | 5.7 |
| 1986 | 18.4 | 13.3 | 5.4 |
| 1987 | 18.4 | 13.4 | 5.3 |
| 1988 | 18.1 | 13.7 | 5.0 |
| 1989 | 18.0 | 13.8 | 4.7 |
| 1990 |  | 13.6 | 4.3 |
|  |  |  | 4.5 |

Note: Includes only nonagricultural wage and salary workers at work.
Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook Of Labor Statistics, August 1989, Table 23, and Employment And Earnings, January 1990 and 1991, Table 32.

The index of employment growth presented in Figure 2 illustrates the same point more dramatically. Using the year 1970 as the base year, growth in voluntary part-time employment has grown at roughly the same rate as overall employment. However, growth in involuntary part-time employment has in some years -- such as in the recessionary period in the early 1980s -- been five times as great as overall employment growth. Over the entire twenty-year
period shown in Figure 2, involuntary part-time employment more than doubled (grew 121 percent) while voluntary part-time employment, as well as total employment (full- and parttime) grew by 57 and 54 percent respectively. These data suggest that the growth in part-ime employment is being fueled by employers' increased demand for part-time workers, not by workers' increased desire for part-time jobs.

Figure 2
Employment Growth, 1970-1990


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and authors' calculations.

> Growth in involuntary part-time employment is causing total part-time employment to grow faster than total employment.

Another indication of the shift toward part-time employment is that weekly hours of work for part-time workers are growing faster than weekly hours for full-time workers (Figure 3). Combined with the more rapid increase in part-time than full-time employment, this signals an increase in the share of work done by part-timers. Perhaps this is an indication that firms are attempting to use part-time workers very much like full-time workers, while still maintaining their contingent status. Coupled with the disproportionate growth in the involuntary component of part-time employment, this increase in the hours of part-time workers may also suggest that this is an employer-driven phenomenon. ${ }^{2}$

Figure 3

## Growth in Average Weekly Hours of

Full- and Part-Time Workers, 1976-1990


Another indication of the shift toward part-time workers: hours for part-time workers are growing faster than hours for full-time workers.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that some workers prefer part-time jobs and some part-time jobs provide wages, benefits, and advancement opportunities that are comparable to full-time jobs. Tilly (1991) refers to these good part-time jobs as retention part-time jobs -- alternative arrangements created when employers do not want to lose valuable full-time employees who desire part-time status. Employers reduce the hours for these employees to facilitate their retention. The conditions of employment, however, are more like those for full-time workers than for the majority of part-time workers whose employment conditions are notably inferior.

## Temporary Workers

The term temporary employment refers to employment that is regarded as temporary -- of limited duration -- by both the employee and the employer; the job is expected to last for a specified length of time. Usually, a temporary arrangement implies that the involvement is short, measured in days, weeks, or months, rather than years. Temporary employment may take the form of on-call arrangements between particular employees and employers, the use
of temporary help supply firms, or short-term direct hires (in which the employer hires shortterm workers directly without the use of an intermediary firm).

BLS data for Temporary Help Supply (THS, SIC 7362) or Help Supply Services (HSS, SIC 7363) form the basis for most of what is known about temporary workers. Temporary work is a more recent phenomenon than part-time work, and data have been collected and analyzed by the BLS only since 1982. In 1990 the BLS decided to eliminate THS as a reporting category and reclassified the data for THS into HSS, which also includes leased employees and miscellaneous personnel supply services (those not classified elsewhere). ${ }^{3}$ In employee leasing, leasing firms contract to provide a specified number and type of worker to the client employer for a specified time period, handling all hiring, firing, payroll, and personnel issues for the client. Because there is no expectation of permanent employment with the "client," leased employees may also be considered temporary employees. According to the BLS, temporary and leased employment (SIC 7363) has grown from 417,400, workers in 1982 to $1,295,900$ workers in $1990 .^{4}$ Temporary employment has grown nearly three times as fast as overall employment since 1982 (Figure 4).

Figure 4 Growth of Temporary Employment, 1982-1990


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and authors' calculations. Note: Temporary employment refers to persons working in the help supply services industry.

Temporary employment has grown three times faster than overall employment.

One data source, the County Business Patterns, which is collected by the Census Bureau, provides information about THS employment back to 1968. It indicates that THS employment grew from 136,218 in 1968 to 1,075,730 in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991a). Yet another indicator of THS growth is the receipts of THS firms; these nearly doubled during the five-year period 1985-1989 -- going from $\$ 11.2$ billion in 1985 to $\$ 18.8$ billion (in 1985 constant dollars) in $1989 .{ }^{5}$ Thus, by all available measures, this visible type of temporary employment is growing far more rapidly than employment overall.

Temporary workers can also be part-time workers; BLS estimates that 40 percent of temporary workers also work fewer than 35 hours per week (Howe, 1986). But just as with part-time workers, employers are using more temporary workers and they are using them for more hours. The weekly hours of temporary workers have increased from an average of 27.1 hours per week in 1982 to an average of 30.8 hours per week in 1990 (Figure 5). Many observers have argued that employers are increasing their reliance on temporary workers. In some cases they may be using temporary workers not only to adjust to fluctuations in the demand for their output but also as part of their regular staffing strategy.

Figure 5
Average Weekly Hours of Temporary Workers, 1982-1990


[^0]Temporary workers are being used for more hours.

The government data on temporary workers do not include information about temporary workers that are hired directly by firms (without the assistance of an agency). However, some sources estimate that direct-hire temporary workers number as many as temporary workers hired through agencies.

## Contract Workers

In addition to part-time workers and temporary workers, various contract arrangements may also be considered forms of contingent employment. Firms sometimes contract for specific jobs to be transferred from their premises to a job shop (another employer), thus decreasing the size of their requisite permanent staff. Sometimes, as in food service and cleaning, the jobs remain on the premises but the employees are transferred to another employer's payroll and supervision. Some contractors are self-employed individuals, such as professional consultants or building trades craftworkers, offering their services for the duration of a specific job.

The number of individuals reporting income only as self-employed or independent contractors (IRS Form 1099) grew 53.6 percent, from 6.2 to 9.5 million, between 1985 and 1988, according to the General Accounting Office (GAO, 1991) compilation of IRS data reported in Workers at Risk. By determining which independent contractors have only one "client," the IRS is investigating the extent to which employers may be fraudulently hiring workers as independent contractors in order to avoid paying them either legally required benefits, such as Social Security, or discretionary company benefits, such as health insurance and pension contributions. The IRS considers individuals who are independent contractors with only one client as "misclassified." These misclassified independent contractors are really contingent workers who are employees of a single firm, but do not have employee status or the benefits that employee status entails.

## The Sum Total

Belous (1989) has prepared estimates of the entire contingent workforce. He attempts to eliminate the problems of double counting and undercounting by formulating both a cautious and a generous estimate: he calculated that in 1988 there were between 29.9 million and 36.6 million contingent workers. The lower estimate of 29.9 million is comprised of 68 percent part-time and temporary workers; the remainder consists of self-employed or contract employees. The upper estimate of 36.6 million is comprised of 57 percent part-time and temporary workers and 43 percent self-employed or contract employees. Either estimate represents a significant portion of the civilian labor force -- about $25-30$ percent.

Figure 6 summarizes information about the growth of those types of contingent employment for which we have the most reliable numbers: part-time and temporary (HSS) employment. Involuntary part-time employment and temporary employment are growing especially fast.

Figure 6
Change in Contingent Employment,
1970-1990

*Note: Change in contingent employment for help supply services in 1982-1990. Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and authors' calculations.

> Contingent employment is growing faster than overall employment.

## WHY BE CONCERNED?

The growth and magnitude of contingent employment are disturbing because of the potential negative effects on the overall economy, the inequities and lack of workplace protections that many contingent workers experience, and the potential burden these inequities may place on our welfare system. Currently, the rise in the number of contingent workers indicates that employers are opting for a low-wage, high turnover staffing strategy. Yet productivity and long-term competitiveness are served by high-wage, low turnover paths.

## Economy-Wide Effects

The growth of contingent work affects the overall economy through two important channels: demand and productivity. Workers' wages are a crucial factor in our economic
system, as they fuel effective demand. Because workers are also consumers, it is in everyone's interest to pay them a living wage. Yet, according to a recent study by Tilly (1991), the increased use of part-time workers and the low wages paid to them may be allowing employers to turn more and more toward a low-wage, high turnover staffing strategy.

In services and trade, where, as we shall see, part-time work is used the most, there has been very little productivity growth. Low wages allow firms to operate inefficiently, yet maintain profits because they have successfully "squeezed" labor. Instead of pursuing a highproductivity growth strategy, these firms are following a low-wage strategy -.. a strategy that may appear to be effective in the short run, but does not work in the long run. Higher wage workers mean lower turnover and more productive workers, placing economic growth on a stronger footing. In order for U.S. firms to compete more effectively in the global economy, we will have to move to a high-wage, high-productivity work organization. Such a work organization requires well-educated, committed workers whose skills and abilities help firms adjust to change.

Figure 7
Hourly Wages of Part-Time Workers as a Percent of Full-Time Workers, 1973-1989


Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Note: Cost of benefits is cost as a percent of payroll.

Part-timers earn less than full-timers, but this wage differential has changed little over time.

## Pay Inequities

Contingent workers, whether part-time workers or temporary workers, earn less than "regular" workers. Part-time workers earn about 60 percent of the hourly wages that full-time workers earn -- $\$ 5.06$ per hour in 1990 compared to $\$ 8.09$ per hour for full-time workers paid by the hour. ${ }^{6}$ Figure 7 shows that the ratio of hourly earnings of part-timers to full-timers has not changed much over time. Temporary workers fare better than part-time workers, averaging $\$ 7.73$ per hour in 1990 , but still earn lower wages than all wage and salary workers who, on average earn $\$ 10.03$ (Figure 8). ${ }^{7}$ Just as for the relative earnings of part-time workers, the earnings of temporary workers relative to all workers have remained stable over time.

Growing wage inequality does not appear to be a reason for the increasing shift toward contingent work; wage inequality does not appear to have been growing. Yet the lower wage level of contingent workers can certainly serve as an inducement for employers to substitute contingent workers for permanent full-time workers, a substitution that can also result in lower wages for the regular workers. One study (Rebitzer and Taylor, 1991) found that a high proportion of part-time workers in an industry depresses the wages of male, full-time workers in the industry and reduces the likelihood that they have health or pension benefits. Bad jobs may drive out good jobs, causing hardship both for the workers involved and the economy as a whole.

Figure 8
Hourly Earnings of Temporary Workers as a Percent of All Workers, 1982-1990


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics special series.
Note: Temporary workers are those employees in the help supply services industry. All workers refers to nonsupervisory and production workers.

## Occupational Concentration

Part-time and temporary workers are concentrated in particular occupations. Part-time workers are more likely to be in service, sales, administrative support, and unskilled occupations and less likely to be managers or professionals (Figure 9). Temporary workers are disproportionately in clerical and unskilled laborer and operative occupations (Figure 10). The result of this is that contingent workers are in occupations that are the lowest paying. Firms that use temporary workers normally do not want to invest in the training of these workers, nor do they structure career ladders for the workers who fill these positions. Parttime work also is typically short in duration. This drastically diminishes the opportunities for increased earnings and advancement for contingent workers. Traditionally, workers in entrylevel clerical or operator jobs gain training and firm-specific skills which help them to progress into higher-paying and higher-skilled positions. Use of contingent workers, however, reduces the possibility of upward mobility for these workers.

Figure 9
Occupational Distribution and Mean Hourly Wage of Full and Part-Time Employment in 1990


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics; unpublished data from the Census Bureau. Note: Numbers in parenthesis represent mean hourly wage for full- and part-time employment.

In comparison to full-timers, part-timers are concentrated in low-paying occupations.

Figure 10
Occupational Distribution and Mean Hourly Wage
of Temporary Help Supply Services and All Industry in 1985


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics; unpublished data from the Census Bureau. Notes: Industry occupation data are for May 1985. Numbers in parenthesis represent mean hourly wage for temporary help supply services and all industry.

Temporary workers are concentrated in low-paying occupations.

## Lack of Worker Protections

The institutions and laws that provide worker protections and a social safety net were conceived and established for the full-time, permanent worker who receives employer-provided benefits. Contingent workers normally do not have access to these protections. Occupational safety and health regulations (OSHA), unemployment insurance, and pension regulations [the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA)] are frequently nullified by some of the alternative employment arrangements that have emerged. For example, in many states workers must meet a minimum earnings requirement to be eligible for unemployment insurance. Because of irregular hours and low pay, contingent workers are less likely to meet these requirements than full-time, permanent workers. These policies obviously discriminate against those in the contingent workforce. Similarly, OSHA regulations do not include the monitoring of contingent workers who come and go frequently at many different workplaces. Developing methods of tracking the health and safety of contingent workers is not even one of OSHA's current goals.

Federal regulations governing pension coverage (ERISA) exclude many contingent workers. Under ERISA, employers that have pension plans are not required to cover employees working fewer than 1,000 hours a year. Nor must employers extend pension benefits to temporary workers who work fewer than six months out of the year. ${ }^{8}$ Independent contractors are not viewed as employees and are fully excluded from federal regulations about pensions. Because of their low wages and reduced working hours, many contingent workers are likely to receive low Social Security benefits which are based on average lifetime earnings. With no private pensions and low Social Security benefits, retired contingent workers may turn to needs-based welfare programs more often than other workers.

Finally, few part-time workers and virtually no temporary or contract employees are represented by labor unions. The lack of this protection can result in major inequities among workers in the same workplace. Workers working side by side doing the same jobs may have vastly different wages, benefits, and rights. Further, without union representation, contingent workers may be denied due process when problems arise and thus they can be more easily dismissed.

Figure 11

## Voluntary and Involuntary Part-Time Workers Without Health Insurance, 1979.1988



Source: General Accounting Office.
Note: Based on GAO analysis of workers at risk, using data from the Census Bureau, March 1989 Current Population Survey.

Many part-time workers, especially those who would rather be full-time workers, have no health insurance.

## Health Benefits

In the United States, a standard part of the compensation that workers receive is employer-provided health care benefits. However, the majority of contingent workers do not have the same access to fringe benefits as full-time, permanent workers. For instance, parttime workers are less likely to receive benefits than full-time workers. GAO reports that in 1988 less than 15 percent of part-time workers received employer-provided health insurance while more than 65 percent of full-time workers received this benefit (Figure 11). The study also found that involuntary part-time workers were nearly three times more likely not to have health insurance from any source (employer, spouse, or other) than voluntary part-timers. In fact, the proportion of involuntary part-timers without health insurance rose 11 percentage points, to 37 percent, from 1979 to 1988 (Figure 12). A 1990 survey of 435 employers by Hewitt Associates reports similar results; 99 percent of full-time employees in the surveyed firms received medical benefits. Medical coverage for part-time workers, however, was dependent on the number of hours worked per week, with only 15 percent of those working fewer than 20 hours per week receiving any employer-paid (fully or partially) health insurance (Tigure 13). And part-time workers were even less likely to have employer-paid health insurance for their dependents, placing a special burden on those without other access to insurance (Figure 14).

Temporary workers also receive significantly fewer benefits than permanent employees. According to a BLS 1987 industry wage survey of the THS industry, only 24 percent of temporary workers received employer-provided (wholly or partially paid for by the employer) hospital insurance, 23 percent received medical insurance, and 23 percent received major medical benefits (Figure 15). Moreover, there is virtually always an employment duration requirement -- such as a minimum number of hours worked or months employed - that the temporary worker must fulfill before becoming eligible for benefits. For example, of the 24 percent receiving hospital insurance benefits, 9 percent had an hours requirement of anywhere from 200 to 2,000 hours, and 15 percent had some other type of eligibility requirement to meet.

Figure 16 shows the percent of temporary workers receiving an assortment of different benefits from employers. The benefits that are commonly provided in conjunction with permanent employment -- such as paid holidays and paid vacations -- are not a common part of temporary employment. Again, these benefits are provided, almost always, only after a specified duration requirement has been met.

Low wages and a lack of benefits result in economic hardship and poverty for contingent workers more often than for other workers. Involuntary part-time workers have a poverty rate of 16.5 percent, which is slightly higher than unemployed people who are out of work and seeking a job ( 15.3 percent), and much higher than for full-time workers (2.7 percent). Society, along with the individual worker, bears the burden of discrimination in

Health Insurance Coverage Status of
Full and Part-Time Workers in 1988


Source: General Accounting Office.
Note: Based on GAO analysis of workers at risk, using data from the Census Bureau, March 1989 Current Population Survey.

Figure 13
Partially or Fully Paid Medical Benefits Offered to Employees, by Full or Part-Time Status in 1991


Source: Hewitt Associates survey of 435 employers.

Figure 14

## Partially or Fully Paid Medical Benefits for Dependents, by Full or Part-Time Status in 1991



Source: Hewitt Associates survey of 435 employers.

Part-timers have less medical coverage for their families as well.
compensation against contingent workers. The BLS found that more than one in three Americans who had some involuntary part-time work during the first six months of 1985 received some form of cash or in-kind government assistance. If this ratio still holds, then in 1990 more than 1.6 million people received government assistance because they could not obtain full-time work.

Figure 15
Percent of Temporary Workers Receiving Employer-Provided Hospital, Medical or Major Medical Insurance Coverage


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics.
Note: Temporary workers are those employees in the help supply services industry.


Few temporary workers receive employer-provided health care insurance or other discretionary benefits.

Figure 16
Percent of Temporary Workers Receiving Other Assorted Benefits


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics.
Note:Temporary workers are those employees in the help supply services industry.

## WHO IS AFEECTED?

Those employed in part-time work are disproportionately female, younger (16-24), or older ( $65+$ ), and those employed in temporary work are disproportionately female, minority, and young. Some workers, such as parents caring for children, students, or retired people, may have a preference for part-time or temporary employment that allows them to work without making a full-time, long-term commitment. However, since involuntary part-time employment accounts for most of the growth in part-time employment overall, worker preference for part-time employment is not a complete explanation for the concentration of women, young people, and old people in part-time employment. The majority of temporary workers ( 60 percent) work every day, and another 20 percent report that they work part-time involuntarily. These workers are most likely not seeking temporary work for reasons related to flexibility; it is more likely that temporary jobs are all they can find. Figures 17 through 19 illustrate the disproportionate representation of particular demographic groups in contingent work.

Figure 17 shows that nearly two-thirds of teenagers, one-half of those over 65, and one-fourth of women who are at work are part-timers (while for the workforce as a whole the proportion working part-time is 18 percent). Blacks and other racial minorities, men, and adults in their prime working years (ages $25-54$ ) all work disproportionately less at part-time jobs. Figure 18 illustrates the contrast in the demographic composition of full-time and parttime job holders.

Based on a special 1985 survey of workers placed in temporary jobs by THS firms, the BLS reported that about two of three ( 64.2 percent) temporary workers were women. Since women represent about two of five ( 45 percent) workers in all industries, women are clearly overrepresented in temporary work. Blacks are also overrepresented in the temporary help supply industry; they are twice as likely to be temporary workers ( 20.2 percent) as they are to be workers in all industries combined (10.4 percent) (Howe, 1986).

A study by Lapidus (1989), using the same survey data, indicates that the overrepresentation among blacks and other minority races is greater for males than for females; a black male is much more likely than a white male to be a temporary worker. Lapidus also found that women temporary workers had more education than other women workers, while male temporary workers had less education than other male workers. For women temporary workers, the largest number are in clerical jobs, while for men the largest number are in laborer jobs (handlers \& equipment cleaners), among the lowest paid jobs for men. Figure 19, based on Lapidus' study, shows the overrepresentation of white and minority women and minority men in temporary work compared to all work.

The disproportionate representation in contingent work of groups that typically experience discrimination in the labor market suggests that for most workers contingent work

Figure 17

## Part-Time Employment as a <br> Percent of Total in 1990



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and authors' calculations.

Part-timers are disproportionately women, younger, or older workers.

Figure 18
Distribution of Full and Part-Time Workers in 1990


[^1]is a last resort rather than a first choice. The limited opportunities for decent wages and benefits and the make-up of the contingent workforce suggest that the progress brought about by affirmative action, pay equity, and other equal opportunity programs is likely to be eroded as contingent work continues to grow.

Figure 19
Demographics of Temporary Help Supply Services and All Industry Workers in 1985


Source: Census Bureau, Current Population Survey and authors' calculations. Note: Calculations based on May 1985 CPS data and 1985 annual averages for all indusiries.

Temporary workers are disproportionately female.

Despite the obvious disproportion, however, it is often assumed that the overrepresentation of women in contingent work reflects women's preferences rather than discrimination or any difficulty in finding stable full-time jobs. It is important to note that although women are the majority of contingent workers, the majority of women are not contingent workers. Like male workers, who are also working primarily to support themselves and their families, women workers increasingly seek full-time employment. Between 1980 and 1990, the proportion of all women at work who were working full-time increased from 71.9 percent to 73.9 percent (U.S. Department of Labor, August 1989 and January 1991). For
women in their prime working years, ages 20-54 (which are also the childbearing and childrearing years), the proportion of women working full-time is even higher and also increased between 1980 and 1990, from 74.9 percent to 76.6 percent for white women and from 82.2 percent to 84.5 percent for black women (U.S. Department of Labor, January 1981 and January 1991). Accordingly, the share of all part-time workers who were women also fell during the decade. And, according to BLS establishment data, which allow comparisons over time, women also decreased their share of temporary work (THS) between 1982 and 1988 (Hartmann and Lapidus, 1989). In her analysis of the special survey of THS workers, Lapidus (1989) found that women who are temporary workers do not differ in their family characteristics from all other women workers; they are not more likely to have young children, for example.

Another sign of women's growing commitment to employment, in spite of the difficulty they face in finding full-time jobs, is the increase in the number of women moonlighting -holding more than one job. The number of women with multiple jobs increased nearly fivefold (from 636,000 to $3,109,000$ ) between 1970 and 1989. Of all multiple job-holders, more women ( 33 percent) than men ( 11.3 percent) put together full-time schedules by combining part-time jobs. They needed full-time earnings but could only find part-time jobs. The rate of multiple job holding was highest for women who were the main breadwinners for their families (Stinson, 1990). Thus, there is ample evidence that, just as for many male workers, contingent work is often a last choice for women.

## WHY IS CONTINGENT EMPLOYMENT GROWING MORE RAPIDLY NOW?

The growth in each component of the contingent workforce has been primarily motivated by three different, but overlapping, factors. First, part-time employment has been particularly affected by changes in industrial structure that have taken place over the last two decades. The industries where use of part-time work is particularly common have grown disproportionately more than other industries. Second, all three types of contingent employment -- part-time, temporary, and contract work -- present the opportunity to employers for significant savings in labor costs, particularly in fringe benefits. These savings provide a definite inducement for employers to switch from full-time, permanent employees to contingent employees. Third, all also provide employers with one means of achieving flexibility, an aspect of the production of goods and services that is increasingly important in an economy characterized by greater diversity, shifts in demand, and heightened international competition.

Part of the motivation for maintaining a flexible workforce comes from business' attempts to adapt to greater variability in demand and to an increasingly competitive global market. However, data shows that the hiring patterns of contingent workers are becoming less
and less cyclical, suggesting that rather than filling short-term needs, contingent workers are meeting the demands of a full-time job. Further, contingent workers are only one solution to the issue of flexibility. Techniques such as cross-training, job sharing, and flextime provide for functional flexibility without expecting the workers to sacrifice the privileges of a full-time employee. Yet the number of contingent workers continues to grow.

## Structural Shifts

The long-term shift away from durable and nondurable manufacturing and toward trade and services that continued during the 1970-1990 period has led to the increased use of parttime workers. The percentage of all nonagricultural wage and salary workers employed in durable manufacturing decreased from 17.8 percent in 1970 to 11.7 percent in 1990 and those in nondurable manufacturing decreased from 12.4 percent in 1970 to 8 percent in 1990. Correspondingly, the percentage of nonagricultural wage and salary workers employed in wholesale and retail trade increased from 19.5 percent in 1970 to 21.4 percent in 1990 and those in services increased from 23.9 percent in 1970 to 32.6 percent in 1990. Figures 20 and 21 illustrate the structural shifts in the economy and the disproportionate growth in trade and services. As Figure 22 illustrates, trade and services are the sectors where part-time employment is most heavily concentrated.

Figure 20
Distribution of Workers by Major Industry,
1970, 1980 and 1990


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and authors'calculations.
Note: Data are for nonagricultural wage and salary workers.

There has been a shift away from manufacturing toward trade and services. These structural changes help explain the growth in part-time employment.

Between 1970 and 1990, part-time workers in trade and services increased their share of the total nonagricultural wage and salary workforce from 11 to 14 percent. By 1990 one in seven workers was a part-time worker in trade or services. Tilly (1991) attributes this phenomenal amount of part-time employment to strategic decisions by firms in these industries to adopt a low-wage, low-skill, high turnover path to profit-making. He notes that part-time employment has grown most in the less skilled occupations. Tilly argues that the use of lowwage, part-time labor "facilitated the growth in demand (in these sectors) by enabling employers. . . to keep prices relatively low despite lagging productivity growth."

Figure 21
Employment Growth in Trade and Services, 1970-1990


The trade and service sectors of the economy have grown faster than all industries.

Figure 22
Distribution of Part-Time Employment
by Industry in 1990


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and authors' calculations.
Note: Employment data are for wage and salary workers only.

Part-time employment is concentrated in trade and services -- the sectors that have grown the most over the last two decades.

## Avoidance of Fringe Benefit Costs

Falling wages do not explain the increase in part-time or temporary employment. As shown above, the wage differential between part-timers and full-timers has remained roughly the same for more than fifteen years, with part-time wages varying between $59-62$ percent of full-time wages. The wages of temporary workers relative to regular workers, while higher than for part-timers, also have not changed much over time. Temporary workers are not necessarily cheaper -- in terms of hourly wage costs -- than other employees, though they do earn lower wages (about 75 to 80 percent of regular workers), because firms that use agencies to secure temporary workers pay a fee to those agencies. On the other hand, the cost of fringe benefits, measured as a percent of payroll costs, has been rising steadily over this same period.

Reduced fringe benefit costs for contingent workers are an important part of their lower relative cost. Avoidance of fringe benefit costs is the obvious rationale for the growth in contract employment. It also seems to be a reason for the increase in part-time and temporary employment. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce's annual employer survey shows that nonwage payroll costs have increased from 28 percent of total payroll in 1969 to 38 percent of total payroll in 1989. BLS data on benefit, wage, and total compensation costs per hour show that, between 1970 and 1991 employer payments for health insurance, pensions, vacations, sick leave, overtime or shift pay, Social Security, workers compensation, and unemployment insurance grew from 20 to 28 percent of total compensation for employed wage and salary workers. Hourly wages, benefits, and total compensation are shown in Figure 23; Figure 24 presents the same data in index form and shows that the ratio of fringe benefits to total compensation grew 38 percent over the twenty-one-year period.

Employers who use contract workers are able to evade Social Security and unemployment insurance payments for these workers and occupational health and safety regulations in addition to not paying for health and pension benefits or vacation, overtime and holiday pay. Data such as these strongly suggest that escaping rising fringe benefit costs may be a major motivation for hiring contingent workers.

Figure 23
Total Hourly Compensation, 1970-1991


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and authors' calculations. Note: Compensation is the sum of wage \& salary plus benefits (ECI).
Data for employment cost index (ECI) are not available in 1978-1986.

The cost of fringe benefits has been rising.

Figure 24


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and authors' calculations.
Note: Data for employment cost index (ECD) not available in 1978-1986.

Employers have been shifting to contingent employment not to take advantage of lower wages, but to avoid fringe benefit costs.

## Short- and Long-Run Flexibility

Trends in contingent work are consistent with a more general movement away from long-term employment relationships. These trends in turn parallel other forms of corporate restructuring. Changed economic conditions and increasing international competition have exposed the limitations of the system of mass production that has existed in the United States since the 1940s. Some employers have used new technologies, cross-training of workers, and changes in work organization to achieve flexibility and sensitivity in response to changes both in the quantity demanded and in the quality of demand, as demand for more varied products and services has outgrown the rigidities of mass production. The use of part-time and temporary workers is another way firms can be flexible to meet changing demand. Temporary workers allow a great deal of flexibility in the production process; they can be hired to increase production in periods of peak demand and then laid off when production shrinks back to normal levels. Part-time workers can be used to adjust to peaks and valleys over the course of the day or week. Many part-time jobs are also short-lived and/or seasonal.

Staffing according to a pattern of some stable, full-time workers buffered by other contingent workers is often referred to as a "ring and core" strategy. In the core, a stable nucleus of permanent employees has good jobs with good wages and benefits; the ring consists of temporary or disposable workers who have unstable employment and receive lower wages and benefits. This new pattern is said to maximize firms' flexibility and responsiveness to changing market conditions. Relying on external (to the firm) markets for labor rather than on what have come to be called internal labor markets represents a departure from post-war corporate staffing patterns.

In the post-war period, labor relations in the high-paying sector -.. capital intensive industries with high wages, oligopolistic market structures, high levels of unionization, and higher than average profit rates -- have tended to be based on long-term attachments between workers and firms. The development of internal labor markets offering the possibility of career ladders, on-the-job training, formalized grievance procedures, and some measure of job security, were both enabled by and in turn encouraged such long-term attachments. Although these conditions never extended to the entire labor force, and these industries have been surrounded by peripheral firms characterized by competition, low barriers to entry, and lower than average rates of profit, today contingent work is also growing in the high-wage sector. According to Hartmann and Lapidus (1989), available survey data indicate that it is apparently within the high-paying sector of the economy -- the largest firms -- that reliance on temporary help, for example, is growing the most. The THS industry, while allowing firms to convert a greater portion of their labor costs from fixed to variable costs, also facilitates the development of more casual systems of labor relations in the sectors of the labor market that once provided the greatest degree of job security.

Temporary work provides a useful illustration of both how contingent work helps employers respond to demand shifts and how that response may be changing. Lapidus' 1989 study found that THS employment, although always cyclical in the past -- growing when total output grew, falling when output fell -- became less cyclical in the 1980s. In the recessions of the early 1980 s, year-to-year declines in THS employment were never greater than 5 percent. In the recessions of the 1970 s , THS employment declined by 18 percent (1971) and 26 percent (1975) - see Figure 25. The figure also shows a rising trend and greater use of temporary workers; at each peak and trough, THS employment is progressively higher than during the preceding one.

If temporary work is being used in a less cyclical fashion, then temporary work may increasingly be being built into business as usual. Such a possibility raises the further possibility that temporary work may be displacing what would otherwise be permanent jobs. The use of contract labor to substitute for regular workers, not only as a way to avoid longterm commitments, wage growth, and substantial fringe benefits, but also, as noted above, as a way to avoid occupational safety and health protections, is especially disturbing.

Figure 25
Percent Change in Temporary Help Supply Industry,
1970-1988


The use of temporary workers is becoming less cyclical and more built into business as usual.

Employers use temporary workers for reasons other than a need for flexibility. Lower cost (especially in terms of benefits and hiring and separation costs) or acquiring a worker with needed skills (e.g. word processing) may be equally important. But this cost-cutting use, especially, may not be desirable in the long run, even from the point of view of business itself. If such ring and core staffing patterns prevent the training and investment in workers that is needed to make a better long-run adaptation to changing employment requirements, the shortcut of using contingent workers may be reducing, rather than increasing, productivity growth over the long run. Moreover, the worker is made to bear the cost of flexibility in terms of low wages, inadequate benefits, and insecurity; workers absorb the cost of flexibility in terms of greater job insecurity and employers are able to pass on their risk in the face of uncertainty. In the long run, however, a more flexible worker is one who has job security and the training to take on a variety of tasks. Cross-training, job sharing, flextime, and other programs that result in functional or internal flexibility, and in which the worker does not have to accept inferior employment conditions would be a preferable approach.

The overuse of women and minorities in contingent work also supports the notion that employers may be avoiding making necessary long-term investments in workers. Women, minorities, and immigrants will make up two-thirds of new entrants to the labor force between now and the year 2000 (Mishel and Teixeira, 1991). It is not difficult to imagine that the core will be reserved primarily for white males, while the ring will be staffed by everyone else. Public and private labor market policies that allow this to happen will be doing a disservice to the nation's long-term productivity growth, a growth which requires everyone to be able to participate in the labor market to their full potential.

Economically speaking, the use of some temporary arrangements seems sensible; it increases the ease, and reduces the cost, of responding to changes in demand, making the economy more adaptable and flexible. But where temporary arrangements are being used as a short cut to avoid the human resource investments that would guarantee flexibility and adaptability in the long run, they are clearly detrimental. And from the worker's viewpoint, when temporary work offers employment only under inferior conditions and destroys rather than supplements regular full-time opportunities, it clearly endangers the worker's standard of living.

## POLICY OPTIONS

Flexible staffing, such as voluntary part-time or temporary staffing arrangements can be beneficial to both the employer and the worker. Flexibility, provided it is implemented as part of an overall strategy for improved responsiveness to variable market demand, can make companies more competitive and workers more productive. Alternative work arrangements can provide workers with welcome opportunities for diversity and can result in reduced turnover, greater job satisfaction, and increased morale. Currently, however, the majority of workers providing flexibility to employers are in contingent work arrangements and are marginalized and discriminated against in terms of pay, promotion opportunities, and fringe benefits. Public policies must be formulated to address the situation of contingent workers and direct the evolving changes in employment relations. Extending social and workplace protections to contingent workers will improve the quality of the workforce and give firms incentives to opt for competitiveness based on high productivity instead of low wages. The accompanying Chart 1 provides a menu to be considered.

In addition to these policy suggestions that seek to extend existing benefits and protections to contingent workers, serious consideration should be given to other ways of dealing with the growth of contingent work.

## Chart 1 <br> EXTENDING SOCIAL AND WORIKPLACE PROTECTIONS TO CONTINGENT WOREERS

The minimum wage should be increased to raise the pay of contingent workers, since many work at the lowest wages.

Laws and regulations requiring pay equity between contingent workers and full-time permanent workers should be developed and enforced.

Contingent workers should be given the same access to employer-provided fringe benefits, perhaps on a pro-rated basis, as the employer's regular workers have. A universal national health care policy would provide an important benefit to all workers.

Unemployment insurance regulations should be reformulated to eliminate discrimination against contingent workers --- for example, through reducing minimum earnings and employer tenure requirements.

Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) should examine their failure to monitor the health and safety of contingent workers and should develop the capacity to do so.

The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) should require reporting on the use of non-wage or non-salary workers -- contractors and temps -- to monitor and address the disproportionate employment of women and minorities in these jobs.

Part-time, temporary, and contract workers should be included in the relevant bargaining units at their workplace and covered by collective bargaining agreements already in place.

First, the quantity of contingent work could be directly regulated. The number of temporary (whether THS, direct-hire, or contract) and part-time workers could be limited to a proportion of an employer's regular, full-time workforce.

Second, the number of contingent workers could be reduced by using other forms of work arrangements to provide flexibility. For example, greater use of flextime, crosstraining, and job sharing could help employers meet peak and variable demands. Also, increased reliance on overtime for clerical and retail sales jobs could be used to meet peak demands. It is interesting to note that temporary work is disproportionately used in clerical occupations and part-time work in retail sales occupations, both areas where women workers predominate. Out-dated social norms about appropriate roles for men and women that mandated lower pay and greater family responsibilities for women may be historically responsible for the lack of overtime offered to (or accepted by) women. Yet today many women must support themselves and dependents, and might welcome increased overtime pay. Such a strategy might require more attention to public and private policies that can help families with caring for dependents, not only with the provision of more and better nonfamily child care, but also through instructing and encouraging men to participate more in housework and child care.

In general it would be useful for employers to keep in mind that little about work arrangements is technologically determined. Much is determined by custom and tradition that -- in this period of economic transition for the United States -- should be carefully scrutinized.

Finally, both placement firms and organizations that use contingent workers should be required to report to a regulatory agency on the number, type, and duration of contingent jobs. For user organizations it is important to know the proportion of their labor force that is contingent (including part-time, temporary, and contract work). Data on the wages, benefits, race, sex, and age of the workers would also be useful to investigate the social desirability of increased contingent employment and its potential to displace regular, full-time jobs. Such a reporting requirement, itself, might marginally discourage hiring temporaries. But more importantly, it would provide the information base necessary to evaluate the costs and benefits of contingent work and test hypotheses about corporate restructuring and core and ring staffing strategies. In addition, more and better data on contingent work should also be gathered through the federal data collection systems that now compile information on the labor force. The special May 1985 supplement of the Current Population Survey in which the number of temporary workers was tabulated should become a regular feature and should be expanded to include other types of temporary workers -contract employees, independent contractors, leased employees, direct hire temporaries, and so on. Also a special supplement could focus on part-time jobs, including those held by workers who work full-time by combining jobs. Questions should be added about wages and benefits and about employment activity in the prior year.

In our judgment, the phenomenon of contingent work is of enough concern to warrant policy attention now. The first priority for new social policy should be improved wages and benefits and improved coverage under unemployment insurance. Improving worker protections through the extension of current programs for occupational health and safety, equal employment opportunity, and collective bargaining to contingent workers is also essential. Finally, improved data collection by federal agencies and new reporting requirements for both placement firms and user firms can and should be quickly implemented.

## Endnotes

1. The number of part-time workers is actually an undercount of the number of parttime jobs because people who work two part-time jobs, but work more than 35 hours a week are counted as full-time employees. Workforce refers to those at work in the labor force (i.e. excluding the unemployed portion of the labor force).
2. The average weekly hours of both voluntary and involuntary part-time workers have been increasing. Average weekly hours for voluntary part-time workers grew from 18.4 in 1976 to 19.6 in 1990. Average weekly hours for involuntary part-time workers increased from 21.6 in 1976 to 22.9 in 1990.
3. The Bureau of Labor Statistics tracked employment in the Temporary Help Supply Industry (THS) using the Standard Industrial Code 7362 from 1982 to 1989. THS is defined as those workers employed by a temporary help agency, including the workers actually employed by the agency as well as those the agency places at client firms. THS is part of the broader category of Personnel Services, SIC 73. As of 1990 SIC 7362 was eliminated and SIC 7363, Help Supply Services (HSS), now includes THS. Help Supply Services is defined as those workers employed by a temporary help agency (what was previously SIC 7362), leased employees, and personnel services not elsewhere categorized. Hence, HSS is larger than, but is comprised mainly of, the old THS category. Bill Goodman of BLS created a special data series which uses the new definition of HSS for the years 1982-1990. Whenever HSS data is cited in this paper, this special series is the source.
4. Data for the Help Supply Services Industry, compiled by Bill Goodman, BLS.
5. Institute for Women's Policy Research computation of Service Annual Survey data, Current Business Reports, U.S. Bureau of the Census, various years.
6. Data are for all workers earning an hourly wage (as reported by workers). Unpublished tabulations of Current Population Survey data supplied by Tom Nardone, BLS.
7. Current Establishment Survey data supplied by Bill Goodman, BLS. Data is for all nonagricultural production and nonsupervisory workers (as reported by employers).
8. ERISA Section 202(a)(3)A.

TABLE 1
Persons 16 and Over at Work (Total \& Part-Time) In Nonagricultural Industries, 1970-1990 (In Thousands)

| Year | Total At <br> Work |  | All <br> Part-time |  | Voluntary <br> Part-time |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | | Involuntary |
| :---: |
| Part-time |

Sources: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics, August 1989, Table 23, and Employment and Earnings, January 1990 and 1991, Table 32.

TABLE 2
Help Supply Services Industry Employment, 1982-1990
(In Thousands)

| Year | Employment |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1982 | 417.4 |
| 1983 | 488.9 |
| 1984 | 644.0 |
| 1985 | 734.3 |
| 1986 | 839.7 |
| 1987 | 993.3 |
| 1988 | $1,131.9$ |
| 1989 | $1,223.8$ |
| 1990 | $1,295.9$ |

Source: U.S Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics,
Current Establishment Survey, data compiled by Bill Goodman, BLS.

TABLE 3
Average Weekly Hours of Full-Timers and Part-Timers, 1976-1990

| Year | All <br> Full-Timers | Voluntary <br> Part-Timers | Involuntary <br> Part-Timers | All * <br> Part-Timers |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1976 | 42.6 |  | 21.6 |  | 18.4 |
| 1977 | 42.8 |  | 21.7 |  |  |
| 1978 | 42.9 | 21.8 | 18.5 | 19.1 |  |
| 1979 | 42.7 | 21.9 | 18.6 | 19.2 |  |
| 1980 | 42.5 | 22.3 | 18.8 | 19.3 |  |
| 1981 | 42.0 | 22.1 | 18.8 | 19.5 |  |
| 1982 | 42.3 | 22.5 | 18.7 | 19.7 |  |
| 1983 | 42.7 | 22.4 | 18.7 | 19.9 |  |
| 1984 | 42.9 | 22.4 | 19.1 | 19.9 |  |
| 1985 | 43.2 | 22.7 | 19.1 | 20.1 |  |
| 1986 | 43.3 | 22.6 | 19.2 | 20.2 |  |
| 1987 | 43.1 | 22.6 | 19.2 | 20.2 |  |
| 1988 | 43.6 | 22.7 | 19.5 | 20.1 |  |
| 1989 | 43 | 22.7 | 19.5 | 20.3 |  |
| 1990 | 43.5 | 22.9 | 19.6 | 20.3 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | 20.4 |

*Figures For All Part-Timers Are Weighted Averages of Voluntary and Involuntary Part-Timers Average Weekly Hours.
Sources: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics, August 1989, Table 23, and Employment and Earnings, January 1991 and 1990, Table 32 for full-time data. Voluntary and involuntary part-time data from BLS Microfiche supplied by Tom Nardone, BLS.

TABLE 4
Median Hourly Earnings
of Full-Time and Part-Time Workers, 1973-1990

| Year | Full-Timers | Part-Timers |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1973 | \$3.36 | \$2.04 |
| 1974 | 3.63 | 2.16 |
| 1975 | 3.94 | 2.29 |
| 1976 | 4.10 | 2.48 |
| 1977 | 4.45 | 2.71 |
| 1978 | 4.76 | 2.92 |
| 1979 | 5.15 | 3.21 |
| 1980 | 5.50 | 3.43 |
| 1981 | 6.06 | 3.70 |
| 1982 | 6.44 | 3.88 |
| 1983 | 6.51 | 3.95 |
| 1984 | 6.80 | 4.04 |
| 1985 | 7.05 | 4.17 |
| 1986 | 7.26 | 4.31 |
| 1987 | 7.43 | 4.42 |
| 1988 | 7.70 | 4.68 |
| 1989 | 7.83 | 4.83 |
| 1990 | 8.09 | 5.06 |

Note: Data Are For All Workers Paid Hourly Wages. Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey, data supplied by Tom Nardone, BLS.

TABLE 5
Average Hourly Earnings for the Help Supply Services Industry and for all Nonsupervisory and Production Employees, 1982-1990

| Year | HSS | All |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 1982 |  | $\$ 5.97$ | $\$ 7.68$ |
| 1983 |  | 6.02 | 8.02 |
| 1984 |  | 6.25 | 8.32 |
| 1985 |  | 6.50 | 8.57 |
| 1986 |  | 6.65 | 8.76 |
| 1987 | 7.06 | 8.98 |  |
| 1988 | 7.41 | 9.28 |  |
| 1989 | 7.73 | 9.66 |  |
| 1990 | 8.08 | 10.03 |  |

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Establishment Survey, data compiled by Bill Goodman, BLS.

TABLE 6
Part-Time Employment For Various Workforce Groups, 1990 (In Thousands)

| Workforce Group | Total Employed | Voluntary Part-Time | Involuntary Part-Time | Total Part-Time |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Men | 59,146 | 4,401 | 2,261 | 6,662 |
| Women | 49,551 | 10,355 | 2,599 | 12,954 |
| Black | 11,184 | 1,105 | 721 | 1,826 |
| White | 93,886 | 13,199 | 3,989 | 17,188 |
| 16-19 Yrs | 5,791 | 3,183 | 577 | 3,760 |
| 20-24 Yrs | 11,839 | 2,059 | 793 | 2,852 |
| 25-44 Yrs | 59,751 | 5,170 | 2,317 | 7,487 |
| 45-64 Yrs | 28,429 | 2,958 | 1,040 | 3,998 |
| $65+$ | 2,886 | 1,387 | 133 | 1,520 |
| All At Work | 108,697 | 14,756 | 4,860 | 19,616 |

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment \& Earnings, January 1991.

TABLE 7
Full- and Part-Time Workers By Prime-Age (20-54 Years), Youths, and Elderly, 1990
(In Thousands)

|  | All <br> Full-Time | All <br> Part-Time | Voluntary | Involuntary |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Prime Ages |  |  |  |  |
| White Women | 28,638 | 8,756 | 7,081 | 1,675 |
| White Men | 42,663 | 3,260 | 1,757 | 1,503 |
| Black Women | 4,349 | 796 | 482 | 314 |
| Black Men | 4,506 | 466 | 185 | 281 |
| All | 83,011 | 13,748 | 9,845 | 3,903 |
| Youths(16-19) | 2,201 | 4,060 | 3,455 | 605 |
| Elderly(55+) | 10,901 | 3,992 | 3,397 | 595 |
| All | 96,113 | 21,800 | 16,697 | 5,103 |

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment \& Earnings, January 1991, Table 7

TABLE 8
Total Employment and Part-Time Employment, By Industry, 1970, 1988, and 1990
(In Thousands)

|  | $1970$ <br> Total | Part- <br> Time | $1980$ Total | Part- <br> Time | $1990$ Total | PartTime |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mining | 467 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | n/a | n/a | 664 | 21 |
| Construction | 3,879 | 380 | 4,622 | 551 | 5,925 | 642 |
| Durable Man. | 11,300 | 475 | 12,021 | 556 | 11,753 | 483 |
| Nondur. Man. | 7,880 | 686 | 7,959 | 760 | 8,052 | 664 |
| Transport | 4,753 | 385 | 5,697 | 514 | 7,381 | 600 |
| Trade | 12,438 | 3,358 | 16,881 | 5,281 | 21,414 | 6,315 |
| FIRE | 3,490 | 377 | 5,148 | 636 | 7,062 | 731 |
| Service | 15,202 | 4,074 | 23,457 | 5,917 | 32,659 | 7,717 |
| Total | 65,312 | 10,515 | 81,590 | 14,617 | 100,247 | 17,469 |

Note: Figures are for Wage and Salary Workers only.
Sources: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, January 1971, Table A22, and CPS Microfiche, January 1981 Table 34, January 1991 Table 32.

TABLE 8A
Industry Composition of the Labor Force and Rate of Part-Time Employment, 1970, 1980, and 1990

|  | 1970 |  | 1980 |  | 1990 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | As \% of | \% | As \% of | \% | As \% of | \% |
|  | Those At | Part- | Those At | Part- | Those At | Part- |
|  | Work | Time | Work | Time | Work | Time |
| Mining | 0.7 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | n/a | n/a | 0.7 | 3.2 |
| Construction | 5.9 | 9.8 | 5.7 | 11.9 | 5.9 | 10.8 |
| Durable Man. | 17.3 | 4.2 | 14.7 | 4.6 | 11.7 | 4.1 |
| Nondur. Man. | 12.1 | 8.7 | 9.8 | 9.5 | 8.0 | 8.2 |
| Transp. | 7.3 | 8.1 | 7.0 | 9.0 | 7.4 | 8.1 |
| Trade | 19.0 | 27.0 | 20.7 | 31.3 | 21.4 | 29.5 |
| FIRE* | 5.3 | 10.8 | 6.3 | 12.4 | 7.0 | 10.4 |
| Service | 23.3 | 26.8 | 28.7 | 25.2 | 32.6 | 23.6 |
| Total | 100.0 | 16.1 | 100.0 | 17.9 | 100.0 | 17.4 |

* Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate

Note: Includes only wage and salary workers.
Source: Institute for Women's Policy Research computations of BLS data listed above.

TABLE 9
Cost of Employee Compensation
$\left.\begin{array}{lccccc}\text { Year } & \begin{array}{c}\text { Fringe } \\ \text { Benefits }\end{array} & & \begin{array}{c}\text { Wages \& } \\ \text { Salary }\end{array} & & \begin{array}{c}\text { Total } \\ \text { Compensation }\end{array}\end{array} \begin{array}{c}\text { Fringe As \% } \\ \text { of Total Comp. }\end{array}\right]$

Note: Data were not collected for the years 1978-1986.
Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Division of Employment Trends, Employment Cost Index.

TABLE 10
Employment In Temporary Help Services (SIC 7362) 1968-1987 and Help Supply Services (SIC 7363) For 1988

| Year | Workers | \% Change |
| :--- | ---: | :---: |
| 1968 | 136,218 |  |
| 1969 | 162,170 | $19.05 \%$ |
| 1970 | 184,391 | 13.70 |
| 1971 | 150,573 | -18.34 |
| 1972 | 167,455 | 11.21 |
| 1973 | 203,706 | 21.65 |
| 1974 | 250,636 | 23.04 |
| 1975 | 186,600 | -25.55 |
| 1976 | 233,322 | 25.04 |
| 1977 | 293,728 | 25.89 |
| 1978 | 348,169 | 18.53 |
| 1979 | 436,445 | 25.35 |
| 1980 | 416,071 | -4.67 |
| 1981 | 401,361 | -3.54 |
| 1982 | 406,653 | 1.32 |
| 1983 | 399,195 | -1.83 |
| 1984 | 554,803 | 38.98 |
| 1985 | 668,728 | 20.53 |
| 1986 | 738,366 | 10.41 |
| 1987 | 800,227 | 8.38 |
| 1988 | $1,075,730$ | 34.43 |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, County Business Patterns.

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[^0]:    Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics special series. Note: Temporary workers are those employees in the help supply services industry.

[^1]:    Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and authors' calculations.
    Note: Data are for prime-age workers ( $20-54 \mathrm{yrs}$ ), except youth and elderly.

