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**Permanent Part-Time Work:
the Perspectives of Managers in
Two New Zealand Government Departments**

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Abstract

This study explores the experiences of managers within two New Zealand government departments with permanent part-time work. The research strategy incorporates an extensive literature review and an exploratory, qualitative empirical study.

The literature review identifies labour demand and supply factors which influence the use of part-time work; examines theoretical perspectives on reasons for its structure as permanent or casual work; and identifies organisational context factors, personal factors, and operating and cost factors which influence managers' decisions on use.

Existing studies consistently report strong operating and cost advantages arising from the use of permanent part-time work. In spite of this, and in spite of the reported needs of a growing proportion of the workforce, relatively few organisations have institutionalised permanent part-time work options. Much of the literature thus focuses on documenting the relatively poor conditions of part-time workers, or on prescribing a widening of permanent part-time work opportunities. Very little research has considered permanent part-time work from the manager's perspective. The present study therefore sets out to build on the handful of studies which have done so.

The empirical part of this study involved in-depth interviews with 24 managers in the Department of Social Welfare and the Inland Revenue Department, and a nominee for the State Services Commissioner. Managers at each level of the hierarchy in the two departments, and in both line and staff positions, were included. Factors influencing the managers' use and experience of permanent part-time work were identified and explored.

Models of the organisational use of permanent part-time work and of the managerial decision process were generated. In contrast to the major reported management studies, where permanent part-time work was usually initiated by managers to address specific operating or cost needs of organisations, in this study, use was usually initiated by staff requests for reduced hours of work. The staff-driven process of use arose because of permanent part-time work policy and related policies on Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO). In fact, due to staff reductions and to past institutional rigidities, managers had been largely constrained from initiating permanent part-time positions to

address operating needs. Where they had used permanent part-time staff, managers reported them to be highly productive, and stated that their use had almost always contributed positively to organisational objectives. In those instances where it had not, the difficulty could be traced to teething problems in implementing a form of work which was not as yet well understood, rather than to any intrinsic characteristic of permanent part-time work.

These observations suggest that the potential of permanent part-time work to enhance organisational efficiency has been largely unexplored in the organisations studied. They may also suggest that managers can simultaneously pursue goals of operating and cost efficiency, and goals of "good employer" practice in relation to permanent part-time work. Further, they may indicate that even in the absence of pressing operating needs, permanent part-time work can be introduced successfully through policy changes.

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Introduction

This study explores the ways in which managers in two departments of the New Zealand Public Service experience permanent part-time work. It identifies incentives and constraints to the use of permanent part-time work in the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) and the Inland Revenue Department (IRD), and examines the way in which managers make decisions on use or non-use. The study places managers in the context of their internal organisational environment and their external socio-economic and political environment. An extensive literature study examines the scarce management research on permanent part-time work, supplementing this with empirical and theoretical studies from the social sciences.

Existing research shows that managers who use permanent part-time workers find them to be loyal and highly productive. At the same time, permanent part-time work is increasingly important to society, especially to women and older workers, but also, increasingly, to men of all ages. Yet, in spite of the potential benefits to organisations and individuals, there are relatively few opportunities for permanent part-time work in organisations. The lack of availability of permanent part-time work contrasts with the much wider availability of part-time work in casual positions.

There are two aspects to the question of why permanent part-time work is not used more: first the question of why more existing part-time work is not permanent rather than casual; and second, the question of why there is not more opportunity for full-time permanent staff to reduce their hours of work. Empirical management research has given little consideration to permanent part-time work, although there is a substantial body of prescriptive Human Resources literature which advocates its use. A small body of management literature which examines the organisational use of part-time work in terms of operating and cost incentives and constraints is a starting point in exploring the question, but the limited use of permanent part-time work cannot be explained solely by rational cost and operating decisions. These explanations ignore context, as well as personal factors.

A very small number of management studies widen the discussion to a consideration of organisational context factors such as climate and institutionalisation. These valuable and ground-breaking studies go some way towards deepening an understanding of the managerial decision process on permanent part-time work. However, the discussion must be widened further still so that the manager is seen in the context of the external environment which impinges upon the organisational use of permanent part-time work. Use of part-time work appears to be fundamentally bound up with major global and national economic changes, sectoral changes, technological changes, and changes in the structure of the labour market. Without acknowledging that use of part-time work is entangled with these sometimes disturbing issues, the failure of organisations to use it more cannot be understood.

The issues underlying part-time work are extremely complex, and cannot all be encapsulated within this study. However, neither can they be ignored. The study therefore begins with an overview of the contextual issues to provide background for a consideration of the direct influences on managers' perspectives on permanent part-time work.

Chapter One identifies the changes in labour demand and supply which have brought about the growth in part-time and permanent part-time work. It traces the statistical growth of part-time work, and describes the conditions of part-time workers. It describes changes in the demand for part-time workers in terms of the rise of the service sector, recession, and developments in technology. It describes changes in the supply of part-time workers in terms of alterations in lifestyles, the ongoing and permanent mass entry of women to the paid workforce, and the ageing of the workforce. The chapter concludes by describing the institutional responses to these changes in terms of collective bargaining, the actions of governments as legislators and employers, and the growing inclusion of the "good employer" policies of family responsiveness and equal employment opportunities in organisational approaches to Human Resources management.

What unites these diverse changes is the fact that they all appear to be long-term, and to encourage an ongoing use of part-time work. What divides the changes is that some encourage permanent part-time work and others encourage part-time work which is casual. There are thus countervailing tendencies. Further consideration is needed in order

to answer the question of why more part-time work is not permanent and why more permanent part-time work opportunities are not available to full-time workers.

Chapter Two approaches the first aspect of the question by considering explanations from several theoretical perspectives, including: neoclassical economics; Marxist reserve army of labour and labour process theories; the management theory of the Flexible Firm; dual and segmented labour market theories; and feminist theories of gender, patriarchy and the social construction of skill. Notwithstanding that some of these theories are mutually contradictory, their combined weight lends formidable support to the general idea that there is a strong tendency for casual, poorly rewarded forms of part-time work to be preferred by many organisations.

The second aspect of the question - why is there not more opportunity for full-time permanent workers to work as permanent part-time workers - is addressed in Chapter Three in a study of the management literature on the use of permanent part-time work. Few management studies have considered the manager in his or her own right in relation to permanent part-time work. Chapter Three reviews those studies which have identified operating and cost incentives and constraints for managers to use permanent part-time work, and the few studies which consider organisational context factors and personal factors. The results of one major permanent part-time work study offer some explanations for the fact that permanent part-time work is limited in availability, in spite of the overwhelming satisfaction reported by the managers who employ permanent part-time workers, and in spite of their high productivity. One factor is that there is a large difference in the expectations of those managers who use permanent part-time work and those who do not: users, basing their expectations on experience, have positive expectations, whereas non-users expect the worst. Another factor is that cost-benefit considerations do not figure largely in the decision-making processes on permanent part-time work. Rather, permanent part-time work is most often initiated by managers in response to operating problems, and not in response to cost incentives. Reasons for limited use are also found in the *ad hoc* nature of the management decision process on permanent part-time work, and in the usual absence of any organisation-wide policy which addresses it. These observations were considered when making decisions about the research design of this study.

Chapter Four describes the rationale for setting the study in the New Zealand Public Service, an environment where permanent part-time work is the subject of policy, legislation and collective agreements. In this setting, in spite of the various external and organisational factors militating against it, managers have to consider the use of permanent part-time work. Chapter Four goes on to describe the research design and method. The research involved 24 managers at several levels of the hierarchies of two government departments, and a nominee for the State Services Commissioner. Through in-depth interviews, the study explores the ways in which the managers made decisions on permanent part-time work, experienced permanent part-time work, and viewed the impact of permanent part-time work on organisational goals.

Chapter Five describes the organisational context of the empirical study in terms of the contextual factors identified in earlier chapters. There has been a permanent part-time work policy in the New Zealand Public Service since 1986, and permanent part-time work provisions are included in collective agreements. The State Sector Act 1988 contains "good employer" clauses which require government departments to make Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) plans, and which provide for the monitoring of departmental progress by the State Services Commission. There was a strong association of permanent part-time work with EEO policy in this study. Another significant aspect of the internal context of the Departments included in the study was the restructuring which they had been undergoing for some years. This restructuring had involved staff reductions, including reductions in the numbers of middle-level managers.

Chapter Six reports on the results of the interviews with managers. It outlines the incentives and constraints which managers in the Departments identified as affecting their decisions on permanent part-time work. It does so in terms of the categories identified in the literature, including operating and cost factors, and organisational and personal determinants of use or non-use. One strong continuity of this study with the previous research is the general satisfaction of managers with permanent part-time work, and the absence of serious problems in its use. The suggestions of managers for dealing with those problems which did arise are also reported.

Chapter Seven analyses the results further, and compares them with those in the literature which has been reviewed. One theme which emerges is that the policy environment of the study gives rise to models in which permanent part-time work is

initiated, not in response to operating problems, but in response to staff requests. Within this environment, operating and cost factors act as a sort of checklist for potential obstacles to permanent part-time work use, rather than as genuine incentives. Chapter Seven also considers the roles which top managers, Human Resources managers, EEO managers, and District line managers play in the implementation of permanent part-time work policy. It concludes by considering factors which might encourage the expansion of permanent part-time work in the organisations, and, in particular, suggests that this might come about through finding areas of congruence between organisational needs and staff needs.

The Conclusion draws out some of the implications of the study and makes some suggestions for further research. One major implication of the study is that if permanent part-time work is introduced into organisations through policy *fiat*, far from creating conflicts with organisational goals, this may lead to positive benefits, not only to individuals but also to the organisations themselves.

Chapter One:

Changes in Labour Demand and Supply Affecting Part-Time Work

Introduction

Part-time employment has grown in all industrialised countries, both in absolute numbers of jobs, and in proportion to the total workforce. The changes in labour demand and supply which have brought about the increase in part-time work appear to be ongoing, and there is every indication that part-time work will be a permanent and growing part of the employment landscape. There are some broad similarities in the ways in which part-time work is used in different situations, but also distinct national and sectoral differences. There are also distinct differences in the ways in which part-time work is structured and rewarded, with part-time jobs ranging from poorly paid and casual on the one hand to highly paid, professional and permanent on the other.

This chapter first describes the growth of part-time work; next describes the conditions of part-time workers; then examines factors which help explain changes in the demand and supply of part-time workers; and finally looks at some institutional responses to the changes in labour demand and supply. Demand factors include: sectoral changes; recession; structural adjustments and labour flexibility; and changing technology. Supply factors include: calls for reduced working hours; lifestyle changes; the mass entry of women into the paid workforce; and the ageing of the workforce. Institutional responses include: the pressures brought by unions through collective bargaining; legislation and employment policy enacted by governments; and the changes to Human Resources policies in organisations. After examining these factors, the chapter concludes that needs and opportunities have come together through labour demand and supply factors to produce the growth of part-time work, but that further investigation is required to explain its structure.

The growth of part-time work

Part-time work has grown dramatically in importance in the industrialised market economies of the world. Its significance is found both in the sheer numbers of part-time workers, and in their staggering rate of increase in relation to the total workforce. The OECD has referred to the expansion of part-time employment as "one of the most significant structural shifts occurring in the OECD labour market" (OECD, 1983: 43). In New Zealand, the Chairman of the Planning Council wrote:

The huge growth in part-time work over the past twenty years shows that a fundamental change is occurring in the structure of the labour market (I.G. Douglas, in Foreword to Clark, 1986: 1).

This change has involved a long-term alteration in both the make-up of the labour force and in the characteristics of the labour demanded by employers. In 1989, as many as 1 in 7 employees in industrialised market economies worked part-time, including 1 in 25 men and 1 in 4 women (ILO, 1989: 34). In New Zealand, part-time employment increased from 9% of all workers in 1971 (Haines, 1989: 24), to 21.6% of all workers in 1992 (Labour Market Statistics 1992: 45).

Part-time numbers may now have peaked in some countries, and there has been a small decline in some areas in recent years, but overall, part-time work has grown quite consistently (ILO, 1989: 33) and part-time work in the aggregate has not been so subject to cyclical fluctuations as fulltime work (OECD, 1983: 45). Part-time employment has often grown even while full-time employment stagnated or fell. For example, in New Zealand between 1986 and 1991, full-time employment actually decreased by 8%, while part-time employment rose by 7% (Hunter and Krishnan, 1991: 17). This does not necessarily imply any general conversion of full-time jobs into part-time ones. Rather, a large increase in part-time service sector jobs may have statistically over-balanced a loss of jobs in other sectors.

The growth of part-time work has been marked by distinctions in its use and character in different nations, suggesting the influence of local business needs, culture, conditions and policies. Table 1.1 below illustrates the growth in part-time work as a proportion

of all work in New Zealand, Australia, North America, Japan and selected European Community nations. In all countries shown, except the USA, the part-time labour force has grown at a very much faster rate than total employment has grown (more than three times as fast), and has also grown as a proportion of the total labour force. In the United States, the part-time growth rate has also been higher than the full-time growth rate, but not by such a large amount. Table 1.2 shows in more detail the growth of New Zealand part-time employment as a proportion of full-time employment in recent years, for men and women.

TABLE 1.1: THE GROWTH OF PART-TIME WORK

(Calculated from country tables, for years 1977 or 1978 to latest year available, ILO, 1989: 41 - 53)

COUNTRY	PART-TIME AS % OF TOTAL IN YEAR ONE	PART-TIME AS % OF TOTAL IN YEAR TWO	% INCREASE OF PART-TIME	% GROWTH IN PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT	% GROWTH IN TOTAL EMPLOYMENT
Australia	<u>1978</u> 15.3	<u>1988</u> 20.1	4.8	60.0	21.4
Canada	<u>1977</u> 11.6	<u>1987</u> 15.2	3.6	60.7	22.6
Federal Republic of Germany	<u>1977</u> 12.5	<u>1985</u> 13.6	1.1	10.5	1.0
France	<u>1977</u> 8.7	<u>1988</u> 12.0	3.3	38.0	0.1
Japan	<u>1977</u> 8.7	<u>1988</u> 12.0	3.3	66.0	21.0
New Zealand	<u>1978</u> 12.9	<u>1986</u> 15.4	2.5	30.0	9.1
Sweden	<u>1977</u> 21.6	<u>1988</u> 24.4	2.8	20.6	7.1
United Kingdom	<u>1983</u> 21.4	<u>1988</u> 24.7	3.3	26.1	9.1
United States	<u>1977</u> 16.7	<u>1988</u> 17.3	0.6	28.3	25.0

TABLE 1.2: THE INCREASE IN NZ PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT, BY SEX, AS AVERAGE FOR YEAR

(From Labour Market Statistics 1992: Table 3.2)

YEAR ENDED MARCH	MALES PART-TIME (%)	FEMALES PART-TIME (%)	TOTAL PART-TIME (%)
1987	6.2	32.6	17.2
1988	7.1	32.9	18.0
1989	7.6	34.6	19.1
1990	8.1	34.1	19.2
1991	8.9	35.3	20.5
1992	10.2	36.1	21.6

The conditions of part-time workers

The majority of part-time workers do not work under conditions or receive benefits which are equivalent to those of full-time workers. Many part-time workers are casual or temporary rather than permanent. They work in jobs which the literature widely describes as "peripheral", "marginal", "secondary", "casualised", or "intensified". Most studies of part-time work focus on the poor conditions of part-time workers (for example, Hurstfield, 1978, 1987; Morton, 1987; Chessum, 1989; White, 1983; Armstrong and Armstrong, 1988; Warne, Lundy and Lundy, 1992).

At the same time, there is a wide range in part-time conditions. Each of the major existing international and national surveys of part-time work has documented the variety in the conditions of part-time workers, as have many case studies and statistical overviews of related topics, such as women's work. Part-time work is most concentrated in unskilled occupations, but a significant number of part-time jobs are also managerial,

professional and technical. However, within each occupation, part-time workers tend to be worse off than their full-time colleagues.

Unfortunately, statistics on the casual or permanent status of part-time workers are not available, so there can be no certainty about the proportions of each. Some case studies have surveyed organisations to ask what proportion of part-time workers receive benefits, and this does differentiate permanent from casual staff. However, the results are not definitive, as an unknown percentage of permanent part-time staff also do not receive benefits. An American study of 400 public and private firms found that 11.5% of part-time staff received the same benefits as full-time staff, and less than half received some benefits (Paul, 1983, quoted in Kahne, 1992: 298). In another US study, it was shown that under half of 484 companies surveyed in 1985 gave benefits to workers employed for under 20 hours per week (Levitan and Conway, 1992: 52-53). In a Canadian study, the employers surveyed treated part-time workers as follows: 81% received the same compensation as full-timers; but only 40% had the same vacations, 61% the same holidays, 52% the same pension entitlements, and 56% the same fringe benefits (Commission of Inquiry into Part-time Work, 1983: 129). These studies and others like them do clearly indicate that the large majority of part-time workers do not operate under the same conditions as their full-time counterparts.

A notable aspect of the casual status of part-time workers is that it is often not associated with casual commitment to the job, or with length of employment. Some workers classified as casual had been in the same job for 25 years, according to one study (Commission of Inquiry into Part-time Work, 1983: 142).

The conditions of part-time workers in different sectors vary widely. Service sector employment, which accounts for the majority of part-time employment, is associated with low pay and poor conditions, and is also heavily dominated by female workers. Public sector part-time work tends to be of much better quality than private sector employment, even within the same occupations. Also, most existing part-time management jobs are found in the public sector (ILO, 1989), as are most job share positions. For example, in the UK it was reported that 78% of job sharing positions were found in the public sector as compared to 16% in the voluntary sector and 6% in the private sector (Monty, 1992: 319).

Even relatively well-paid professional part-time workers are worse off than full-time workers in the same jobs. Occupational studies have shown that compared to full-time workers, part-timers in teaching, university teaching and hospital nursing are often worse off (Zeytinoglu, 1992; Lundy and Warne, 1992; and White, 1992, respectively). In the fields of banking and accountancy, although UK research reports growing opportunities for women, part-time work is often of a lower or non-professional standing (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). In the medical profession, part-time work and training for doctors is increasing, but tends to be concentrated in women's niches, out of the mainstream (Allen, 1990). There are also fewer skilled part-time jobs within each occupation than there are skilled full-time jobs within the occupation. For example, in New Zealand, 37% of full-time employees are managerial, professional and technical, compared with 24% of part-time employees (calculated from Table 12.7, NZ Official Yearbook 1993: 270). In the USA, recent statistics showed that 31% of full-time jobs and only 17% of part-time jobs were managerial, professional and technical (Levitan and Conway, 1992: 45).

Thus, it is clear that there is a wide variety in the conditions of part-time workers. The majority are clustered in poorly paid casual jobs, but significant numbers are professional and permanent. Some studies, do in fact, focus on this two-sided quality in part-time work. This is reflected in titles such as: "Part-time working in Ireland: threat or opportunity for women's participation?" (Drew, 1989); "Dualism in part-time employment" (Tilly, 1992a); *Working Part-time: Risks and Opportunities* (Warne, Lundy and Lundy, 1992); "Part-time work: a hope and a peril" (Kahne, 1992). One recent researcher has drawn attention to the fact that dualism in part-time employment went largely unacknowledged in earlier studies which focused on the "average" part-time worker, a mythical creature who obscured the view of both the low-paid casual retail worker at one end of the spectrum and the high-paid professional at the other (Tilly, 1992a; 1992b). The two faces of part-time work are described by the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 1989), in what is one of the major studies on part-time work:

Part-time work is widely condemned as a threat to full-time jobs, a precarious form of employment and a source of unequal treatment of women workers. It is also defended as a regular, well-protected way to reconcile the needs and preferences of workers with the operational requirements of enterprises; to create jobs; and to benefit workers with family responsibilities, workers approaching retirement and other special groups.

Both the detractors and proponents of part-time work are often correct, depending on the country and on the enterprise concerned. There are some 50 million part-time workers in the industrialised market economies alone, and they are found in an extraordinary variety of circumstances (ILO, 1989: 3).

The differences in the use and structure of part-time work perhaps indicate that while some broad trends are operating, there is no inevitability about the final shape of part-time work or about the exact extent of its use.

Demand and supply factors which influence the growth of part-time work are now first briefly overviewed, and then examined in more detail. The historical rise of part-time work may be seen as the product of the needs presented by changes in organisational labour demand, and the opportunities presented by changes in labour supply. (Studies which provide information on the historical development of part-time work include, for example, Wandersee, 1981; Bradley, 1989; Blyton, 1985; Oissen, 1980; O'Donnell and Hall, 1988; Moss and Fonda, 1980). Organisational needs have included skills and labour shortages, especially during the second World War; and the rise of the service sector, with its scheduling requirements, low margins, and cost economies. The needs of the service sector were exacerbated in the 1980s by changes in the global economy, including recession, deregulation, freer trade and increased competition from imports, and monetarist restructuring. The global economic changes have led to uncertainty and a strong reliance on labour market flexibility.

At the same time that the service sector was growing, opportunity presented itself in the form of a vast new potential labour force. Millions of women entered the paid workforce during World War II, and after the war many were prepared to continue working. This female labour supply was available mostly on a part-time basis, due to the child care responsibilities of women. At the same time, children themselves became available as part-time workers, as the period of education grew longer and longer.

Other factors enhanced the appeal of this new available labour supply. Changes in the work process were brought about by new technology. As a result, work could be made highly routine so that there were fewer needs for continuity, communication, training or supervision. In addition, part-time labour was cheap to employ. The wages of part-time workers were regarded as supplementary to the family wage received by male heads of

households. Part-time workers were largely unprotected by legislation and rarely unionised. Unions did intervene to prevent organisations hiring part-time staff, but were slow to campaign to improve their conditions. There was thus a heady mix of sectoral imperatives, competitive market forces, and opportunism by individual employers.

Permanent part-time work became an issue as it became apparent that women were not in the workforce in a transitory way, but were there to stay. Women's rights groups and unions began to advocate for better conditions for part-timers and for increased opportunities for career part-time work. Governments began to legislate to protect part-time workers. Organisations began to use part-time workers in permanent positions and Human Resources policies also began to alter in response. As a result, some part-time workers gained permanent status and began to receive *pro-rata* pay and conditions. The demand and supply factors impacting on the growth of part-time work are examined in more detail below.

Changes in the demand for part-time workers

Studies indicate that there has been an increase in the demand for part-time labour. The change can be attributed to sectoral developments, measures to cope with recession and uncertainty, and the use of new technology.

The rise of the service sector

Most part-time work takes place in the service sector: fully 3/4 of all part-time workers in industrialised market economies are employed by the service sector (ILO, 1989: 37). There is a clear correlation between the rise of the service sector and the increase in the use of part-time workers (OECD, 1983: 46-7). Low margins, high competition and increased public demand for long hours of opening characterise many service industries, and the use of part-time workers allows scheduling to cover peak times of day, week and year. Cost efficiencies are possible through covering extended hours of daily and weekly

operation without incurring overtime costs, through closer matching of hours of work to organisational needs, and also through avoiding the payment of benefits.

The proliferation of lower quality jobs in the service sector (both full-time and part-time) has been documented by numerous studies, including, for New Zealand, Brosnan (1991) and *Across the Counter: The Lives of the Working Poor in New Zealand 1990* (1990). The service sector depends heavily upon part-time labour. In New Zealand in 1992, almost 3/4 (71%) of all part-time jobs (and only 42% of all full-time jobs) were found in the wholesale and retail trade and in the community, social and personal services industries. Within both of these industries, over 1/3 of all jobs were part-time. This contrasts strongly with the use of part-time work in the manufacturing sector, where only 7% of all part-time jobs were found (as compared to 19% of all jobs), and where only 10% of jobs were part-time (Labour Market Statistics 1992, Table 3.9: 68). During the early 1980s, when part-time work underwent an overall increase, it in fact decreased sharply in the manufacturing sector, and at a faster rate of decline than that of full-time manufacturing jobs (Andrews and Swainson, 1984). It can be seen from this that part-time work is particularly important to the trade and services industries, and that its importance in manufacturing has decreased.

Table 1.3, below, shows that for the countries listed, the majority of part-time workers are clustered in the service and trade industries. In all of the countries except Japan, over 70% of part-time workers are employed in service, finance and trade. In New Zealand and the USA, the figure is almost 90%. The only country to have a large number of part-time workers in other sectors is Japan, with 32% of all part-timers employed in manufacturing.

Not only are the trade and service industries important to part-time workers, but part-time workers are extremely significant to the trade and service industries. Table 1.4 shows that part-time workers constitute a significant proportion of workers in trade and service industries. In the Western countries listed, the proportion of part-time workers in trade ranges from 24% to 38%. In the service industries, part-time jobs constitute from 20% of all jobs in the USA, up to 39% in the UK.

TABLE 1.3: DISTRIBUTION OF PART-TIME WORKERS BY BRANCH OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY (%)
(ILO, 1989: 36)

COUNTRY	YEAR	M/F	AGRICUL- TURE	MINING		MANUF- ACTURE	CONSTRUC- TION	TRANS- PORT	TRADE	FIN- ANCE	SERVICE
AUSTRALIA	1986	M	9.9			6.8	5.3	4.7	31.0	10.5	31.8
		F	5.7			6.8	3.9	3.2	27.4	9.8	43.2
		Both	6.6			6.8	4.2	3.5	28.2	9.9	40.8
CANADA	1986	M	6.0			5.2	5.0	4.1	31.2	3.1	45.4
		F	4.1			3.6	1.6	2.6	25.5	4.6	58.0
		Both	5.0	0.2		4.0	2.5	3.0	27.0	4.2	54.1
FRANCE	1985	M	18.1		10.8		4.6	4.1	9.8	1.3	51.3
		F	10.4		8.3		2.7	3.7	13.8	2.8	58.3
		Both	11.7		8.8		3.0	3.7	13.1	2.6	57.1
JAPAN	1987	Both	1.2	0.2		32.3	2.4	1.7	34.7	2.0	25.5
NZ	1986	M		0.1		8.8	1.3	3.9	51.1	4.8	30.0
		F		0.3		7.4	1.1	2.7	40.5	6.4	41.6
		Both		0.4		7.7	1.2	2.9	42.7	6.1	39.0
UK	1987	Both	1.6	0.6		8.5	2.7	2.1	32.3	7.7	44.5
USA	1987	Both		0.1		5.5	2.8	3.6	38.6	4.8	44.6

Gaps indicate that information is not available.

TABLE 1.4: PART-TIME WORKERS IN MAJOR BRANCHES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AS A PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS WORKING IN THAT BRANCH

(ILO, 1989: 37)

	YEAR	AGRICUL- TURE	MINING		MANUFAC- -TURING	CONST- RUCTION	TRANS- PORT	TRADE	FINANCE		SERVICE
AUSTRALIA	1986	22.2			7.0	12.9	8.6	27.3	18.0		28.2
CANADA	1986	15.3	2.1		3.6	7.3	6.1	23.5	11.6		21.4
FRANCE	1985	15.6		3.1		4.4	6.7	12.2		15.8	
JAPAN	1987	16.4	1.2		12.2	2.6	2.5	17.4	4.2		9.2
NZ	1986		1.7		5.9	3.7	6.3	32.4	11.8		23.1
UK	1987	17.1	4.9		10.4	8.6	8.3	38.4	19.0		39.0
USA	1987		3.3		4.3	7.6	7.7	29.1	10.9		19.6

Gaps indicate that information is not available.

Service sector jobs, and especially part-time service sector jobs, are done primarily by women. The increase in women's employment and the increase in service sector employment have proceeded together. On the positive side, it can be said that employer needs for flexible hours of work have been matched by women's needs for reduced hours of work which allow childcare. But, there is great concern in the literature that the poorest quality service sector jobs are heavily dominated by female workers.

Examining part-time employment by occupational category, the occupational segregation of women is further revealed. Table 1.5 illustrates the clustering of New Zealand women in part-time service and sales, and clerical occupations.

At the time of the 1991 Census, almost half (47%) of female jobs in service and sales occupations were part-time, as compared to 18% of male jobs. In clerical occupations, 29% of female jobs were part-time, as compared to 9% of male jobs. But part-time work was not only significant in service and clerical occupations. In professional occupations, 27% of women worked part-time; and in technical and associated professional occupations, 23% of women did so.

Recession

Recession has given organisations an increased incentive to use part-time work. Use of part-time workers allows organisations to cut costs by matching work more exactly to the requirements of jobs that may not require full-time employees, by avoiding overtime payments, by avoiding fringe benefit payments, and by employing a more flexible workforce. There would seem to have been more use of casual and "atypical" labour due to recession, and to the degree that part-time work is casual, this is a factor in its rise (Anderson, Brosnan and Walsh, 1993). However, there is not necessarily a clear-cut relationship between the use of part-timers and the cutting of costs through wage and benefit reductions. Part-time work in the service sector has increased in both times of economic growth and contraction. However, part-time work in the manufacturing sector has undergone a reduction which employers have attributed to recession (for example, SROW, 1984: 65). For example, in New Zealand, between 1976 and 1982, part-time employment in manufacturing fell from 17% to 13%.

A significant number of part-time workers are involuntary part-time workers. The proportion looking for full-time work was, for example, 7.4% in New Zealand in 1992 (Labour Market Statistics 1992: 45); and 7.2% in Australia, 9.2% in the UK and 11.1% in the USA in 1986 (ILO, 1989: 7).

Recession has led to unemployment and underemployment, and in turn, to work-sharing proposals and employment creation programmes which have sometimes involved part-time work. There are wide expectations that unemployment will remain high and grow higher, unless radical reductions of working hours take place (Blyton, 1985; Meltz, Reid and Swartz, 1981). Some writers have posited that we now live in a post-employment society, in which full employment will never again be a reality, where leisure is more important and hours of work are shorter (for example, Handy, 1984).

Structural adjustments and labour flexibility

Encouraged by recession, deregulation, new technologies, public demand for improved services, and changes in the structure of global and national economies, public and private organisations have pursued labour flexibility. Summarising the responses of organisations to an international survey, the OECD reports that the following means are used to increase manpower flexibility: increased flexibility of working hours; increased mobility expected of the core workforce; extended use of temporary or intermittent workers; and increased sub-contracting. Permanent part-timers may be hired instead of full-timers because this involves less commitment of organisational resources (OECD, 1983: 48). Several authors have identified part-time work as a flexibility measure (Atkinson, 1984, 1985, 1987; Beechy and Perkins, 1987; Walby, 1988).

In New Zealand, there are some indications that use of flexible labour forms may be increasing in retail (Brosnan, 1991) and in the public sector (Anderson, Brosnan and Walsh, 1993). In the USA, Kahne reports a decline in job stability in the mid-1980s. "Contingent workers", over half of whom worked part-time, were growing by 25% a year and constituted 25% of the US labour force in 1986 (Kahne, 1992: 302-3). Other researchers have also reported that an emphasis on flexibility has reduced job security in various situations (Chessum, 1989; Grant, 1991; Coyle, 1984, 1985; Morton, 1987).

**TABLE 1.5: PART-TIME AND FULL-TIME EMPLOYED NZ LABOUR FORCE
BY OCCUPATION AND SEX, 1991 CENSUS**

(NZ Official Yearbook 1993: 270)

OCCUPATION, MAJOR GROUP	NUMBER FULL- TIME (FT)	% OF TOTAL FT JOBS FOR ALL OCCUPA- TIONS	NUMBER PART- TIME (PT)	% OF TOTAL PT JOBS FOR ALL OCCUPA- TIONS	% PART- TIME JOBS IN OCCUPA- TION
ARMED FORCES					
Male	6,771	0.9	99	0.2	1.4
Female	822	0.2	39	0.1	4.5
LEGISLATORS, ADMINISTRATORS, MANAGERS					
Male	106,572	14.7	33,324	5.6	3.0
Female	44,613	10.9	7,782	4.2	14.9
PROFESSIONALS					
Male	73,644	10.2	4,161	7.1	5.3
Female	65,904	16.0	23,859	13.0	26.6
TECHNICIANS AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSIONALS					
Male	83,028	11.5	5,298	9.0	6.0
Female	48,063	11.7	14,319	7.8	23.0
CLERKS					
Male	32,964	4.6	3,114	5.3	8.6
Female	117,402	28.6	47,334	25.7	28.7
SERVICE AND SALES WORKERS					
Male	49,314	6.8	10,506	17.8	17.6
Female	59,139	14.4	51,744	28.1	46.7
AGRICULTURE AND FISHERY WORKERS					
Male	88,851	12.3	8,343	14.2	8.6
Female	26,298	6.4	13,872	7.5	34.5

Gaps indicate that information is not available.

TABLE CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE ...

TABLE 1.5 CONTINUED: EMPLOYED NZ LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATION, WORK STATUS AND SEX, 1991 CENSUS

(from NZ Official Yearbook 1993: 270)

OCCUPATION, MAJOR GROUP	NUMBER FULL-TIME (FT)	% OF TOTAL FT JOBS FOR ALL OCCUPATIONS	NUMBER PART-TIME (PT)	% OF TOTAL PT JOBS FOR ALL OCCUPATIONS	% PART-TIME JOBS IN OCCUPATION
TRADES WORKERS					
Male	133,794	18.5	6,843	11.6	4.9
Female	6,939	1.7	1,854	1.0	21.1
PLANT AND MACHINE OPERATORS AND ASSEMBLERS					
Male	94,836	13.1	6,420	10.9	6.3
Female	24,732	6.0	5,712	3.1	18.8
ELEMENTARY OCCUPATIONS					
Male	54,573	7.5	10,800	18.3	16.5
Female	16,869	4.1	17,532	9.5	51.0
NOT ADEQUATELY DEFINED					
Male	9,936		1,881		15.9
Female	6,138		4,368		41.6
TOTAL, MALE	734,280	100.0	60,789	100.0	7.6
TOTAL, FEMALE	416,916	100.0	188,415	100.0	31.1

Gaps indicate that information is not available.

New Zealand has taken a lead in restructuring to free up the labour market and reduce "institutional rigidities." Government has spearheaded the re-ordering of industrial relations, in particular with the enactment of the Employment Contracts Act 1991 which further deregulated the labour market. While reducing the power of unions to bargain for the protection of employees, the Act has also allowed less rigid arrangements (which

might involve part-time work) to be negotiated for particular workplaces. Regarding part-time work, the New Zealand Employers' Federation said in 1988, "... a move towards bargaining at enterprise or workplace level would contribute to greater flexibility in working arrangements suited to the circumstances of the enterprise and its own employees" (*Jobs*, cited in ILO 1989: 297). It is too early to say what will be the long-term effects of the Employment Contracts Act.

Changing technology

Routinisation and productivity improvements are two consequences of changing technology which affect part-time work. New technology has allowed many jobs to be made more routine and specialised. Discrete, simplified tasks can more easily be allocated to casual or temporary workers who may be part-time. There is little need for training or continuity, and the objective of cost savings is also served.

Another factor is that organisations which have made substantial investments in technology are often anxious to extend their hours of operation to make the most of their capital outlay. By employing part-time workers, organisations can do this without incurring over-time costs. Also, work such as data entry can be undertaken at times of the day when mothers or students can be available. Information technology also allows the possibility of home-working on computer terminals, and this also facilitates the employment of part-time workers who can set their own hours.

Continued productivity improvements through technology may be used as an argument in negotiating reduced hours of working time. Already many white collar workers work less than 40 hours, and a standard goal of unions is to reduce the work week. As this happens, the line between full-time and part-time work may blur. The changes in technology, including micro-electronics, may be nothing short of a revolution which will impact on work and work organisation as much as did the change from agriculture to industrialisation (Drew, 1990).

Changes in the supply of part-time workers

The workforce has changed and it now incorporates large numbers of workers who are available for work only on a part-time basis. These workers provide new opportunities and new challenges for employers. They include women, youth, older workers, the disabled, and, increasingly, men. These workers are not casual or transitory. Rather, many are skilled and have a permanent commitment to the workforce, but for reduced hours.

The next section of this chapter discusses some of the factors which have changed the available labour supply, including: unemployment and calls for reduced working hours; changes in the lifestyles of both men and women, which have increased the importance of leisure and study opportunities; the mass entry of women into the paid workforce; and the ageing of the baby boom generation, which along with the smaller size of the generation that is now entering the workforce, is altering the age profile of the labour market.

Reduced hours of work

The issue of sharing work by reducing hours for all workers is a hot one in Europe, although less so elsewhere. Reduced hours are seen not only as a way of more equitably sharing work, but also of enhancing lifestyles. Reduced hours have been used in some countries, for example, the Netherlands (de Neubourg, 1985: 575). Many workers are willing to take a drop in pay in order to reduce their working hours, for example, 1/6 of the workers in a 1985 European Community survey of full-time employed workers in Europe (quoted in Beck and Steel, 1989: 104).

Hours of work have indeed been falling throughout recent history (Blyton, 1985). With some fluctuations, they went from 10 hours per day in the mid-19th century to 9 hours per day in the late 19th century, to 8 hours per day in the early 20th century. The 8 hour day was itself claimed to be a restoration of conditions prior to the industrial revolution. Now the 40 hour week has been reduced for most office workers to a 37 1/2 hour week.

Progress towards reduction of working hours has been limited, partly because unions have been unwilling to agree to reductions in pay. For example, the European Trades Union Confederation has recommended a 10% reduction in working hours without loss of pay, the right to retire at 60 without pension reductions, 6 weeks annual leave and a normal working week of 35 hours (Cuvillier, 1984, quoted in McRae, 1989: 7). Another factor may be the recent organisational fascination with Japanese working methods which has contributed to pressures to increase rather than reduce hours.

Lifestyle changes

There are several factors which have increased the importance of part-time work in the lifestyles of both men and women. Many mature employees wish to work part-time while improving their qualifications in mid-life. New Ways to Work, an organisation which promotes job sharing, reports that 1/4 of its enquiries now come from men, many of whom want to change career direction or to work towards becoming self-employed (reported in McRae, 1989: 17). Changes in attitudes towards people with disabilities, and a desire to incorporate them into communities wherever possible, have also highlighted the importance of part-time work options for this group. A growing belief that leisure should be more important in peoples' lives is another factor.

A change in male attitudes to work and family is also influencing male participation in part-time work. An increasing number of men are willing to share childcare responsibilities, or to otherwise alter their lifestyles in relation to work. An Australian study which involved interviews with male and female primary teachers, found a high degree of interest in permanent part-time work options among male teachers. The authors say that this demonstrates "the magnitude of social and economic change that is occurring in education labour markets" (Wood and Cooper, 1988: 58).

Although women are the majority of part-time workers, this statistic should not be allowed to obscure the significance of male part-time working. Men constituted 27% of all part-time workers in industrialised market economies in 1987 (ILO, 1989: 32). They were also 27% of the part-time labour force in New Zealand in 1992, up from 21% in 1987 (Labour Market Statistics 1992). In almost every country, the proportion of male

part-timers increased from 1979 (de Neubourg, 1985). A significant proportion of this increase in male part-time work may also be due to recession and consequent underemployment.

The mass entry of women to the paid workforce

The vast majority of part-time workers are women. The close association between the growth in women's employment and the rise of the service sector is well-documented. This discussion will focus on the extent of women's part-time work; demographic trends which will further increase the proportion of females in the workforce; the increasing attachment of women, including mothers of young children, to the workforce; the historical development of women's part-time work; the influence of the availability of childcare on part-time work; and the need for Human Resources policies which acknowledge the changes in women's workforce participation.

In industrialised market economies, women constituted 2/3 of the part-time workforce in 1989, and comprised up to 9/10 in some countries (ILO, 1989: 8). In New Zealand, 3/4 of the part-time workforce was female in 1992 (Labour Market Statistics 1992, 1993). Table 1.6 shows the significance of women's part-time employment in several countries.

Women's paid employment has increased at a phenomenal rate in recent years, for example by 183% in New Zealand between 1961 and 1991 (NZ Official Yearbook 1993: 264). Much of the increase in women's employment has been in the part-time sector, for example, 56% in New Zealand between 1977 and 1990 (Women in New Zealand, 1991: 57); and 99% of the increase in women's employment in the UK between 1978 and 1984 (Briar, 1992: 76). There is a very close correlation between the entry of women into the paid workforce and the rise of part-time work. The nations where women have entered the workforce in fewer numbers are also those where the growth in part-time work has been much smaller. A broad socio-economic trend of increase in women's employment, especially in part-time employment, is apparent, but there are very distinct national differences. These are undoubtedly partly due to cultural differences (for example, in the

more traditional societies of Italy and Ireland, fewer women work), but the ability of national employment policy to influence trends is also indicated.

TABLE 1.6: FEMALE AND MALE PART-TIME WORKERS, LATEST YEAR AVAILABLE IN 1989

(compiled from Figures 2, 3 and 4, ILO, 1989: 33-35)

COUNTRY	COMBINED MEN AND WOMEN AS % OF ALL WORKERS	% OF WOMEN WORKERS WHO ARE PART- TIME	% OF PART- TIME WORKERS WHO ARE WOMEN
Australia	20.1	39	78
Austria	7.2	15	88
Belgium	9.8	24	87
Canada	15.2	25	71
Finland	8.0	11	68
France	12.0	23	83
Germany, FR	13.6	31	90
Ireland	10.2	20	66
Italy	5.0	9	62
Japan	12.0	23	72
New Zealand	15.4	28	78
Norway	25.6	45	77
Sweden	24.4	43	85
UK	24.7	45	78
USA	17.3	25	67

In the future, demographic trends which will make women an even larger proportion of the labour force may result in part-time work becoming even more widespread. In New Zealand, the numbers of new labour force entrants aged 15-24 are projected to decrease by 12% or even 18%, as we move through the 1990s (Equal Employment Opportunity Guidelines, 1991: 2.1.2). The proportion of older workers will therefore increase. Female participation rates are predicted to move closer to those of male, as employers increasingly rely on females returning to work. This demographic trend has also been identified in many other countries, including Britain (Atkinson, 1989); West Germany (Lethbridge, 1989); and the USA (Bailyn, 1980).

The attachment of women to the labour force can less and less be considered a transitory phenomenon (Hunt, 1988; Elias and Main, 1982; Martin and Roberts, 1984; Joshi, 1984; Dex, 1988; Novitz, 1990). Fewer women leave work with the birth of children, as analyses of successive age cohorts of women show (Hall, 1987). In fact, continuous part-time employment is largely replacing child-rearing breaks in women's paid employment. A study of this phenomenon in Sweden found that the increase in part-time work had strengthened women's attachment to the labour force. The proportion of all first-time mothers who interrupted work fell from 18% in 1970/72 to less than 6% in 1984/85 (Sundstrom, 1991: 175).

In New Zealand, the raw census figures give some indication of the participation of mothers of young children in part-time work, as Table 1.7 indicates. In 1976, only 12% of mothers with children under one year of age, worked (7% part-time and 5% full-time). By 1986, 21% of mothers of under-ones worked (12% part-time and 9% full-time). The proportion of working mothers of pre-school children over one-year-old increased from 22% (9% full-time and 13% part-time) in 1976 to 34% (14% full-time and 20% part-time) in 1986. While the presence of children and the age of children remains an important factor in women's decisions to work, New Zealand research has also highlighted several other factors which include earnings, family income, unemployment, region, education level, and ethnic origin. The research seems to indicate that the traditional view of women's work, in which women leave the workforce at the birth of their first child, and re-enter it (often on a part-time basis) when their youngest child turns five, is no longer a typical model (see Horsfield, 1988: 16).

TABLE 1.7: PROPORTION OF NZ MOTHERS EMPLOYED IN PAID WORK BY AGE OF CHILD, 1976-1978 (%)

(from Haines, 1989: 68)

YEAR	1976			1986		
AGE OF CHILD	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	TOTAL	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	TOTAL
UNDER 1	5%	7%	12%	9%	12%	21%
1 - 4	9	13	22	14	20	34
5 - 9	16	22	38	27	24	51
10-14	26	23	49	35	28	63

In addition to this visible finding, researchers in New Zealand and elsewhere have found a much higher proportion of part-time employment which is hidden. Hidden employment occurs when mothers fall through the statistical cracks by frequently moving in and out of casual and temporary part-time jobs (Shipley, 1982; Barrington, 1981). New Zealand unemployment studies also reveal a large and hidden unsatisfied demand for part-time work (Shipley, 1982).

Research indicates that women's demand for part-time work is likely to continue and even to increase. The mass entry of women into the paid workforce has involved long-term socio-economic developments and shorter-term demand and supply factors. Their entry as part-time, rather than full-time workers, has resulted from the fact that women take primary responsibility for the care of children and, increasingly, for the care of elderly dependents, as responsibility is devolved onto the community (Berry-Lound, 1990; Atkinson, 1989).

Several studies have traced the changing relationship of women and work (for example, Olssen, 1980; Blyton, 1985; Bohen and Viveros-Long, 1981; Wandersee, 1981; Bradley, 1989; Hunt, 1988). To briefly summarise some of the highlights from these studies, it may be said that, historically, except, perhaps, for a few brief years of relative prosperity during this century, most women have worked long hours to produce goods

for their families. However, prior to the advent of industrial capitalism, much of their work, like much of men's work, took place at home in agriculture or small family enterprises (Amsden, 1980). The separation of work from the home and the placing of a monetary value upon it, changed the situation. Work in the home now has few monetary rewards. Most goods which can be produced at home can be mass-produced cheaper and better, and there is little financial incentive for women to stay at home. There is financial incentive for women to enter the paid workforce, and this has gradually been made possible by the parallel drops in infant mortality and fertility rates. Labour-saving devices in the home also assist.

Exacerbating these influences is the increasingly high cost of raising children. Until late last century children were an economic asset - the end of child labour and the need to pay for the education of children changed this. Consumerism, rising material expectations, rising inflation, rising male unemployment, and the increasing inability of a single income to meet what are now considered basic expenses are further financial incentives for women to work (Blyton, 1985). Already, by 1985, single-income families in New Zealand had declined to 32% of all families and some of these families were falling into poverty (Hall, 1987: Abstract, 11). Social factors encouraging female employment include the instability of modern marriage, which leads women to seek more financial independence; the growing numbers of sole parents; the geographical isolation of the suburbs; and feminism, which has changed the attitudes of women towards work. At the same time, ample demand for women's work has existed. This demand was largely caused by skills shortages brought on by World War II, other specific occupational skills shortages, and the labour requirements of the mushrooming service sector. Taking into account all of these influences, it appears that we live in a transition age when the relationship between women and work is being fundamentally transformed.

The presence of childcare influences whether or not women enter the workforce, and whether they work part-time. Where childcare is widely available, more women tend to work full-time, for example, in France (Hantrais, 1990). Also, where the costs of childcare may be offset against tax, female full-time work has increased, for example in the United States (Dex and Shaw, 1986). To afford childcare in New Zealand, women need to be earning above the average wage (NZIER, cited in Clark, 1986: 23). Wider provision of subsidised childcare has been advocated by many groups, including the National Advisory Council of the Status of Women (Hansen, 1987; *Beyond the Barriers*,

1990). However, even assuming that childcare and after-school care became more accessible, full-time work would likely remain the choice of only a segment of the female population. Children still make demands outside of the hours of childcare centres. Countless studies document the disillusionment of women with trying to perform "superwoman" roles as successful full-time worker and perfect mother (for example, Cooper and Davidson, 1982; Briar, Munford and Nash, 1992). Studies also suggest that if more men begin to choose less competitive employment and take a greater share in the upbringing of their children, this will not necessarily mean that fewer women will want part-time work - it may mean that more men will also desire it.

It would seem that women are in the paid workforce to stay and that their long-term inclusion is causing and will continue to cause fundamental changes in the structure of work. There is a growing literature discussing the Human Resources implications, often described as a need for "family-friendly" or "carer-friendly" workplaces. Needs include restructuring of pensions and fringe benefit packages; more involvement by organisations and governments in provision of childcare and after-school care; perhaps a rethinking of school hours and school holidays; acceptance of the validity of the career paths of care-givers, which might include spells out of the workforce and periods of part-time work; policies which cater for dual-earner or dual-career couples, including recruitment and transfer; and a general widening of flexible and part-time work options (see, for example, Rappoport and Rappoport, 1971; Kammerman and Kahn, 1987; Berry-Lound, 1990; Presser, 1989).

Age factors

Long-term part-time employment is important for workers at different stages of life. Current statistics on part-time workers by age indicate that part-time work is most significant for women of child-rearing age, for young people of both sexes, and for older workers (ILO, 1989: 38, 39). Male part-time employment is concentrated amongst youth and older workers. This is what we would expect - most part-time workers are those trying to combine work with study, childcare, or semi-retirement. Tables 1.8 and 1.9 show the distributions of part-time workers by age group in New Zealand and other selected countries. In all of the countries, a large group of part-timers are aged 25-44,

the age of child-rearing. Youth part-time employment is very significant in North America where students contribute financially to their education. In New Zealand, youth part-time employment is also significant, and is likely to become more so as students are required to pay for a larger proportion of their education costs.

For older workers, aged 65 and over, Table 1.9 seems to imply that part-time work is unimportant, but that is because the overall number of workers in this age group is small. Table 1.8 shows the case of New Zealand, where the percentage of those in the 60+ age group who actually work, who are in part-time employment, is high.

TABLE 1.8: PART-TIME WORKERS AS A PROPORTION OF THE NZ LABOUR FORCE, BY AGE AND SEX, 1991 CENSUS

(NZ Official Yearbook 1993: 264)

AGE GROUP	MALES	FEMALES
	% LABOUR FORCE PART-TIME	% LABOUR FORCE PART-TIME
15-19	29.5	39.1
20-24	7.3	15.7
25-29	4.8	23.9
30-34	4.3	37.9
35-39	4.3	38.1
40-44	4.1	32.4
45-49	4.3	30.2
50-54	5.4	32.8
55-59	8.0	37.8
60+	29.2	53.2
% OF TOTAL MALE OR FEMALE LABOUR FORCE	8.2	31.7
% OF TOTAL LABOUR FORCE	5.8	16.2

TABLE 1.9: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PART-TIME WORKERS BY AGE GROUPS

(ILO, 1989: 38)

COUNTRY	BELOW 25	25 TO 44	45 TO 59	60 TO 64	65 +
AUSTRALIA, 1988					
Males	19.9	52.7	22.2	3.7	1.5
Females	26.2	52.7	18.7	1.6	0.8
Both	25.2	49.1	20.0	3.1	2.6
BELGIUM, 1986					
Both	15.3	60.9	21.7	21.7	2.1
CANADA, 1986					
Males	67.1	15.6	3.5	6.7	7.1
Females	32.8	44.0	13.4	8.0	1.8
Both	42.7	35.7	10.6	7.6	3.4
JAPAN, 1987					
Males	11.1	18.6	27.9	21.9	20.5
Females	4.1	54.8	36.0	3.2	1.9
Both	4.5	53.1	35.6	4.0	2.8
SWEDEN, 1987					
Males	30.5	29.1	17.9	22.5	
Females	12.5	51.3	28.5	7.7	
Both	15.0	48.1	27.1	9.7	
UNITED STATES, 1988					
Males	49.9	21.5	9.2	5.9	13.5
Females	28.9	42.5	18.3	4.6	5.7
Both	35.7	35.7	15.4	5.0	8.2

For older workers, part-time employment may become more significant. While there is as yet little evidence of phased retirement in New Zealand, it is accepted practice in Europe (Swank, 1982). Part-time work eases people into retirement, supplements their incomes and reduces the social welfare burden on the state. In an American study, Kahne noted that almost 1/4 of Americans aged 55 and older worked part-time, and called for the widening of options for phased retirement there (Kahne, 1992: 301). In New Zealand, the retirement age has been extended, new age discrimination legislation

has been introduced, and the assumptions underlying the Guaranteed Retirement Income have been modified. All of these signs point to the fostering of part-time work for older workers becoming a more likely political option.

For the future, there is a striking trend in the age structure of the labour force. The ageing of the baby-boomers and the smaller size of the generation now entering the labour force has been referred to dramatically as a demographic time-bomb (NEDO, 1989). Implications for organisations in terms of part-time work are that skills shortages will increase the need to retain skilled women in the work force, and that this may necessitate offering part-time options. Also, to retain skilled older workers past the present retirement age, phased retirement packages may be useful. Implications for society are that a small working-age population will not be able to afford pensions and institutional care for a large non-working older population. Elder-care responsibilities will likely fall more on families, and the freedom of women to work full-time will be reduced. This will further increase female participation in part-time work (Atkinson, 1989; Worman, 1990). Already in 1984, 1/5 of British women between the ages of 40 and 59 were providing care for a sick or elderly person (WES, 1984 quoted in McRae, 1989: 4-5).

The institutional response

The three major institutions, unions, governments and organisations have responded to the growth of part-time work and to the changes in labour demand and supply. The final section of this chapter describes the impact of collective bargaining, legislation and public employment, and Human Resources policy on part-time work.

The discussion above has drawn attention to variety in the way in which part-time work is used, and in the conditions of part-time workers. This variation is partly the outcome of the relations of conflict and compromise between organisations, unions, and governments. In many cases, all of these three actors have worked together, perhaps inadvertently, to structure part-time work as marginal work. For instance, organisations have taken advantage of labour surpluses, unions have tried to restrict the use of part-

time workers and have avoided recruiting part-time members, and governments have left part-time workers unprotected by legislation.

In contrast, in other cases, where organisations have enacted "good employer" policies, where unions have advocated on behalf of part-timers, or where governments have legislated to protect them, permanent part-time work has often been the outcome. While part-time and permanent part-time work appear to be in some ways two distinct forms of work, there may be no intrinsic difference between them. Rather, their differences may be largely the result of different outcomes in dynamic political processes.

Pressures from unions

Through collective bargaining, unions have influenced the spread of part-time work, mostly in a downward direction. However, in recent years, growing female union membership and rising unemployment have resulted in a trend to accept the existence of permanent part-timers, to negotiate for the improvement of part-time workers' conditions, and in some cases to actively recruit part-time membership and seek the extension of permanent part-time opportunities.

Traditionally, unions have opposed the use of part-time work, and union opposition has often been effective in slowing its spread (Robinson, 1984). The service sector, where the workforce is largely not unionised, and where existing unions are relatively weak, is the sector where part-time work has grown the fastest. Unions have seen part-time work as a threat: to the conditions of all workers; to the concept of a family wage; to overtime and penalty rates of pay; and to campaigns to shorten the work week. Use of permanent part-time schemes for employment promotion has been opposed because part-time pay is insufficient for livelihood. Some unions have claimed that part-time work is a class issue, and is of benefit only to middle-class white women (Drew, 1990). Part-time workers are considered to be more difficult to organise effectively, and it has been feared that drawing them into membership would undermine bargaining power.

The New Zealand Employers' Federation has attributed a lack of growth in part-time work to union actions (cited in ILO, 1989: 297). Many New Zealand awards ignore part-

time workers and do not extend the provisions of the award to them. A Department of Labour investigation of almost 1,100 awards revealed that only 233 included a part-time work clause. Of these 233 clauses, only 10 stated that the provisions in the award applied to part-time workers (DOL, 1983, cited in Clark, 1986: 19).

The impact of union policies and negotiating strategies on the way in which part-time work is distributed throughout occupations and industries was demonstrated in a New Zealand case study of part-time registered nursing (Dixon, 1985, 1987). The study also suggests that the gender balance of the union membership is important in determining union policies, and that unions have an impact on the gender segmentation of occupations. During the period studied, one nursing staff association (The Hospitals Group of the Public Service Association) opposed the use of part-time work partly in an effort to protect penal rate payments, and another staff association (The Nurses' Association) accepted part-time workers and bargained for their equitable treatment. In gender make-up, almost all of the Nurses' Association membership were female, but almost 1/3 of the Public Service Association (PSA) nurses were male.

The role of the PSA in Dixon's study highlights an ambiguity in the role of unions. Interestingly, at the same time that the Hospitals Group of the PSA was opposing the use of part-time nurses, the PSA was also campaigning for the introduction of a policy to encourage permanent part-time work in the New Zealand Public Service. This ambivalence in the union position is borne out in overseas studies which have canvassed large numbers of unions (ILO, 1989; Commission of Inquiry into Part-time Work, 1983).

There are signs, however, that unions are becoming less ambivalent and more proactive regarding permanent part-time work. In fact, some studies have shown that unionisation of the workforce is the single variable most associated with the presence of family responsive policies such as permanent part-time work, and with the payment of benefits to permanent part-time workers (Kamerman and Kahn, 1987; Commission of Inquiry into Part-time Work, 1983). Some New Zealand unions have actively promoted the cause of part-time staff, and at least two (the PSA and the Financial Sector Union) have published on the subject of part-time work (Glendining, 1989; Lampe, 1993; *Short Changed: A Survey of Part-time Workers in the Banking Industry*, 1990; Sarr, 1988).

Unions have been active during recession in negotiating work sharing arrangements in order to avoid redundancies. Work sharing has been negotiated perhaps more in Europe (see ILO, 1989). The presence of more women in membership has led unions to promote permanent part-time work opportunities in conjunction with provisions for parental leave and childcare.

The impact of collective bargaining on the employment status and conditions of part-time workers has been uneven due to the differing and changing policies and priorities of unions. However, the potential impact of unions upon the use and quality of part-time work is very great.

Governments as legislators and employers

Governments have an impact on permanent part-time work through legislation and through their own employment policies. Throughout much of the period of the growth of part-time work, it was subject to little control by the government. In recent years, however, governments have been more and more convinced of the need to extend protection to part-time workers and to encourage the expansion of part-time work opportunities. The part-time work studies which are referred to in this study include major investigations commissioned by an impressive list of official bodies, including the European Community (Robinson, 1979); the OECD (Hallaire, 1968); the Canadian Government (Commission of Inquiry into Part-time Work, 1983); the United States Comptroller General (1976, cited in Ronen, 1984); the US Department of Labor (Nollen, Eddy and Martin, 1978); and the Equal Opportunities Commission (Bosworth and Dawkins, 1981). This list serves to illustrate the strong official recognition of the significance of part-time work, and the growing official perception that there are problems in its use and structure.

In the European Community countries, there has been a progressive extension of the protection of the legislative rights of part-time workers (Robinson, 1984), and a proposed EC directive would extend the rights of full-time employees to part-time workers. Existing studies show that the implementation of protective legislation does not

depress the demand for part-time workers (Hurstfield, 1987 for the UK, Sweden and the Netherlands; Disney and Szyszczak, 1984 for the UK).

It has been argued that in New Zealand, in the wake of the Employment Contracts Act 1990, which removes the need for employers to bargain with unions, there is also a need for a floor of protective legislation for all workers (Brosnan and Rea, 1991). Protective legislation would be of particular significance to part-time workers, many of whom have not been benefited by union negotiations in any case. Workers who go from full-time to part-time employment often lose rights to pensions, unemployment benefits, and other fringe benefits. Minimum wage and other minimum legislation applies to part-timers in New Zealand, but there is no formal code of conduct for their employment.

As well as legislating to protect part-time workers, governments may promote permanent part-time work for a variety of social reasons. This discussion will consider four of these reasons: to enable parents to meet family responsibilities; to promote Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO); as part of phased retirement schemes for older workers; or as part of employment promotion for youth (ILO, 1989). Promotion can involve passing compulsory legislation, providing financial incentives, removing legislative barriers (such as requirements for fixed social security contributions for full-time and part-time staff), and implementing government schemes.

It is part of the role of government to consider the impact of employment policy on families and society. Some governments have therefore been swayed by policy advice based on the arguments of a large body of literature which documents the difficulties of the work-family balancing act, the role stress suffered by parents, and the potential negative effects on children and hence on society (for example, see Berry-Lound, 1990; Bailyn, 1992; Beck and Steel, 1989; Bohlen and Viveros-Long, 1981; Kamerman and Kahn, 1987; Voydanoff, 1984; *Beyond the Barriers*, 1990). The argument is that a better fit is needed between family and work, and that this could be created through measures such as permanent part-time work. Because of the lack of part-time opportunities in many occupations, and the poor quality of much part-time work, the present system penalises people who try to balance their obligations as care-givers and workers through part-time employment. In several countries, including Finland, France, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, and the USSR, governments have responded by making it a legislative right for parents to reduce their hours to part-time if they choose.

Most Western governments have Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) policies, and part-time work is often seen as an EEO measure. The implementation of EEO through New Zealand legislation has included the Human Rights Commission Act 1977, the Equal Pay Act 1972, and is specified in "good employer" clauses in the State Owned Enterprises Act 1986 and the State Sector Act 1988. The State Sector Act requires New Zealand government departments to have EEO plans and to report on their yearly progress towards achieving them. EEO was also briefly legislated for the private sector in the Employment Equity Act 1990, which was immediately repealed by an incoming Government. There is much room for interpretation of the legislation, and nowhere does it specifically mention permanent part-time work. However, in practice, permanent part-time work seems often to be identified as a "good employer" policy.

Permanent part-time work in phased retirement schemes does not appear to have made much impact in New Zealand to date. The anecdotal evidence from Europe, where governments have promoted phased retirement plans, is positive. Satisfaction is reported by management, workers and unions, and there is no reported drop in morale or productivity (Swank, 1982). Swedish studies show that workers benefit by improvements in health, and conclude that phased retirement helps to prepare workers for retirement (Swank, 1982). Phased retirement schemes have sometimes been associated with employment promotion for youth, as in France and the UK, where schemes have paired older and younger workers (ILO, 1989).

The most common way of promoting permanent part-time work is to institute it in civil services, as many countries including Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, the USA, and New Zealand have done (ILO, 1989). The concept of governments as model "good employers", who should lead by example in the employment of part-time workers, has some currency (Commission of Inquiry into Part-time Work, 1983) and, as a consequence, a significant proportion of permanent part-timers now work in the public sector. Unfortunately the data available do not clearly differentiate between permanent and non-permanent forms of work. For New Zealand, a rough approximation of the quantities involved can be given, although the figures quoted in the various studies are not directly comparable. The figures do indicate, however, that the private sector employs a much higher proportion of part-time workers than does the public sector, but that public sector part-time workers are much more likely to be permanent.

The labour market data given in Table 1.10 show the numbers of all part-time workers employed in the New Zealand public sector in 1992, as compared with those in the private sector, for the years 1987 to 1992. From these figures, it appears that 18% of all forms of part-time employment (permanent and non-permanent) was in the public sector in 1992. It appears that 20% of public sector jobs, including 16% of central government jobs, were part-time, as compared to 26.5% of private sector jobs. Another New Zealand comparison of part-time and full-time employment which contrasts the Public Service (excluding other forms of public employment) with the private sector as at June 1992, shows a much lower percentage of public part-time employment than private. It reports that only 6% of the total Public Service work part-time, including 2% of men and 10% of women. These figures exclude cleaning staff (SSC, 1993: 48).

In terms of their model employer role, public organisations are now subject to strongly conflicting pressures. In a decade which has been marked by government deregulation, restructuring, and a focus on improving cost-efficiencies, one New Zealand author has dubbed the government's model good employer role as one of a necessarily "bounded goodness" (Boxall, 1991). Recently, cost-saving measures have been enacted in civil services, and governments may have led the private sector in using alternative work patterns to increase organisational flexibility (Anderson, Brosnan and Walsh, 1993).

However, in spite of the exigencies of restructuring, now that the Public Service policy is largely favourable to permanent part-time work, public sector employment constitutes an important avenue of permanent part-time employment. Legislation which fosters permanent part-time work and improves the conditions of part-time workers has been very significant, especially in Europe. The currency of EEO and of concerns regarding the pressures on families in New Zealand society make it not unlikely that part-time work will be the subject of legislation by future New Zealand governments.

TABLE 1.10: TOTAL FILLED JOBS IN NZ (INCLUDING WORKING PROPRIETORS) BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR, AND FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME STATUS

(Labour Market Statistics 1992: Table 3.8)

(000)

YEAR AS AT FEB	CENT- RAL GOVT TRAD- -ING	CENT- RAL GOVT NON- TRAD- -ING	CENT- RAL GOVT TOT- AL	LOC- AL GOVT TRAD- -ING	LOC- AL GOVT NON- TRAD- -ING	LOC- AL GOVT TOT- AL	TOT PUB- LIC	PRI- VATE	TOT- AL
				FULL-	TIME				
1987	..	..	..	..	..	..	302.0	802.2	1104.2
1988	..	..	..	..	..	..	287.5	781.2	1068.7
1989	77.0	166.3	243.3	16.8	21.4	38.2	281.5	742.3	1023.8
1990	61.0	161.9	222.9	12.7	27.4	40.0	262.9	745.1	1008.0
1991	37.3	163.2	200.4	12.5	27.5	40.0	240.5	748.1	988.5
1992	33.3	161.1	194.4	16.1	19.6	35.7	230.1	729.5	959.7
				PART-	TIME				
1987	..	..	..	..	..	..	48.9	188.0	237.0
1988	..	..	..	..	..	..	56.5	201.5	258.0
1989	6.7	40.1	46.7	2.8	3.2	6.0	52.7	234.4	287.1
1990	5.3	43.6	48.9	2.6	4.0	6.6	55.5	247.7	303.2
1991	6.7	46.1	52.8	2.4	4.6	7.0	59.8	251.9	311.6
1992	6.1	45.1	51.2	2.4	4.2	6.5	57.7	263.1	320.7
					TOT-	AL			
1987	..	..	..	..	..	..	350.9	990.2	1341.1
1988	..	..	..	..	..	..	344.0	982.7	1326.7
1989	83.7	206.4	290.1	19.6	24.6	44.2	334.3	976.6	1310.9
1990	66.3	205.5	271.7	15.3	31.3	46.7	318.4	992.9	1311.3
1991	44.0	209.3	253.2	14.9	32.1	47.0	300.2	999.9	1300.1
1992	39.4	206.2	245.6	18.5	23.7	42.2	287.8	992.6	1280.4

Gaps indicate that information is not available.

The Human Resources response

Organisations are under considerable pressure from unions, governments and interest groups to adapt their Human Resources policies in response to the long-term changes in labour demand and supply outlined above. Permanent part-time work has been widely identified as a "good employer" policy which socially responsible organisations should consider implementing as part of their obligation to the community. Permanent part-time work is promoted both because it helps equalise employment opportunity (EEO), and because it allows care-givers to balance raising children and caring for elderly relatives with paid employment. The ideologies of EEO and of family-friendly workplaces are very much intertwined. The ideology of EEO is one of promoting the rights of individuals; the ideology of family-friendly workplaces may be more one of enabling individuals to balance their obligations.

There is substantial prescriptive literature from interest groups, unions, policy makers, academics and the Human Resources specialists within organisations, which advocates more use of permanent forms of part-time work. In New Zealand, several studies on women and work have recommended the expansion of permanent part-time work options (for example, Horsfield, 1988; *Beyond the Barriers*, 1990; SROW, 1981; 1984). Many New Zealand evaluations of employment opportunities for women in organisations have also referred to the need for more permanent part-time work opportunities. Examples include: banking studies (*Short Changed*, 1990; Sarr, 1988); a study of New Zealand women in medicine (Sawicki, 1981); the EEO reports of many government departments (for example, Green, 1991, on MAF; Warren, 1988, on the DSIR; SSC, 1992, 1993, which are the State Services Commission's EEO Progress Reports; the report on forums held by women in local government (*Women in Local Government Employment*, 1985) and studies on university academic women (Wilson, 1986; and Ponter, 1989).

Permanent part-time work is said to have an integral place in harmonious work-family relationships. As one author expresses this idea:

The central political challenge for the end of the century requires a greater integration of family and work. The key concepts are part-time work and restructuring work (Sussmuth, 1989: 10).

Some researchers have worried that families are no longer given sufficient priority. "Can we make time for children?", asked Presser (1989) in the title of her article on work-family conflicts in America. Another author writes that it is necessary to recognise parenting as "an honorable, valid, and socially useful role" (Keniston, 1984: 284).

A large body of literature looks at the difficulties of the work-home balancing act. Some studies of the stress which men experience because of work-family conflicts acknowledge that men as well as women have two roles (see, for example, Pleck, 1984a). A spill-over of stress from home to work and *vice versa* has been shown to contribute to apathy, accidents, absenteeism, turnover, psychological complaints, divorce and alcoholism (McRae, 1989: 42). As one female management writer puts it, organisations must acknowledge that many workers are no longer prepared to "act as though" they have no families, or to perpetuate the "myth" that work and home are "separate worlds" which do not affect each other (Kanter, 1977, quoted in Introduction, in Voydanoff, 1984: 2). A system which pits work and family against one another, competing for the scarce time of the individual, is no longer considered acceptable.

A new model of Human Resources has been called for, in which families are transformed into the potential allies of organisations (Orthner and Pittman, 1986). New Human Resources policies would include childcare, cafeteria-style benefit packages and parental leave. New career models would incorporate flexibility, career breaks and periods of permanent part-time work. For career people, this would be the "slow burn" way to the top (Bailyn, 1980).

There is a growing emphasis on family responsive policy as a society-wide issue. The literature notes that a major difficulty in convincing public and private organisations to implement family responsive policies such as permanent part-time work, is that families are largely seen as a "woman's problem", rather than the concern of both men and women (for example, Voydanoff, 1984: 6; Kamerman and Kahn, 1987: 305).

Where organisations have implemented family-friendly policies, studies have shown benefits to the bottom line (for example, Hewlett, Ilchman and Sweeney, 1986). At a 1990 Conference Board conference on work and the family, attended by leading American business representatives, a constant theme was that policies supportive of families made good business sense and had a positive effect on profits (Mikalachki and

Mikalachki, 1991: 50). A major study by the Institute for Personnel Management in Britain, which also made international comparisons with other studies, concluded that "becoming carer-friendly makes sound business sense" (Berry-Lound, 1990: 7). Major carer-friendly options were found to include "more imaginative use of part-time work (and) job sharing" (p. 9). Benefits were reported to include: improved recruitment and retention, higher productivity, lower incidence of stress amongst employees, reduced absenteeism, and flow-ons from improved company image. The costs of failing to develop family responsive policies were seen to include increased difficulties in recruiting from traditional sources, and consequent pressure to use high rates of pay (p. 8). Worman (1990), reporting on the IPM study, describes carer-friendly employment practices as the "employment phenomenon of the future" (p. 45).

While changes in Human Resources policies are occurring, especially in public employment and in very large organisations, much of the prescriptive literature records a belief that change is too slow, and even "serendipitous" (Kamerman and Kahn, 1987: 284). The perceived inadequacy of the institutional response to the needs of families for increased permanent part-time work options has brought about a strong identification of permanent part-time work with EEO. This has ensured that there is some advocacy of permanent part-time work in public organisations and in some large private ones.

Several writers have pointed out that there are different and contradictory approaches to EEO (Ratner, 1978; Cockburn, 1989; Jewson and Mason, 1986; Liff, 1989). Should women's lack of equal employment opportunities be seen as an individual problem, as a problem of balancing dual roles, or as one caused by the functioning of a dual labour market? (Ruggie, 1984: 9-10). Should the emphasis be on institutionalising fair procedures, or on ensuring equitable results? (Jewson and Mason, 1986). How can EEO both avoid forms of positive discrimination which may be seen as unfair, and break down structural barriers to "transform" organisational power structures? (Cockburn, 1989).

There is also a basic question of whether EEO policy should help women to become more like men so that they can compete on better terms, (for example, through emphasis on full-time work, subsidised day-care, and training), or whether the structure of employment itself should change to take into account women's existing family responsibilities, (for example by acknowledging the legitimacy of part-time work and

part-time training, as well as making day-care available). Liff (1989) describes the need for reformulating approaches to EEO by making changes within employment itself. Jobs need to be restructured "so that they (are) genuinely open to all applicants" (p. 33). This involves expanding opportunities by adapting work patterns and career structures to accommodate family responsibilities. In this approach, permanent part-time work would have an important place.

Concepts of responsiveness to families and of equal employment opportunities are coming to permeate not only the rhetoric of advocacy groups, but also the universities which teach managers, and the Human Resources departments of some organisations. How this spread of ideas will ultimately influence the use of permanent part-time work in organisations is yet to be seen.

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the changes in labour demand and supply which have contributed to the rapid growth of part-time work. Part-time work was found to be strongly associated with the rise of the service sector and with the mass entry of women to the paid workforce. It is also associated with the employment of youth and older workers of both sexes. Various other factors have contributed to the rise of part-time work, including technological change, recession, economic uncertainty, and changes in the lifestyles of workers.

There is a great range in part-time conditions, but most part-time work is of poorer quality than full-time work, and part-time working conditions differ from those of full-time workers even in the same occupations. The poor quality of much part-time work is partly explained by sectoral needs and recession. But more explanation seems to be required.

The poor conditions of many part-time workers may hinge both on their vulnerability and on the fact that they have been regarded as transitory participants in the workforce. However, the profile of part-timers as transient has been shown to be outdated. The

profile of part-timers as vulnerable may also change as women become a more and more significant part of the workforce and as large numbers of ageing workers look to phased retirement packages which will acknowledge their experience and skills. Unions are increasingly campaigning on behalf of their growing part-time memberships, and unionised part-time work tends to be of better quality. Governments have begun to legislate to protect part-time workers and in their role as "good employers", they have encouraged part-time work in public employment. There is thus a build-up of considerable pressure to change the status and conditions of part-timers, to which organisations have begun to respond. Some Human Resources specialists and departments are now taking more cognisance of the needs of a growing part of the workforce by proposing the implementation of family-responsive policies which enhance employment equity. However, while there has been some acknowledgement of the significance of part-time work, the institutional response has been characterised by considerable inertia. Possible reasons for the slowness of the institutional response are explored in the next chapter.

Chapter Two:

Explanations for the Structure of Part-Time Work

Introduction

Chapter One identified several ongoing changes in both labour demand and supply which have influenced the growth and development of part-time work. Many of these changes appear to be lasting, and could therefore be thought to encourage part-time work which is long-term and "permanent". Pressure groups, unions and governments have begun to promote permanent part-time work. Yet, part-time work is largely constructed as casual and not as permanent. Even part-time workers who do have permanent status are often treated differently than full-time workers. Why is this the case?

Some partial explanations suggest themselves: the low margins characteristic of the retail sector have encouraged the use of cheap labour; economic uncertainty has led to a focus on labour market flexibility; the lack of unionisation of most part-time workers and the limitations of legislative protection have rendered them relatively vulnerable; and the continuous attachment of women to the paid labour force is relatively new, as is the ageing of the workforce. But more explanation seems to be required.

Researchers from several theoretical perspectives have sought explanations for the construction of part-time work by analysing the socio-economic forces which underlie the actions of unions, governments and organisations. In fact, the vast majority of the studies on part-time work have been done by social science theorists seeking to document and understand the poor quality of much part-time work. Management theory has made only one contribution to this discussion, that of flexibility theory.

This chapter briefly overviews theoretical contributions from neoclassical economics, Marxist labour process theory, dual and segmented labour market theories, flexibility theories and feminist theories. Brief critiques from theorists within each school are also outlined as they have relevance to permanent part-time work. Although the theorists do not agree with one another, they do agree in describing strong tendencies for organisations to prefer casual forms of part-time work.

The theoretical explanations can be interpreted in ways which are fundamentally deterministic. However, while each theory provides insights as to forces which may act to structure part-time work as a casual employment form, there is not necessarily any inevitability about their outcomes. It is not necessarily axiomatic that part-time work must be routine, unskilled and marginal, or that labour market flexibility must be the only avenue of responsiveness to the environment. The use and construction of part-time work is also subject to modification through the impact of the decisions that are made by people.

It should also be noted that none of the theories were constructed specifically to deal with part-time work. Incorporating part-time work in them has sometimes meant its inclusion in categories encompassing casual, temporary, contract, homeworking, and other "atypical workers" (a questionable term, considering that up to one-third of the workforce falls into this "atypical" category). This conflation of categories has sometimes missed the variation in types of part-time employment, the reasons for using part-timers, and the underlying reasons for the construction of part-time work.

Neoclassical economic theory

Neoclassical economic theory has not been widely applied to part-time work in any systematic way, and so much of the discussion which follows uses the works of researchers who have summarised the contribution of neoclassical economics to the understanding of women's work, (Amsden, 1980; and Mallier and Rosser, 1987; Mumford, 1989; Dixon, 1985). Some relevant concepts are supply and demand, benefits

and costs, utility, human capital theory, and free choices made in a perfectly competitive market.

First, some general background assumptions of the theoretical school will be established. Neoclassical economic theory asserts the freedom of choice of employers and workers, but sets out strict rules about the way in which they will exercise choice, and says that choices are made on a rational basis to maximise profit or earnings. According to the theory, labour demand is determined by a perfectly competitive market. Labour supply is based on a standard theory of consumption. An increase in wages, for example, could have both an income effect (the worker could buy more goods and leisure, and therefore work fewer hours) and a substitution effect (it is now more expensive to indulge in leisure, so the worker seeks more work). Labour supply is the net effect of the two contradictory forces on how many hours people choose to work. The wages of workers in this perfectly competitive system are determined by relative supply and demand. In the current situation of labour surplus for much part-time work, part-timers cannot command high wages.

Applying these concepts to permanent part-time work, on the demand side, the relative costs of hiring and training part-time workers are important. If firms train their employees at their own expense, then part-timers will be more expensive to employ, and companies may seek to minimise the number of employees and maximise their hours in order to spread costs (Owen, 1979, cited in Dixon, 1985: 83). Firms regularly cope with cyclical variations in demand. The amount of part-time labour used will depend on the relative recruitment and severance costs of full-timers and part-timers. The unskilled will be especially vulnerable in economic downturn (Joll *et al.*, 1983, cited in Dixon, 1985: 82). These demand explanations have commonsense appeal. One modifying factor is, however, that few part-timers undergo training at their firm's expense, and many are actually already over-qualified for their positions.

On the supply side, workers are assumed to make rational choices to maximise benefits and minimise costs. Applying this axiom to married women, it is said that they decide how to allocate time between paid work, housework, and leisure on the basis of relative benefits and costs to their families. The employment of wives is responsive to short-term changes in family income and can be an alternative to spending savings (Mincer and

Polachek, 1980). This also has the effect of fostering a transitory attachment to the labour force.

It is the way in which the family unit acts to maximise its utility that results in the different relationship of men and women to paid work. The man, who has a comparative advantage in the market place, is more likely to take part in paid work than the woman, who has a comparative advantage in doing work at home. According to a general theory of allocating time among alternative uses (the "new home economics"), the division of labour is due to marginal productivity (Becker, 1980).

There are difficulties with these supply explanations. First, the theory does not explain how the marginal productivity of men and women arose in the first place. Second, as was established in Chapter One, it is no longer true that women have only a weak attachment to the workforce. Another factor is that decision-making models based only on the family unit do not take individualism into account.

Neoclassical theory has implications for decisions made by part-time workers about education and training. In what is called human capital theory, workers invest in education and training in a rational way, to maximise lifetime earnings. Part-time workers who expect to spend less time in the labour force invest less, and therefore command lower wages and work in less desirable jobs. Research to test this prediction has not borne it out, however. The difference between the wages of women and men cannot be wholly accounted for by differences in training, skill and commitment (Mumford, 1989).

Although orthodox theory assumes a state of perfect competition, the concepts of "tastes" and "discrimination" have been developed to show how the choices of employers may be modified. In exercising "taste" and "discrimination", employers interfere with the perfect competition of the marketplace, and make choices which are not economically optimal. Nevertheless, they occur, and can have the effect of "crowding" some types of workers into particular occupations and sectors, for example, women in female occupations and in part-time work. In identifying "tastes" and "discrimination", the model does acknowledge social, cultural, and ideological influences, but leaves their operation for the consideration of other disciplines. One writer has complained that the

choice framework allows every possible configuration - it explains everything and nothing (Amsden, 1980: 30).

Neoclassical theory identifies some tendencies which, if borne out, have application to permanent part-time work: a tendency for women to move in and out of the workforce; the tendency to choose paid work or unpaid work at home on the basis of marginal utility; the reluctance of employers to incur extra training or recruitment costs for part-time workers; the tendency of employers' tastes or discrimination to crowd women into part-time jobs. These factors amount to a tendency for both employers and female part-time employees to prefer non-permanent forms of part-time work over permanent ones. As we have noted, some of the assumptions of neo-classical theory may be questioned. In particular, it assumes a perfect freedom of choice which does not exist; it does not acknowledge women's ongoing attachment to the workforce; and its essentially reductionist approach, in not dealing with social or political relationships, limits its usefulness.

Marxist theories

From the other end of the political spectrum, the Marxist concepts of the reserve army of labour, and of deskilling can be applied to part-time work. Marxist writers have sought to explain the poor quality of much part-time work by identifying part-timers with an industrial reserve army of labour. This group of disposable workers is first to be let go in times of recession. Like the neoclassical theories above, this theory depends on the assumed lesser attachment of the reserve army to the workforce. We have seen that the attachment of women to the workforce is increasing.

In some case studies of manufacturing, the reserve army thesis does seem to prove out (Bruegel, 1979). In a study of New Zealand manufacturing during recession, it was found that the employment of part-time workers declined at a faster rate than did that of full-time workers. Between 1977 and 1984, the numbers of female part-time manufacturing workers declined by 28%, and in the textile and garment industry, they declined by a large 58% (Andrews and Swainson, 1984: 11). But, although the theory

works in sectoral case studies, many writers are sceptical of its wider application (Beechey, 1986; Liff, 1986). The increase in part-time labour may, rather, be part of a fundamental change in the labour market, and not a temporary fluctuation as the term "reserve army" would suggest (Walby, 1986). The disagreement of researchers may indicate that part-time workers are used in different ways in different industries and situations. Overall, statistically, they are not more likely to be used as a reserve army of labour than are full-timers, although the picture within individual sectors may vary. Any tendency to lay part-timers off during recession may be statistically overbalanced by the tendency to make more use of part-timers in order to match more precisely the requirements of the job and the hours worked.

Another Marxist theory with quite different implications for part-time workers has achieved widespread acceptance in many circles in recent years. This is the theory that the labour process is being "deskilled" (Braverman, 1974). With the help of technology, work is progressively being routinised, simplified, and separated into discrete tasks. Conception is being separated from execution. In this way, capital is controlling the labour process and maximising labour productivity. Work previously performed by multi-skilled craftsmen is now done by cheaper and more disposable unskilled labour. In this way the labour process is being "degraded". The resultant work, with its limited training requirements and small needs for continuity easily accommodates unskilled and casual part-timers. In deskilling theory, cheap marginal workers (usually female) may be substituted for skilled full-time workers (usually male) (Humphries, 1983).

In applying deskilling theory to part-time work, Hurstfield (1978) suggests that part-time labour has been substituted for full-time labour, especially in the services industries. In New Zealand, Brosnan (1991) and *Across the Counter* (1990) report that part-time, routinised forms of work have been substituted for full-time in retail. On the other hand, other studies have identified the overall growth in part-time work with sectoral growth rather than with labour substitution (for example, OECD, 1983).

A problem with blanket application of the theory is that occupations which clearly demand training and are not deskilled also include large numbers of casual part-timers. Perhaps the most notable example of this is teaching, at school, polytechnic and university level. So further explanation is required.

Braverman's work has inspired an enormous body of comment. Several writers claim that while deskilling may be occurring in some times and places, "reskilling" is also occurring (for example, Walsh, 1989 in a study of retail meatcutters; Crompton and Reid, 1982, in a study of clerical workers). It has been argued that jobs are always being deskilled and new jobs requiring new skills are always coming into being. At the same time, unions control entry to occupations and maintain the classification of jobs as skilled long after new technology has made skill divisions irrelevant (Rubery, 1980).

The concept of "skill" itself, has come in for intense scrutiny, especially by feminist writers who claim that "skill" is not an absolute, but is a social construct, strongly related to gender (Beechey and Perkins, 1987; Game and Pringle, 1984). Case studies of technological change in the newspaper industry have illustrated the process of defining male occupations as skilled and female occupations as less skilled, regardless of actual job content (Cockburn, 1983; Hill and Gidlow, 1988). The deskilling thesis does not acknowledge the role of male-dominated unions in bringing about particular constructions of skill (Beechey and Perkins, 1987). Applying this theory to part-time work, part-time jobs would be classified as unskilled because they are usually done by women who are subject to patriarchy, because they are largely not unionised, and perhaps simply because they are part-time and therefore stigmatised as inferior.

Critics agree that the deskilling thesis also ignores power relationships and the political processes of negotiation, conflict and compromise. Managers are pictured imposing conditions on a "virtually inert working class" (Elgar, 1979: 60, quoted in Hill and Gidlow, 1988: 24). It also ignores the possibility of compromise between employer and employee in the use of technologies and organisation of work. Hill showed how the definitions of skill at the Christchurch Star were not subject to technological determinism when new printing technology was introduced, but were very much modified by the actions of the union and the collective bargaining process (Hill and Gidlow, 1988).

It may be observed that these two Marxist ideas of the industrial reserve army and deskilling would predict opposite effects in time of recession. In the one theory, workers would be disposed of, and in the other, they would be used to substitute for more expensive labour. A combination effect including both tendencies is another possibility. In actual practice, in recession a third option is sometimes taken - worker hours are sometimes cut to avoid redundancy (Robinson and Wallace, 1984). Privatising is yet

another option - workers are re-hired, but as self-employed, for example, in the case of public service cleaners in Britain (Coyle, 1985).

The implications of labour process theory for permanent part-time workers are the tendencies for employers to prefer casual, unskilled part-timers who can be used as a reserve army of labour, and in deskilled positions. Again, however, the process is not inevitable, as the impact of collective bargaining has shown.

Dual and segmented labour market theories

Of all of the economic theories, dual and segmented labour market theories have been applied most often to part-time work. Flowing out of work by such writers as Kerr (1954, cited in Mallier and Rosser, 1987) and Doeringer and Piore (1971), these theories have been developed by analysts in every school of economics, including institutional, radical, Marxist, and neoclassical. Basically, dual labour market theory says that there are primary and secondary labour markets. The characteristics of the primary labour market, where the work most essential to firms is performed, are stability, permanence, career ladders, firm-specific training, and limited ports of entry. Secondary labour markets include workers who perform less central tasks. Their characteristics include dispensability, poorer pay, limited promotional possibilities, and lower investment in training.

The casual workers who do secondary jobs may have less training, and organisations may experience them as less reliable or loyal. Research has shown that employer characterisations of part-time workers as less reliable are directly related to whether the employers see them as a cheap, disposable source of labour. Where part-time workers are "retention" workers and considered to be skilled, they are not experienced as less reliable (Tilly, 1992a). It has also been pointed out that it is necessary to distinguish between the characteristics of the labour markets and the characteristics of the people in them. People themselves may be seen as less reliable, having higher turnover and absenteeism, when in fact the jobs they are in are boring, poorly paid, unrewarded for training and experience, and turnover is caused by fluctuations in the demand for labour.

Over time, however, the job characteristics may become the characteristics of the job holders (Barron and Norris, 1976). On the other hand, we may note that many of the studies discussed in earlier and later chapters, show that part-time workers, even casual ones, do not have these negative characteristics. Many studies have shown part-time workers to have higher productivity, and have reported that managers consider them to be loyal and conscientious. The employment of part-timers as secondary workers, then means that organisations both gain the benefits of flexibility and cost savings associated with secondary workers, and the benefits of loyalty and stability associated with primary workers.

Numerous studies have identified part-time employment as secondary work. The European Commission has identified much part-time work in the Community as "a form of segmentation within the labour market which runs counter to the policy objective in all Member States to develop an integrated and transparent market with the aim of overcoming mismatches and other imbalances" (Commission of the European Communities, Proposal for a Council Directive on Voluntary Part-time Work, quoted in Robinson, 1984: 64). Member states, with the exception of the UK, have approved a directive which would give part-time workers the same protection as full-time workers. Other studies which have documented the construction of part-time work as secondary include: Hurstfield (1978), for part-timers in Britain; White (1983), for those in Canada; Chessum (1989), on part-time teachers in Britain; Grant (1991), on part-time workers in West Yorkshire food and drink factories and retail outlets; Morton (1987), in a study for the West Midlands Low Pay Unit; Wallace (1984), on part-time academic staff in the USA; Deacon (1984) on part-timers in the Australian public service; Brosnan (1991), on retail workers in New Zealand; and Shipley (1982) on women's employment in Palmerston North.

Some writers have shown that although part-time workers may experience the rewards associated with secondary employment, they are not performing tasks which are secondary to the labour process. They question the classification of part-time work as "secondary" or "marginal" (for example, Beechey and Perkins, 1987: 142). This is especially the case in the service sector, where the majority of part-timers work. Robinson, who carried out major studies on part-time work for the EC, has concluded that the EC's proposed Directive on part-time work is a formal acknowledgement by governments, trade unions, and employers "of the permanent nature of part-time

employment, and a rejection of beliefs that part-time workers constitute a marginal labour force" (Robinson, 1984: 65).

Other research has also disputed the labelling of part-time work as secondary and full-time as primary. As was noted in Chapter Two, conditions within part-time employment vary widely. In an empirical study of hospital nurses and cleaners in the public and private sectors in New Zealand, Dixon (1985) concludes that the part-time labour market is highly differentiated, incorporating both high and low quality jobs. She refers to the assigning of full-time and part-time to primary and secondary categories as "methodologically unsound", for it is based on statistical tendencies rather than on absolute differences (p. 70). Using Canadian wage data, she shows that part-time wages are even more widely distributed than full-time, and that 19.1% of part-timers in 1981 were in the highest-paid professional group. Says Dixon: "The secondary sector thesis has blinded recent writers to the evidence of this diversity and prevented them from exploring its implications" (Dixon, 1985: 71).

Other writers have seen a dualism within part-time work. Kahne (1985), in an American study of older part-time workers, introduces the terms "Old Concept" and "New Concept" to describe part-time work. Also recognising that part-time workers perform work which is central to the firm, she identifies "Old Concept" employment as poorly rewarded, and "New Concept" part-time work as being on much the same terms as full-time work.

Tilly (1992a, 1992b) builds on this concept of dualism in part-time employment, using the term "retention" part-time employment. Rather than classifying all part-time employment as secondary, he sees that there are different types of part-time employment:

... part-time jobs are good or bad for the same reasons that full-time jobs are. There is nothing inherent in part-time jobs that dictates that they must have low productivity and compensation (Tilly, 1992a: 339).

As Tilly says, the "notion that there is more than one type of part-time work is perhaps not a startling one ... However, most economic analysis of part-time employment has overlooked this idea" (Tilly, 1992b: 228).

In Tilly's own empirical study, which included interviews with managers, union officials and workers in retail, insurance, and service industries, he identified both secondary and primary forms of employment. The key distinguishing characteristic was the reason that managers gave for employing a part-timer - if it was skill or experience, the worker tended to be "retention"; if it was cost or flexibility, the worker was secondary (Tilly, 1992a: 337).

The conclusion is that although the largest group of part-time workers are in jobs constructed as secondary employment, part-time employment also includes primary workers and workers whose tasks are not really secondary at all. There is nothing intrinsic to part-time work which gives it secondary status, but part-time work is widely structured as secondary employment, especially where organisational motives are cost or flexibility.

Flexibility theories

Like segmented labour market theory, flexibility theory considers workers in polar categories, but flexibility theory is actually more a description of management strategy. It has been popularised in the Flexible Firm Model, in which part-time workers are included in categories of atypical workers (Atkinson, 1984, 1985, 1987).

In flexibility theory, market stagnation, redundancies, uncertainty about future growth, technological change in products and production methods, greater competition in product markets, the need for immediacy of response to opportunities and pressures, and reductions in the basic hours of working time are identified as market realities which militate for flexible manning strategies. Employers need to pursue cost effectiveness, and are attempting to do this through labour market flexibility; governments need to reduce unemployment, and are attempting to do so through reducing labour market rigidities, reforming wage bargaining, and deregulation (Atkinson, 1987). With unemployment high and trade unions in a weakened state, the opportunity as well as the need is present.

Atkinson's Flexible Firm Model has at its centre a core group of primary labour market employees who provide functional flexibility; then a first peripheral group of secondary employees who provide numerical flexibility and protect the core from redundancies; next a second peripheral group which includes people on short-term contracts, public subsidy trainees, delayed recruitment, job-sharers and part-time workers; then an outer ring of the self-employed, sub-contractors, agency temporaries, and outsourced workers. In this model, part-timers, located in the second peripheral category, are hired primarily for financial and numerical flexibility (Atkinson, 1985). Although the outer rings of the model include highly paid consultants and professionals as well as poorly rewarded workers, Atkinson predicts that the conditions of work of many part-time workers are likely to deteriorate substantially.

Flexibility theory can be criticised in the same way as segmented labour market theory. Peripheral categories of workers may actually be performing core tasks beside core workers, for example, as shown in a study in British Steel Corporation conducted between 1980 and 1985 (Fevre, 1986: 23, quoted in Pollert, 1988: 290-291). The model has also been criticised on other counts: for simply repackaging old forms of casual work and legitimising their use (Huws, Hurstfield and Holtmaat, 1989); for being based on very selective empirical studies; for confusing continuities in the growing service sector with new overall manpower strategies (Pollert, 1988); for being able to demonstrate little evidence of functional flexibility in the core (IDS, 1986; 1988, cited in Pollert, 1988: 292); and for collapsing so-called non-standard categories of work which are used for very different purposes (Pollert, 1988).

A striking aspect of flexibility is that it is no longer just a means to an end - it has become an end in itself. While some writers have argued that the present focus on flexibility is really no more than a tactical response to recession (McIlroy, 1988: 200, cited in Hyman, 1991: 259), others think that it has become much more than this - that overwhelmingly, government and business are convinced that the capacity to adapt is essential because uncertainty will be the hallmark of the future (Hyman, 1991).

A second striking characteristic of the pursuit of flexibility is that it has centred on labour. As Atkinson has said, "the notion of flexibility in the UK context has been virtually synonymous with the idea of labour being flexible in the interests of capital" (Atkinson, 1987: 98). A recent New Zealand publication identified in the literature no

less than eight forms of labour flexibility: pay, functional, numerical, mobility, working time, skill formation, procedural, and regulatory (Bamber, 1990).

Critics assert that the focus on labour flexibility has diverted attention from other means of increasing productivity, such as attention to: new markets; new competitive strategies; designing and redesigning products; increasing responsiveness to market changes; and adjusting the organisation of productivity (Rubery, Tarling and Wilkinson, 1987: 132).

The flexible firm model assumes a direct relationship between productivity and labour flexibility, which may or may exist. For many firms, wage costs are a small proportion of total sales revenue (Rubery, Tarling and Wilkinson, 1987: 131-2). One argument is that flexibilisation of labour can actually be counter-productive, incurring costs in loss of management control, reductions in quality, and increased worker dissatisfaction and turnover. Low wages provide no incentive to utilise labour efficiently or to upgrade skills, and they encourage the maintenance of outdated production technology. The distancing of risk may have short-term advantages for firms, but it subsidises uncompetitive business. Homeworkers, for example, may absorb the costs of poor management, inefficient marketing, and lack of product innovation (Allen and Wolkowitz, 1987).

Feminist writers have criticised flexibility theory for ignoring gender (Beechey and Perkins, 1987). Walby has said that part-time work is not "peripheral", but that it has become an integral part of the structure of the workforce. Part-time workers provide flexibility for employers at work and for men at home in a capitalist and patriarchal system (Walby, 1986).

On the positive side, monetarist restructuring in New Zealand, which has included measures to increase labour market flexibility, has in many ways brought about an improved economic outlook. Deregulation is allowing the emergence of new working arrangements, but is having an uneven impact on the workforce. Some part-time jobs are becoming less secure and at the same time, there are new possibilities for the legitimising of alternative work forms.

The Employment Contracts Act 1991 and deregulation of the labour market in the interests of flexibility have been described as a "license to create secondary sector

employment" (Brosnan and Rea, 1991: 154). However, it has not yet been proven that flexible use of labour is becoming widespread in the economy. The creation of casual employment has largely occurred in the service sector, and may be more a sectoral phenomenon than a widespread movement. While the New Zealand government has strongly espoused a philosophy of increasing flexibility through labour market deregulation, it is not clear to what degree this lead has been followed by organisations. This is also apparently the case in other countries, where the public sector has led in promoting the use of "atypical" forms of employment, out of what some researchers say is a mistaken belief that this is the usual practice in the private sector (Anderson, Brosnan and Walsh, 1993: 8; cf. Pollert, 1988: 308). There are indications that casual or "atypical" workforms are increasing in the New Zealand public sector (Anderson, Brosnan and Walsh, 1993). However, even in the immediate wake of the Employment Contracts Act, there do not appear to have been mass moves to casualise labour throughout the economy.

Implications for permanent part-time workers are that in a climate of uncertainty there are apparently strong motives for non-permanent employment, whether full-time or part-time. However, the verdict on casualisation is not yet in. Employment contracts, when extended to full-time permanent workers, may lower their conditions by limiting tenure. However, when applied to part-time staff, they may tend to raise conditions by extending staff some sort of legitimacy and status as contract employees rather than casuals, and implying that some sort of thought must go into their conditions.

Feminist theories

The lion's share of theoretical writing on part-time work comes from feminist researchers. Many of these researchers also write from the perspectives of segmented labour market or Marxist theories, and there are feminist critiques of each of the major theories. Several contributions from feminist writers have therefore been discussed in the sections above, as has been noted throughout. In this section, the concepts of gender segregation and of patriarchy in the workplace will be discussed as they relate to part-time work.

According to gender theory, segregation of work by gender is both horizontal and vertical (Hakim, 1979, cited in Introduction, Walby, 1988). In other words, men hold most of the top jobs within each occupation, and occupations themselves are also "gendered". Thus, men dominate good quality occupations and women are concentrated in poor quality occupations. This is borne out by statistics referred to in Chapter One.

Gender segregation at work is said to be constructed by patriarchal forces, rather than the result of women's choices, as human capital theory assumes. Several factors work together to "gender" jobs, including the domestic responsibilities of women, exploitation by employers, the role of male unions in protecting traditional male preserves, and the "social construction of skill", by which male jobs are defined as skilled because men do them and female jobs are defined as unskilled because women do them. The gendering of occupations is said to predate capitalism and continue under socialism; to survive wars, recession, restructuring and technological change (Cockburn, 1988). Variations in segregation are partly the outcome of the relative strength of patriarchy over time (Walby, 1988).

Over the past few decades, women have made inroads into occupations which were traditionally male. Women in professional occupations have thus made progress, but on the other hand, women's increasing participation in poor quality part-time work has been seen as a backwards step. The increase of female part-time work has been described as a "re-segregation" of the workforce, which counters the positive advances which have occurred in female employment (Robinson, 1988).

Patriarchy at home is said to have contributed to the creation of part-time work forms. Part-time work has been referred to as a way of both meeting the needs of the patriarchal family and providing organisations with cheap, flexible workers (Duffy and Pupo, 1992). As Walby describes this:

Part-time work thus represents the new form of the compromise between patriarchal and capitalist interests. The expansion of part-time work and the consolidation of the distinction between it and full-time work during the post-war period saw the continuation of this patriarchal and capitalist accommodation. Women's labour was made available to capital, but on terms which did not threaten to disrupt the patriarchal status quo in the

household, since a married woman working part-time could still perform the full range of domestic tasks (Walby, 1986: 207).

Other researchers have also seen the growth of part-time employment as a fundamental re-ordering of work. It is not merely a way of meeting current organisational needs, but constitutes a restructuring of the relationship between work and family and the construction of work itself. Whole occupations and sectors have actually been structured as female and part-time. Not only are these occupations female and part-time, they are also exploitative (Beechey and Perkins, 1987).

Beechey and Perkins (1987), in a major feminist study of part-time work, critique all major economic theories and dual role explanations of women's part-time work for ignoring gender. They say that frameworks for analysing part-time work need to include gender as it structures production, state policy, and the family. The impact of gender should be analysed in the spheres of production and reproduction and in unions.

Beechey and Perkins say that jobs are constructed as part-time because they are perceived to be women's jobs. Part-time jobs are defined as unskilled even when they involve an array of skills. Even when work is central to the labour process, part-time work is regarded as marginal.

(There is) nothing inherent in the nature of particular jobs which makes them full-time or part-time. They have been constructed as such, and such constructions are closely related to gender. (Beechey and Perkins, 1987: 145-146)

One implication of feminist theory may be that while part-time work is so closely associated with women, it will be difficult to alter its conditions, at least until there have been more fundamental changes in the attitudes of society. Acknowledgement of the potential which permanent part-time work holds for both men and women may lead more quickly to improved conditions for part-time workers.

Conclusion

The apparent tendency of many employers to prefer non-permanent forms of part-time work, and the dynamics of the use or non-use of permanent part-time work have been explored in this chapter through consideration of the substantial contributions of economic and gender theories of employment. These theoretical studies from the perspectives of classical economics, labour process theory, dual and segmented labour market theory, and feminist theory have asked how it is that poor quality part-time work has arisen. This chapter has reviewed theoretical conceptualisations of part-time workers as a reserve army of labour; a deskilled workforce; a secondary labour market; and as a workforce segregated by gendered structures and subject to patriarchy in the workplace. Management studies have given part-time work comparatively little theoretical attention, but this chapter reviewed the Flexible Firm Model, which outlines how using part-timers in the "periphery" of the organisation can be a Human Resources strategy to achieve labour market flexibility.

The concept of dualism within part-time work does offer a partial explanation for the use of permanent or non-permanent part-time work. Where employers seek skilled, retention part-time workers, they employ them as primary, core workers. Where they seek flexibility and cost economies, they employ unskilled, casual part-timers. However, this explanation does not go far enough, considering that many "casual" part-timers work in the same job for long periods, and perform skilled work. The explanation may also lie partly in the "social construction of skill", in which certain jobs are identified as skilled and others as unskilled on the basis of power relationships and not necessarily on the basis of their content.

Whether or not any of these theories is embraced, taken together, they seem to provide eloquent testimony of the strong pressures militating against the use of permanent part-time work, and for the use of part-time work which is poorly rewarded. However, at the same time, the theories are in disagreement with one another, some are based on outdated assumptions of the discontinuous attachment of part-timers to the workforce, and the theories could foster an overly deterministic view of part-time work.

In identifying the tendencies for part-time work to be secondary or peripheral employment, the theories are describing a dynamic of potentials. A deterministic interpretation could engender a view of part-timers as victims totally helpless before the relentless march of new technology, capitalism, flexibility, patriarchy, or whatever. This sort of perception could lead to the belief that no other outcomes are possible. But many of the theories fail to adequately consider the role of politics or industrial relations or all of the aspects of power, conflict and compromise. They also ignore the changes that may be brought about in organisational strategy or in Human Resources policy, which have a potentially transformational role.

Some of the theoretical perspectives could leave us with an implied one-dimensional view of managers as the agents of exploitation, whether in the interests of capitalism, protected primary workforces, or patriarchy. Few researchers, however, have tried to understand managers in their own right, as they make decisions within the context of complex and conflicting pressures and processes. The next chapter of this present study focuses on the manager's perspective and impact on permanent part-time work.

Chapter Three:

Managers' Perspectives on Permanent Part-Time Work

Introduction

There has been very little research on the managers who actually make the choices regarding part-time work. In contrast, there has been considerable research on part-time work from sociological and economic perspectives and it was primarily this research that was consulted in earlier chapters to shed light on the environmental pressures on managers. The earlier discussion set the scene for an examination of managers and permanent part-time work. A picture has been painted of the manager at the centre of socio-economic, political, legal, demographic, historical, technological and ideological forces which have had a powerful influence on the growth and structure of part-time work. The decisions of the manager on permanent part-time work are influenced by these forces as well as by the organisational and personal factors which will be discussed in this chapter.

This chapter focuses on managers in organisations and examines direct influences on their use of permanent part-time work. It first introduces an important study which makes a unique contribution to the study of the managerial perspective. The chapter goes on to examine the reasons why managers use or do not use permanent part-time work in terms of an organisational-behaviour model, which identifies organisational determinants of use. The chapter also examines a model of management decision-making on permanent part-time work. Factors which are highlighted in the discussion include organisational context factors, personal factors, and operating and cost factors.

The management perspective on organisational use of permanent part-time work

There are major obstacles to examining the use of permanent part-time work by managers. First, few studies differentiate between permanent and non-permanent forms of part-time work. Second, few studies comprehensively examine the managerial perspective. Third, while the existing literature identifies economic incentives and constraints to the use of part-time work, little research has gone beyond this to examine other external, organisational, and personal influences on decision-making.

One study which does focus on managers and on permanent part-time work, and which also explores contextual and personal factors, is: *Permanent Part-Time Employment. The Manager's Perspective*, by Nollen, Eddy and Martin (1978). This fairly early exploratory research was undertaken with sponsorship from the US Department of Labor, and involved interviews with work unit supervisors (line managers) and employment experts (personnel managers or vice presidents) in 68 firms, including 39 users and 29 non-users of permanent part-time work. The sample of firms was selected from the manufacturing, and the finance and insurance industries because these represented the extremes of use and non-use of permanent part-time work. The authors tried to discover what were the incentives and constraints to using permanent part-time work by asking why one manager or organisation decided to use part-timers and another did not. Two of the authors participated in a further and wider study for the American Management Association, in this case involving interviews with top level managers, and this strengthened some of their earlier conclusions (Nollen and Martin, 1978, reported on in Nollen, 1982 and in Ronen, 1984). With few exceptions, these studies have not inspired further research of a similar nature, and the results are widely quoted in the most recent as well as the earlier literature. The studies will therefore be considered in some detail, and used as a lens through which to view the other literature which discusses incentives and constraints to managers' use of permanent part-time work.

Nollen, Eddy and Martin (1978) differs from other part-time work studies which have stopped with the identification of operating and cost incentives and constraints to the use of permanent part-time work. The identification of operating and cost incentives and constraints is valuable, but in order to understand the use and shape of part-time work,

it is necessary to go beyond models which, by implication, see organisational decision-making as based on the purely rational pursuit of economic efficiency. As was determined in earlier chapters, there are powerful socio-economic influences on the use of permanent part-time work. There are also powerful influences at work in the internal organisational context, and personal factors also play a part. Nollen, Eddy and Martin's study **does** consider organisational influences such as climate and institutionalisation, and also considers the impact of managers' perceptions, experiences and attitudes on their decisions.

Nollen, Eddy and Martin describe the use of permanent part-time work in terms of two models. The first, an organisational-behaviour model, shows how general background factors (including technology, human, organisational, social, and external factors) lead to particular perceptions of economic incentives and constraints and to a particular organisational climate. These factors, in turn, lead to decisions on permanent part-time work and then on to actual economic and social/psychological consequences, which provided feed-back to influence the background factors. (See Figure 3.1, below). A second model, on the managerial decision process, is discussed later in this chapter. The rest of this chapter uses Nollen, Eddy and Martin's model as a framework for introducing their own findings and the findings of other part-time work studies.

External context

In acknowledging the importance of contextual factors, Nollen, Eddy and Martin's approach has a resonance with that taken in this study. These researchers also saw the impact of labour market factors and of union and government actions, factors which have been stressed in the present study. However, Nollen, Eddy and Martin's discussion of most of the external contextual factors (called "general background factors" in the model) is limited for our purposes in that it is focused on the American situation prior to 1978. In the earlier chapters of the present study, the wider international context and the New Zealand context up to 1993 were examined. The discussion in the present study has also been extended through examination of theoretical explanations for permanent and non-permanent forms of part-time work.

It is the examination of the organisational factors, and the next phases of Nollen, Eddy and Martin's model which will be considered in the next section of this chapter: the way in which managers perceive operating and cost incentives and constraints; are influenced by organisational climate; make decisions; and experience permanent part-time employment.

Organisational context factors

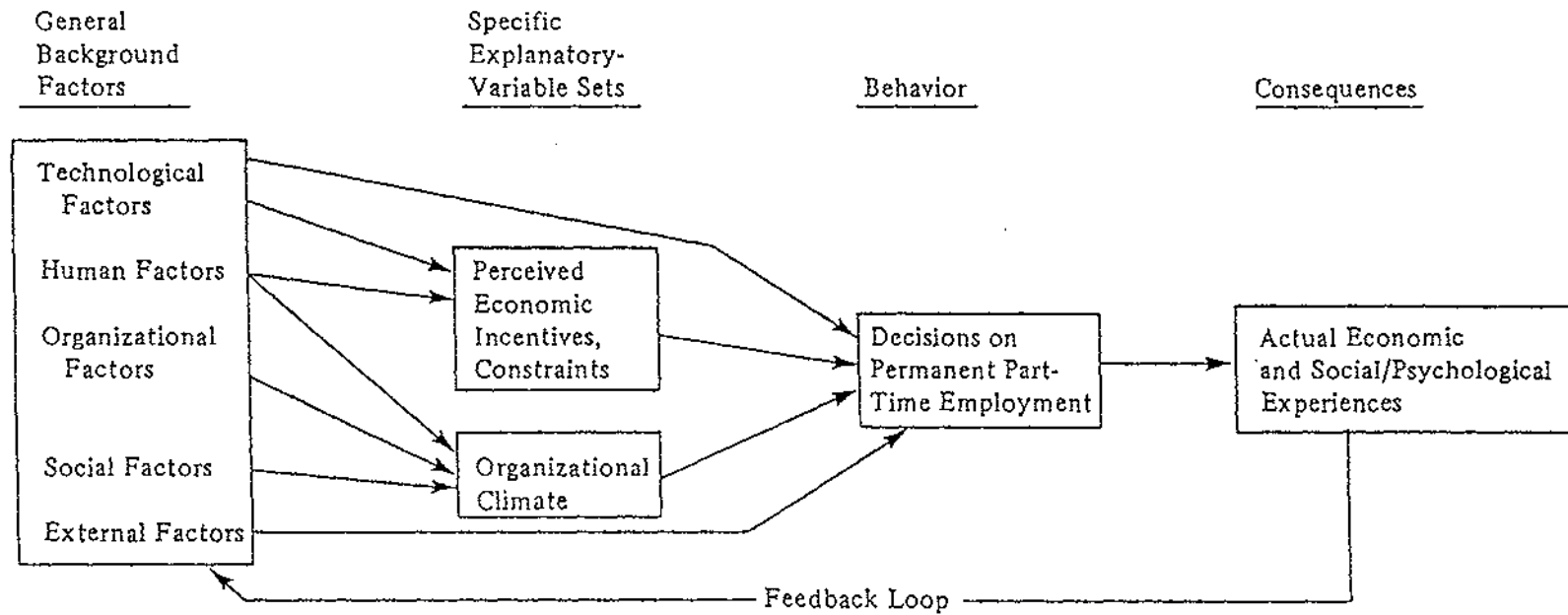
This section of the chapter focuses on some of the organisational context factors which influence the use of permanent part-time work. Organisational factors which Nollen, Eddy and Martin discussed in relation to permanent part-time work, and which can be drawn from the other literature, include: strategy; Human Resources policy; and the degree to which permanent part-time work is institutionalised, including its routinisation in day-to-day management.

Strategy

Although strategy does not appear in Nollen, Eddy and Martin's model, it is considered in some of the other literature. Organisations choose their Human Resources policies as part of their overall strategies to pursue effectiveness. The way in which organisations use part-timers may be directly related to organisational strategy. For example, where organisations have low margins and are faced with stiff competition from cheap imports, they may pursue cost economies as a major priority and use casual low-paid labour. On the other hand, where loyalty, innovation and commitment are important, they may use permanent part-time workers (Kochan and Useem, 1992).

The recent emphasis on flexibility as a Human Resources strategy has tended to threaten the permanency of even full-time workers in industries where stable labour has previously been considered important, and may have exacerbated the insecurity of part-timers, who were already regarded as transitory workers. The situation is complicated

FIGURE 3.1: ORGANISATIONAL-BEHAVIOUR MODEL FOR EXPLAINING EMPLOYERS' USE OF PERMANENT PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT (Nollen, Eddy and Martin, 1978: 39)



in that part-time workers form a large labour surplus. Therefore, even in cases where quality and commitment have been important, employers have been able to offer casual work with no fringe benefits. The demographic changes which are taking place may change this situation and give part-timers a stronger bargaining position.

Policy and practice

Nollen, Eddy and Martin found, in the late 1970s, that only rarely was there any policy on permanent part-time work in organisations. However, as discussed in Chapter One, there is some evidence that recent Human Resources thinking has been influenced by family responsive and EEO policies which include permanent part-time work. There are several reasons for this: the fact that some legislation already exists and more is likely to follow; the fact that the issues are sometimes a focus of collective bargaining; staff recruitment and retention sometimes demand it; and there is some adherence to a Human Resources philosophy which assumes that if workers are satisfied they will perform better. The pressures brought to bear by collective bargaining and government legislation, and changes in organisational Human Resources policies have been discussed in earlier chapters.

Human Resources policy which is responsive to employee requests or needs does not emerge strongly as an incentive in the part-time work studies. This must be partly an artifact of the research design of some studies, which have not asked questions in such a way that policy incentives will be revealed, but the relative absence is still striking. Nollen, Eddy and Martin made a summary of incentives and constraints to the use of permanent part-time work identified in the early literature (Table 3.1, page 80 of this study). Even though labour shortages existed, only one reference to employee needs is included in the summary, and that is rated at a low number 13 on the list. In the 1980s, presumably recession and large labour surpluses were no incentive for employers to take extra measures to attract staff.

More recently, with the identification of demographic trends which will both increase women's numerical significance in the workforce and increase the numbers of older workers, there is incentive to respond to the needs of the part-time labour market

(Clutterbuck and Snow, 1990; Sekaran and Leong, 1992). As Schwartz (1989) has said, "Women in the corporation are about to move from a buyer's to a seller's market" (p. 68). Organisations will be particularly anxious to retain them in light of the high replacement costs of skilled staff. For example, the New Zealand Treasury estimates that it costs \$18,000 to employ a new analyst (Lampe, 1993: 6). Changes in Human Resources thinking and policy are therefore occurring.

In Nollen, Eddy and Martin's 1978 study, it was the authors' view that making managers aware of the needs of their workforce had an uncertain and uneven impact on the organisational use of permanent part-time work. However, in more recent studies, employers do state that they intend to meet employee as well as organisational needs. For example, the ILO found that employers' organisations largely believe that part-time work meets both individual and organisational needs (ILO, 1989). Replies from individual employers to the ILO study included a mix of social and operating reasons given for using part-time workers. The phased retirement and job sharing schemes which have been referred to in this study have often been introduced as social policy initiatives. Implementation of policies such as permanent part-time work is a way in which organisations can meet the needs of staff, comply with EEO legislation and policies, and at the same time avoid incurring extra expense.

Implementation and institutionalisation

Leading on from the discussion of policy is the question of whether institutionalisation of permanent part-time work practice is successful or not. Another significant finding of Nollen, Eddy and Martin was that there was very little institutionalisation of successful practice in the employment of permanent part-time workers. The decision to use or not to use permanent part-time work was usually made on an *ad hoc*, case-by-case basis by work-unit managers or supervisors. Rarely was there any top-level involvement or direction, and rarely were personnel policies adapted to cope with part-time workers. The authors concluded that although the effects of permanent part-time work were usually positive and almost never negative, the *status quo* was strong. Powerful incentives were therefore necessary to induce managers to try permanent part-time work. The authors noted the importance of the socio-economic forces which encourage the use

of permanent part-time work, but stressed also the importance of concrete incentives for local managers to use permanent part-time work. They suggested that micro-incentives should focus on the operating problems of line managers at the lower levels of organisations. Even where the option of permanent part-time work has been incorporated in organisational policy, the institutionalisation of this policy may be incomplete, and the same sort of incentives as those suggested by Nollen, Eddy and Martin may be required.

Also, where permanent part-time work policy is present, its initial implementation, and the setting up of permanent part-time work positions may act as a constraint to managerial use. The literature identifies a number of modifications to organisational practice and to organisational thinking which may be needed when permanent part-time positions are initially set up, and some of these are very briefly summarised below.

There appears to be a gap in the availability of practical guidelines for implementing permanent part-time work in the New Zealand setting. Some prescriptive literature does exist, but most of this is based on overseas situations. This "inconvenience factor" may in itself be a constraint to its use. The State Services Commission has set out to remedy this gap for the Public Service. It has identified examples of good management practice in the employment of permanent part-time workers in Glendining (1989), and more recently, brought out a publication undertaken as a project for Women's Suffrage Year, which sets out detailed and practical guidelines for the implementation of permanent part-time work policies in the Public Service (Lampe, 1993). (The empirical research for the present study was completed before the publication of these guidelines).

The requirements which the establishment of permanent part-time positions make of managers are, however, not mysterious or obscure. The existing literature agrees that major factors in the success or failure of permanent part-time positions are the degree of management commitment; the planning that goes into setting up the positions; and the degree of initial consultation.

Management and supervisory commitment to making permanent part-time employment work, is possibly the most important factor in its success, and studies suggest that direct supervisors should be involved in setting up positions from the beginning (Olmsted, 1983; Lampe, 1993). Management support will have spin-offs in terms of modifications of administrative procedures, and in terms of the support of colleagues. The support of

other staff will be much more likely if the expectations of permanent part-time workers are seen to be equitable, and if administration is organised so that no extra problems are created for other staff. For example, in a permanent part-time pilot scheme in the New Zealand Public Service, it was found that in some departments, there were insufficient guidelines for pay-roll staff, and consequently *pro rata* calculations for permanent part-time staff were unnecessarily difficult and probably irritating (Part-time careers - a public sector experiment, 1980).

According to the literature, planning must go into permanent part-time work. The main reason for problems in the New Zealand Public Service pilot was "*ad hoc* management", including last minute demands, and accidentally leaving part-timers out of communication channels. Clear job descriptions and clear expectations need to be established from the start (Olmsted, 1983; Glendining, 1989; Syrett, 1983; Meier, 1979). In addition, planning will include such practicalities as: reallocating tasks to other staff if the hours of work of an existing staff member have been reduced; making arrangements for continuity, coverage and crisis; establishing means of communication; scheduling staff meetings at appropriate times; ensuring that part-timers are not left out of systems which allow access to management; providing access to training; deciding how to deal with any extra supervisory burden; and setting appropriate criteria for performance appraisal.

Without this planning, results can be inequitable and unworkable. For example, Burgoyne and Armstrong (1991), writing on part-time direct sales staff, pointed out that setting sales targets and bonuses at full-time levels was not motivational for part-time staff, who had no chance at all of meeting the targets.

The importance of consultation between management, other staff, and permanent part-time workers is stressed in all of the prescriptive literature. Any issues in doubt should be negotiated, and the results put in writing. Without consultation, managers miss out on some advantages of permanent part-time workers. For example, several studies say that supervisors often underestimate the flexibility of permanent part-time staff. There should also be a system for monitoring the permanent part-time position on an ongoing basis so that any problems which arise can be resolved.

All of these "shoulds" in the prescriptive literature may be off-putting for managers who want to use permanent part-time work, but if they are ignored, permanent part-time work may founder. As with any new system, there is an initial investment in time and energy to get things going, and then it requires less input. It seems likely that clear, brief, and very practical guidelines tailored for New Zealand's legislative and industrial relations setting, and for particular industries or occupations would find a receptive audience amongst those managers setting up permanent part-time work positions.

Personal (human) factors

In this section, some influences of personal factors on decision-making are considered. Nollen, Eddy and Martin refer to these as "human factors". Factors which are discussed include: expectations and experiences; differences in the perceptions of different levels of management; and the characteristics of the decision-making process itself.

Expectations and experiences

In the Nollen, Eddy and Martin study, there was a large gap between the expectations of managers who did not use permanent part-time work and the actual results experienced by those who did. The researchers showed that by far the majority of managers who used permanent part-time work had positive experiences, but that the majority of managers who did not use permanent part-time work expected to have negative experiences. Again and again, non-users predicted bad consequences such as high turnover and absenteeism, difficulties with administration and supervision, high training costs, low productivity, poor promotability, and recruiting problems. However, their fears were not realised in the user organisations. In fact, user firms experienced net operating and cost benefits.

The inconsistencies between experience and reality were revealed by Nollen, Eddy, and Martin's methodology, which involved a comparison of **users** and **non-users** of permanent part-time work. This had the effect of highlighting the misconceptions of the non-users. Negative expectations of part-time workers by managers who do not employ them have also been reported in other research. For example, Hooks (1990) reports that

despite the overwhelming satisfaction of managers with alternative work schedules used by some female Chartered Public Accountants, these schedules are still questioned by managers who have no experience with them. Things may have changed since Klein's study of managerial attitudes to Britain's women workers concluded that part-timers were viewed as "shifting" and "unreliable" (Klein, 1965: 127), or since a New Zealand study of 1055 employers and their attitudes to women workers reported that a general reluctance to employ part-timers was only overcome by serious staff shortages (Bullock, 1973). But some perceptions are still negative, and part-timers are still often seen as "peripheral" to the organisation (Ronen, 1984).

A conclusion that can be drawn is that the quality of information available to organisations, and the formation of the viewpoints of managers on permanent part-time work, must be very important to its use. The good experiences of many organisations with permanent part-time work are becoming more widely known. The positive and even startling results of some case studies have been widely quoted by advocates of permanent part-time work. For example, an American study, (Greenwald and Liss, 1973, cited in Drew, 1990: 21, reported that 50 half-time social workers averaged 89% as many face-to-face contacts with clients as full-time staff). If misconceptions and negative attitudes have been important in constraining the use of permanent part-time work, then wider dissemination of information and the publication of good examples may lead to more use of permanent part-time work. Some recent studies have indeed reported that good experiences and examples of permanent part-time work were incentives to its use (Drew, 1990; ILO, 1989).

Comparing perceptions of managers at different levels

Another significant observation of Nollen, Eddy and Martin (1978), and of Nollen and Martin (1978, reported in Ronen, 1984) was of the differences in the perceptions of managers at different levels of the organisations. The findings of the two studies have been compiled by Ronen (1984) in the following table, which compares the perceptions of senior managers, work unit supervisors, and "employment experts" (usually personnel managers) on various measures of effectiveness (p. 130-131).

The work unit supervisors were consistently the most conservative in their assessments of the positive impact of permanent part-time work. For all measures, the majority of

**TABLE 3.1: COMPARING PERCEPTIONS OF MANAGEMENT ON
THE IMPACT OF USE OF PERMANENT PART-TIME
EMPLOYMENT (%)**

(Ronen, 1984: 130-131)

IMPACT ON ORGANISATIONAL PERFORMANCE:	MANAGERS *			SUPERVISORS #			EMPLOYMENT EXPERTS #		
	+	=	-	+	=	-	+	=	-
EFFECTIVENESS									
Productivity	62	33	5	26	62	13	43	38	19
Turnover	40	41	19	21	44	36	32	32	35
Absenteeism	47	47	6	44	33	23	53	40	7
Tardiness	39	56	5						
Fatigue	59	40	1						
COSTS									
Unit labour costs	52	42	6						
Wage costs	58	39	3	21	66	13	24	71	5
Overtime	69	29	2	68	29	3	76	22	3
Fringe benefit costs	57	25	19	67	25	8	50	26	24
Personnel Admin.(Record keeping)	16	45	39	0	69	31	0	68	32
Recruiting	46	37	17	17	54	29	35	41	24
Training	12	55	33	21	54	26	21	61	18
Equipment and facilities	15	71	14	18	61	21	14	76	11

* American Management Association Survey - Senior manager from 481 organisations using part-time employment were surveyed through mail questionnaire, 90% in the private sector and 10% in the public sector [Nollen, S. D. and Martin, V. H. (1978) *Alternative Work Schedules, Part 2: Permanent Part-Time Employment*. New York: American Management Association].

US Department of Labor Survey - An employment expert (vice president of personnel or personnel director) and a work unit supervisor from each of 39 private sector firms using part-time employment were interviewed personally or by mail (Nollen, Eddy and Martin, 1978).

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**TABLE 3.1, CONT'D: COMPARING PERCEPTIONS OF MANAGEMENT
ON THE IMPACT OF USE OF PERMANENT
PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT (%)**

IMPACT ON ORGANISATIONAL PERFORMANCE	MANAGERS *			SUPERVISORS #			EMPLOYMENT EXPERTS #		
	+	=	-	+	=	-	+	=	-
WORKERS, CUSTOMERS, AND PUBLIC									
Promotability				11	63	26	8	43	49
Loyalty				3	49	49	5	53	42
Relationship with employees	31	56	13	5	87	8	6	92	3
Relationship with Customers	12	78	10						
Public relations	24	72	4						
MANAGEMENT									
General supervision - scheduling, coordination, communication				0	51	49	8	57	35
Coverage of work situations	56	22	22						
Employee scheduling	35	30	35						
Work scheduling	41	29	30						
Difficulty of management job	14	48	38						
COMMUNICATION									
Internal	6	59	35						
External	6	76	18						

* American Management Association Survey - Senior manager from 481 organisations using part-time employment were surveyed through mail questionnaire, 90% in the private sector and 10% in the public sector [Nollen, S. D. and Martin, V. H. (1978) *Alternative Work Schedules, Part 2: Permanent Part-Time Employment*. New York: American Management Association].

US Department of Labor Survey - An employment expert (vice president of personnel or personnel director) and a work unit supervisor from each of 39 private sector firms using part-time employment were interviewed personally or by mail (Nollen, Eddy and Martin, 1978).

all three levels of management thought that the use of permanent part-time work had a net positive effect, or an effect equal to that of using full-time staff, but the strength of their agreement varied. The least optimistic measures were for the factors of personnel administration, promotability, loyalty, general supervision, difficulty of management, and communication. Significant numbers of both supervisors and managers thought that using permanent part-time workers made their own jobs more difficult.

On the measures for which comparisons were available for all three levels of management, senior managers were consistently the most optimistic in their assessment of the effects of employing permanent part-time workers. Work unit supervisors were consistently the most pessimistic in their assessments, and personnel managers usually fell somewhere in between. For example, in comparing full-time and part-time staff, 62% of senior managers thought that permanent part-time workers were more productive than full-time workers, 33% thought that productivity was equal, and only 5% thought that the productivity of part-timers was worse. Supervisors were much more conservative, with 26% thinking that part-time productivity was better; 62% thinking that it was equal; and 13% thinking it worse.

If, in the absence of a permanent part-time work policy, line managers are the people who most often make the decision to use or not use permanent part-time work, as Nollen, Eddy and Martin have claimed, then the pessimism of line managers is highly significant. Further, even in organisations where there is a policy on permanent part-time work, the way in which line managers interpret and carry out policy is important. Line managers have significant discretionary powers to facilitate or impede policy implementation.

Specific explanatory-variable sets

In this section, we move to the part of the organisational-behaviour model which attempts to identify specific variables deriving from external and organisational context background factors which can explain managers' decisions on permanent part-time work.

There are two variable sets in the model: organisational climate; and perceived economic (operating and cost) incentives and constraints.

Organisational climate

In Nollen, Eddy and Martin's study, organisational climate was found to affect the use of permanent part-time work, but not as strongly as the researchers expected. They measured the five variables of structure, management style, orientation, tradition, and attitudes. The differences in the overall climates of organisations which used permanent part-time work and those which did not, were not significant. For the specific variables, organisations which used permanent part-time work were found to be somewhat less traditional and more change-oriented; somewhat less formal and controlling; somewhat more participative in style; and somewhat more employee-centred. Managers' attitudes about part-time work were formed by their perceptions of how part-time work would fit into work technology and work scheduling needs, rather than being based on prejudice. Inexperience with permanent part-time work clearly led to negative attitudes, however, with 3/4 of supervisors who did not use permanent part-time work having negative views on permanent part-time work, and 3/4 of supervisors in user firms having positive views (Nollen, Eddy and Martin, 1978: 111).

The findings on climate in Nollen, Eddy and Martin's study were not strong enough to bear out their original hypotheses about the centrality of climate as a determinant of organisational use. However, this in itself is a significant finding.

Economic (operating and cost) incentives and constraints

The next part of the organisational-behaviour model which is considered in this chapter is the explanatory-variable of "perceived economic incentives and constraints". In Nollen, Eddy and Martin's own study, managerial use of permanent part-time workers was usually in response to a specific operating problem, or less likely, a cost problem.

Studies which look at the reasons for using part-time workers date from the mid-sixties, and they include major investigations such as those for the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 1963 and 1973, cited in Nollen, Eddy and Martin, 1978, and in Drew, 1990) and for the OECD (Hallaire, 1968). A summary of the findings of the earliest literature on the incentives reported for the use or non-use of part-time workers is given in Table 3.1 below, which is taken from Nollen, Eddy and Martin (1978).

TABLE 3.2: EMPLOYERS' REASONS (CONTRIBUTING TO) USE AND NON-USE OF PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT. In Order of Frequency of Mention in the Reviewed Literature¹ (Nollen, Eddy and Martin, 1978: 30)

Reasons (Contributing to) Use of Permanent Part-Time Employment

1. General or specific labour shortages
2. Peak load coverage
3. Extended hours of operation
4. Job does not require full-time attention or special services
5. Retain experienced workers no longer able to work fulltime
6. Better utilisation of capital investment
7. Higher productivity of part-time workers
8. Cover relief schedules
9. Reduce turnover
10. Meet limited budgets
11. Can pay lower wages to part-timers
12. Reduce absenteeism
13. Increased participation of women in the labour force and awareness of the needs of women, students, and older workers for specialised hours
14. Particularly qualified personnel not available for full-time work

¹ Studies include: Bennett (1962), Catalyst (1968, 1973), Corey (1967), Greenwald & Liss (1973), Hallaire (1968, 1973), ILO (1963, 1973), Klein (1965), Money (1974), Novitski and Babkina (1974), Prywes (1974), Sampson (1965), Sandberg (1971), Schwartz (1964), US Women's Bureau (1951), van der Does de Willebois (1967), all cited in Nollen, Eddy and Martin, (1978).

15. Fill monotonous jobs not wanted by full-time workers
16. Fewer accidents

Reasons (Contributing to) Non-Use of Permanent Part-Time Work

1. Fear of complication in work organisation and disruption of production schedules due to increased absenteeism, fewer solid working hours, additional shift changes, increased scheduling problems
2. Fear of higher administrative costs such as record keeping, training expense, supervisory expense, social security payments
3. Fear of higher production costs due to need for additional equipment or work stations
4. Fear of lack of commitment and more frequent turnover of part-time employees
5. Fear of friction or lack of integration with full-time employees
6. Fear of objection by unions
7. Fear that full-time workers will want to cut back to part-time
8. Fear that professional standards will be weakened
9. Fear that requests for employment will be stimulated from unqualified people

The later literature shows strong continuities, as well as some developments, resulting not only from demographic change, but also from recession and technological change. Further official investigations of part-time work emerge (including, for example, ILO, 1989; Commission of Inquiry into Part-time Work, 1983; Bosworth and Dawkins, 1981; Robinson, 1977). However, theoretical and empirical management studies do not become any more plentiful, although there is a certain amount of management literature on job sharing (for example, Olmsted, 1983; Meier, 1979; Hall and Hall, 1980; Syrett, 1983); on permanent part-time work in education (scores of American studies are abstracted in the ERIC database); and on implementing Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) through measures such as permanent part-time work.

In the studies, factors affecting the use of permanent part-time work include both operating and cost factors, but operating incentives are cited more frequently. This is in contrast to non-permanent forms of part-time work, where strong cost incentives often apply. Some of the operating and cost factors identified are highlighted in the discussion below.

The most important operating incentives to using permanent part-time work which are identified in the literature are skills shortages and needs for flexibility in scheduling. The suitability of the job technology is also important. Operating constraints to the use of permanent part-time work include the unsuitability of some work technologies due to needs for continuity or for supervisory responsibility; and the need for extra supervisory input when managing part-time workers, especially to ensure adequate communication.

Labour and skills shortages

The number one reason for using permanent part-time work given in the summary of early studies (Table 3.2) is labour shortage. The importance of this factor can be illustrated by contrasting the British and Irish situations. Briar (1992) has shown how the British government acted historically to draw women into part-time jobs during periods of skills shortages. In contrast, in Ireland, where there was no similar labour shortage, there was no similar development of part-time labour (Drew, 1990). A New Zealand study from the same period also reported a strong connection between labour shortages and the use of part-time workers (Bullock, 1973).

The general labour shortages of the 1960s and 1970s ended in the 1980s. In this period of economic contraction, specific skills shortages rather than general labour shortages, were a factor. In the 1990s, a growing concern of studies is for future projected skills and labour shortages caused by the ageing of the labour force and the shrinking of the numbers of new labour force entrants.

Scheduling

The reasons for using part-time work most cited in the early studies, after labour shortages, were scheduling for peaks and for extended hours of operation. In Nollen, Eddy and Martin (1978), permanent part-time work was most often introduced in

response to a problem such as scheduling. Fully 95% of the managers who used permanent part-time workers had a scheduling problem; only 35% of non-users had one (p. 148).

In later studies, workforce flexibility becomes the most cited reason for using part-timers, and peak and extended hours scheduling tend to fall under the rubric of flexibility (for example, OECD, 1983; US Comptroller General, 1976, quoted in Ronen, 1984; EC, 1981, cited in Drew, 1990; Commission of Inquiry into Part-time Work, 1983, ILO, 1989, and Curson, 1986). This flexible use of part-timers is sometimes part of a general drive to improve customer service, and this is stated explicitly in some studies (for example, Drew, 1990 on part-time work in Irish banks and supermarkets). (Flexibility theory was discussed more fully in Chapter Two).

Supervision

An operating constraint reported in many studies is a need for increased supervisory input in terms of time, energy and communication. Supervisors in Nollen, Eddy and Martin's study found the scheduling complexities posed by permanent part-time workers a deterrent. In a study on job sharing, Olmsted (1983) summed up supervisory views by saying that the perceived "inconvenience factor" was often decisive (p. 488).

Suitability of job technologies

Nollen, Eddy and Martin found that most work technologies, including needs for teamwork and problem-solving, had no effect on the use or non-use of permanent part-time work. However, there were some work technologies considered to be clearly suited to part-time work. These included discrete tasks, cyclical demand, and a nonstandard size of work. Although some managers cited job monotony as an incentive to using permanent part-time workers, in actual practice, part-time jobs in the study did not involve repetitive tasks any more often than full-time jobs.

Case-work is cited as being particularly suitable for part-time workers in Hall and Hall (1980), where innovative ways to cover after-hours demands on case-workers are reported. In that study, success resulted from grouping part-time social workers into teams who covered each other's out-of-hours and emergency demands.

Continuous process technologies and supervisory responsibility were reported to be constraints by the managers in Nollen, Eddy and Martin's research. However, although continuous process was identified as constraining, there were in fact significant numbers of part-time workers in this sort of job.

Most of the literature reports that a majority of managers do not expect that supervisory responsibilities can be performed successfully on a part-time basis. Very few permanent part-time workers are found in supervisory or management jobs. For example, a New Zealand study of employer attitudes to part-time work reported that most employers thought it impractical to use part-timers in supervisory or management positions (New Zealand Employers' Federation, 1982, quoted in Cronin, 1985: 13). On the other hand, some studies, particularly on job-sharing, have shown that part-time workers can successfully do supervisory or management jobs (for example, Meier, 1979; Olmsted, 1983; Syrett, 1983).

Cost considerations rate relatively high in managers' stated perceptions of incentives and constraints to using permanent part-time work in both earlier and later studies, but most so in studies focused on the retail and service industries. For example, a comparison of British and French grocery industries found that there was greater pressure on profit margins and labour costs in Britain, and a consequent greater use of permanent part-time workers (Gregory, 1988, cited in Drew, 1990: 15).

Cost incentives to employing permanent part-time workers include: lower contributions required for social security schemes; the ability to more closely match hours of work with job requirements; the avoidance of overtime payments; lower absenteeism and lower turn-over; and higher productivity.

On the other side of the coin, cost constraints to the use of permanent part-time work are reported to include: government legislation which sometimes requires disproportionate contributions for part-time workers for pensions or social insurance; increased administrative overheads and increased pressure on equipment and space; increased training costs; the higher turnover and absenteeism of some part-time workers; and potential problems with unions.

Social security contributions

Legislation and specific agreements on Non-Wage Labour Costs would appear to be a major influence on the cost of using permanent part-time workers. In nations where employer contributions to social security, private pension and insurance schemes, recruitment and training, redundancy, pay for time not worked, payroll taxes, and so forth, are fixed at the same amount for full-time and part-time workers, it is more expensive to hire permanent part-timers. If contributions are not required for part-timers, then they are cheaper than full-timers, and if contributions for part-timers are specified as *pro rata* those of full-timers, there is no net effect on cost (ILO, 1989). For example, in Britain, there are lower unit labour costs for part-time workers who work up to 15 hours per week, because they fall below National Insurance thresholds. This is widely believed to be a major reason for the structure of part-time work in Britain, which includes large numbers of part-time workers who work 15 hours or less.

Increased overheads

Increased time and expense in administration constitutes a weak constraint to the use of permanent part-time workers in Nollen, Eddy and Martin's study. Most managers reported that in actual practice, very little extra expense occurred. However, managers who did not use permanent part-time workers anticipated that overheads would increase significantly.

Overtime and penal rates

Avoiding overtime and penal rates through use of permanent part-time workers has been particularly important where hours of operation have been extended to improve service to customers. This occurred, for example, in the British hotel and catering industry where part-time labour accounted for almost all new jobs between 1971 and 1981 (Robinson and Wallace, 1984).

Fringe benefits

While avoidance of fringe benefit payments is mentioned as a cost incentive by several studies (for example, Robinson and Wallace, 1984; Drew, 1990), the actual impact of fringe benefits payments is not clear. Some studies have asked employers whether they

thought that part-timers should receive fringe benefits. For example, the New Zealand Employers' Federation (1982, quoted in Cronin, 1985: 13) found that employers had mixed views on whether part-time workers should get superannuation and pensions on a *pro rata* basis. The Canadian Commission of Inquiry into Part-time Work (1983) reported an interesting contradiction in employer views. In submissions to the Commission, employer associations came out strongly opposed to any legislation which might make the payment of fringe benefits compulsory, arguing that: small employers could not afford benefits for any workers; part-timers had a high turnover which would make administration of benefit schemes unrealistic; costs would be too high, and part-timers' hours would consequently have to be cut; and that most part-timers do not want benefits anyway, because they are covered by their spouse or parents (p. 125-6). In spite of these submissions, in the Commission's actual survey of individual employers, 76% said that they would not change their hiring practices if they had to pay *pro rata* benefits to part-timers (p. 26). A similar result was reported in Drew's study of Irish supermarkets. Supermarket employers were unanimous that *pro rata* protection of part-timers would not affect their use (Drew, 1990).

On the other hand, perceived higher fringe benefit costs is cited as a constraint in some studies. However, this may be more the result of administrative inflexibility than of any actual need for costs to be higher. If benefits are *pro rata*, the only extra cost should be a small administrative one. For fringe benefits which are difficult to calculate on a *pro rata* basis (for example, health), a cafeteria style benefit plan can be offered (Ronen, 1984).

Productivity

Higher productivity of permanent part-time workers is a feature reported by almost all studies. Most assessments of productivity are based on managers' opinions, but some have been based on objective measures. For example, the Social Security Administration in Los Angeles reported that part-timers handled workloads 27-59% greater than did full-timers when compared on an hourly basis (US Comptroller General, 1976, cited in Ronen, 1984: 150); and the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company reported that workers employed for 6/10 of the week, carried a full-time workload (cited in Ronen, 1984: 150-1). A German study of 35 companies reported that part-timers were 33% more productive than full-timers (cited in Walton, 1985: 112).

Increased productivity is reported to occur for a variety of reasons. Part-timers are paid for fewer breaks; part-timers tend to schedule doctor's appointments, *etc.* for the hours when they are not working; there is less tardiness and absenteeism (for example, in the 1989 ILO study, Caterpillar Belgium reported that absenteeism on Fridays and Mondays was reduced significantly by the use of part-timers); part-timers have more energy because they must maintain concentration for shorter periods; they have high job satisfaction and morale; and sometimes the character of the part-timers means that they work harder. For job sharers, there are also reported advantages from increased continuity and coverage, because they can cover for each other during vacations and illness; and from the acquisition of two sets of skills for the price of one (Meier, 1979; Olmsted, 1979; Syrett, 1983).

Turnover

Lower turnover is a commonly reported feature of the use of permanent part-time work. It occurs mainly because women who have children can reduce their hours instead of leaving their jobs, but part-time options also improve retention in some high stress occupations. For example, lower turnover amongst part-time direct selling staff was reported by Wotruba (1990).

Loyalty, satisfaction and motivation

As noted in earlier chapters, a spill-over of stress from home to work has been shown to negatively affect organisational efficiency and productivity. The stress suffered by full-time workers trying to combine work and parenting roles is examined in a large body of literature (for example, Bailyn, 1980, 1992; Bohlen and Viveros-Long, 1981; Briar, Munford and Nash, 1992; Dex, 1988; Epstein *et al.*, 1982; Hantrais, 1990; *Beyond the Barriers*, 1990; and Voydanoff, 1984). Permanent part-time workers are reportedly more satisfied, and this has positive spin-offs for performance and loyalty. Empirical studies testing the satisfaction of workers with flexible work forms, including permanent part-time work, are summarised in Ronen (1984), and Wotruba (1990).

Personal characteristics

Several studies report that permanent part-time workers often provide better value for money because they have positive personal characteristics. They often work harder, are more reliable and are more productive. These studies tend to be dealing with mature, usually female, workers (for example, SROW, 1984, in a survey of 28 Christchurch employers). Many employers in a New Zealand survey of 1055 employers in the six main centres, preferred female part-time employees between the ages of 26 and 45 (SROW, 1973).

Other studies have found that the reliability of permanent part-time workers compares favourably with that of some casual part-timers, with whom negative characteristics are sometimes associated (for example, Tilly, 1992a, 1992b). The key to the difference in behaviour is thought to be the conditions of work rather than any intrinsic characteristics of the workers.

Training

Managers in many studies report that the higher potential unit labour cost of training part-timers is a constraint to their use. However, Nollen, Eddy and Martin found that in actual practice, few organisations trained permanent part-time workers, and that permanent part-time workers often already had the necessary skills.

Promotability

Managers sometimes do not wish to invest in part-time workers because they perceive them to have low promotability. In Nollen, Eddy and Martin's study the perceived lower promotability of permanent part-time workers was not generally a deterrent to employing them in base grade positions, but was definitely a constraint to hiring them for career positions. Job sharing arrangements were sometimes used in career positions, but this was relatively rare, and was usually dependent on the initiative of existing employees to sell their case and set up their positions. Organisations were much more likely to consider job share if the applicants were already known to them (Meier, 1979).

Unionisation

Unionisation of the labour force is mentioned only as a constraint in the early permanent part-time work studies, where there are fears that union objections to the use of part-time workers might contribute to costly labour disputes. These fears are also a factor in the later literature. There are also concerns that unions might demand more fringe benefits for part-time workers. However, although manager surveys indicate that unionisation is a constraint to the use of permanent part-time workers, it must also sometimes be an incentive, in that unions have negotiated permanent status for part-time workers (for example in the New Zealand Public Service).

The management decision process

In Nollen, Eddy and Martin's model of the organisational use of permanent part-time work, the background factors and the specific explanatory-variable sets lead to decisions on permanent part-time work. The authors conceptualised the management decision to use permanent part-time work in terms of the model in Figure 3.2. While the authors set the decision process within the larger model explaining organisational use, they thought that decision-making could also be examined separately as an additive process. In the decision model, managers first perceived an operating problem, (usually one of scheduling or skills shortage or the desire to retain a good employee), to which permanent part-time work might be a solution, and then considered permanent part-time work rationally in light of job technology, labour market conditions, the labour union and the organisational climate. A job technology involving discrete tasks acted as an incentive, and one involving continuous process operations or management acted as a constraint. A large permanent part-time labour supply was an incentive, and a small supply was a constraint. Unionisation was a constraint. An organisational climate which was informal, uncontrolling, employee-centred and receptive to change was an incentive, and a climate which was formally structured, controlling and traditional was a constraint.

While decision-making was rational, often permanent part-time work was not considered as an option. Its use was "blocked" in the manager's mind. Nollen, Eddy and Martin say

that their decision-making model explains why permanent part-time work is often not institutionalised. As they put it:

Part-time employment is seen as a special purpose staffing method to solve particular kinds of scheduling problems. It is not in the normal response-set to most management problems and thus is simply not considered (Nollen, Eddy and Martin 1978: 150).

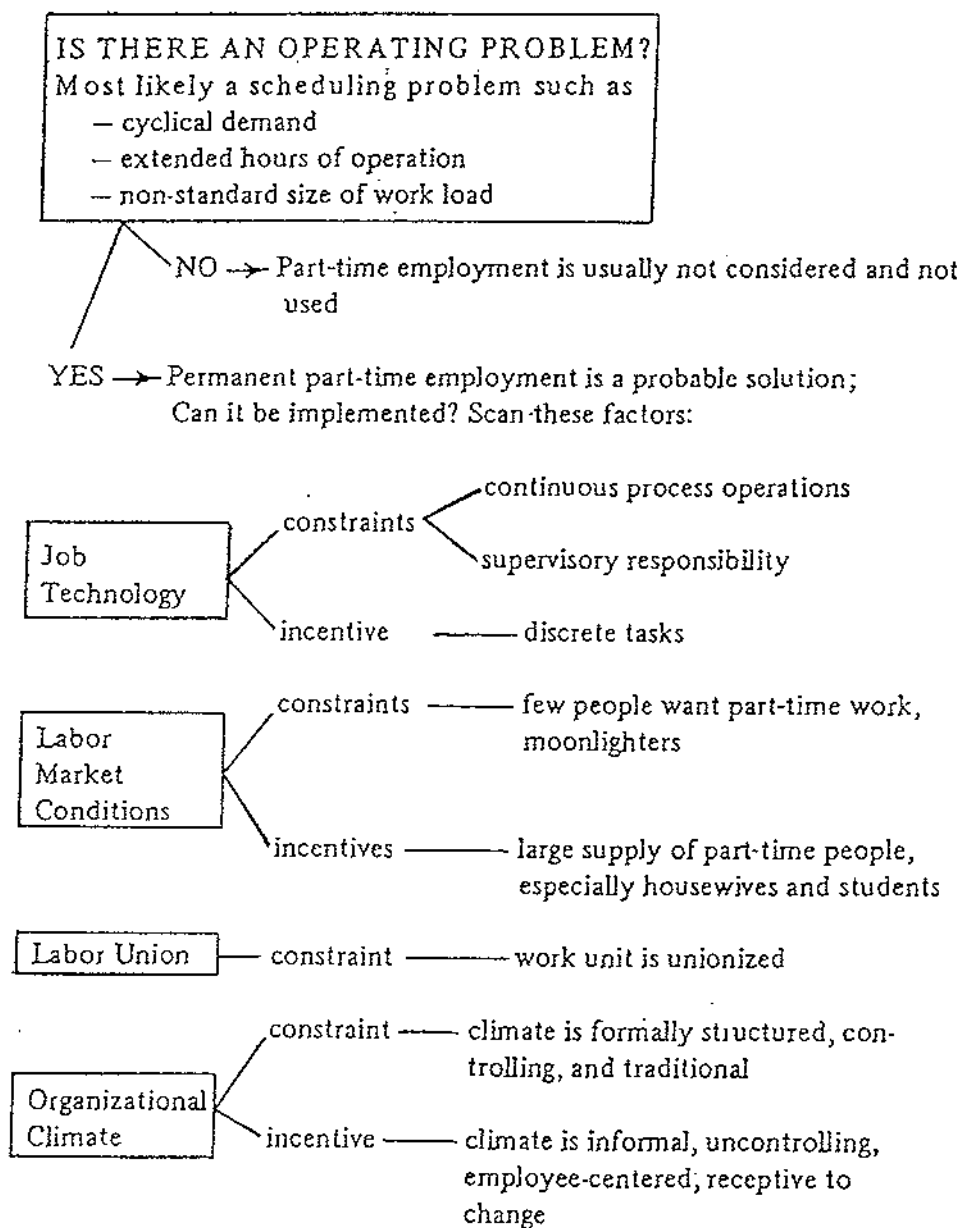
The centrality of operating factors in the decision process provides an insight into one possible reason why the net economic benefits often reported by users of permanent part-time work do not seem to have more influence on its use. Although a net economic benefit was achieved through use of permanent part-time work by many managers in the study, cost/benefit considerations were not usually decisive criteria. Even though higher productivity and other positive outcomes resulted from the use of permanent part-time work, managers did not decide to use it for this reason, but rather in response to one of a narrow range of operating problems. Cost considerations tended to come into play only after operating problems had been perceived. If cost constraints were present, this might preclude the use of permanent part-time work, but cost incentives were not necessarily considered. Therefore, this meant that even if managers believed that permanent part-time work would be cost-effective, unless operating problems were present, cost benefits were not necessarily considered in their decisions to employ or not to employ permanent part-time workers.

Consequences

The decisions of managers lead to actual consequences for the organisations and the individuals. Overall, research studies report that managers who have experience of permanent part-time work are satisfied that it contributes positively to organisational objectives. The results of a Canadian study are typical: 85% of employers had good or excellent experiences in employing permanent part-time workers; 12% had fair experiences; and no employers had poor experiences (Commission of Inquiry into Part-time Work, 1983: 129). (The remainder gave no response). However, as studies show, this satisfaction does not necessarily lead to use.

FIGURE 3.2: DECISION PROCESS TO USE OR NOT TO USE PERMANENT PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT (Nollen, Eddy and Martin, 1978: 149)

Decision Process to Use or Not to Use Permanent Part-Time Employment



Feedback

Actual experiences provide feedback into the system. Nollen, Eddy and Martin's observations on the inadequacy of feedback processes in many of the organisations which they studied are significant. There was often no mechanism for feeding back information on the use and benefits of permanent part-time work, and no formal information-sharing process. As the authors said, "The decision not to use part-time work is essentially a non-decision" (p. 152). We may conclude that there was therefore very little opportunity for organisational learning to take place, or for long-term change to result.

Conclusion

This chapter used a major piece of management research (Nollen, Eddy and Martin, 1978) as a framework to describe the pressures on managers' decisions on the use of permanent part-time work. Discussion of the other research took place within this framework. Nollen, Eddy and Martin found that use of permanent part-time work was most often a response to an operating need, usually involving scheduling or skills shortages. They originally hypothesised that climate would have a strong influence on use, but its influence did not emerge as decisive in the study. Their study and the other research identified some organisational factors, personal factors and operating and cost factors which influenced use.

Organisational factors which the literature identifies as having an influence on the use of permanent part-time work include: strategy; policy and its implementation and institutionalisation; and climate. Personal factors include: perceptions at different levels of the management hierarchy, and differences between line and staff; the impact of experience; and the nature of the managerial decision process. Operating and cost factors which influence managers' decisions include: scheduling, skills shortages; the need for supervisory input; job technology; social security contributions; overheads; overtime, fringe benefits; productivity; turnover; loyalty, satisfaction and motivation; personal characteristics; training costs; promotability and unionisation.

The existing research has been strongest in its identification of operating and cost factors which act as incentives and constraints to the use of permanent part-time work. A few large studies have examined these factors across a spectrum of organisations. A sound base of information is available, but because some of the studies have not clearly differentiated between permanent part-time work and non-permanent part-time work, and because of the great variety in use by organisations in different sectors and circumstances, more research would still be useful in the area of operating and cost factors.

However, the largest gap in the management research is in the area of the organisational and personal factors which influence the use of permanent part-time work. Nollen, Eddy and Martin (1978) remains, many years later, the major contribution to this area. Much has changed since the time their study was conducted, especially in the policy areas. At the time of their study, few organisations had permanent part-time work policies, even in the public sector. As we have seen, permanent part-time work policy and related "good employer" and EEO policies are becoming more widespread. It is important to know what are the effects of implementing permanent part-time work by fiat. Does permanent part-time work contribute to meeting operating needs or is there a conflict? What factors contribute to its institutionalisation?

The influence of factors affecting individuals also suggest themselves as fruitful areas of research. In particular, Nollen, Eddy and Martin's conclusions about the effects of lack of experience in engendering pessimistic management expectations of permanent part-time work, and the tendency of first line managers and supervisors to have the most pessimistic attitudes towards permanent part-time work, appear to need follow-up because of the ramifications they have for organisational use.

These factors were considered in deciding upon the design of the empirical part of this study. The following chapter describes the research design and method.

Chapter Four:

Research Design and Method

Introduction

The literature review in earlier chapters identified some influences on managers' use of permanent part-time work, and also highlighted some gaps in the existing managerial research on permanent part-time work. There is very little literature which acknowledges the importance of the manager's role in the use or non-use of permanent part-time work, and there is little literature which specifically focuses on the use of permanent part-time work as opposed to part-time work in general. There is specifically a gap in research on the influence of the organisational context, and in particular the influence of policy on the operating and cost objectives of the organisation. There is also a gap in the research on the influence of personal factors, especially on the effect of prior experiences with permanent part-time work, and position in the organisational hierarchy. Based on these considerations, the research design was developed.

The research design decided upon incorporated both a literature survey and a qualitative empirical study of managers. The empirical study was based on in-depth interviews with managers in two New Zealand government departments six years after a positive policy on permanent part-time work was introduced into the state sector. The literature survey looked at existing empirical studies, and it drew on several disciplines, including business studies, policy studies, sociology, economics, industrial relations and women's studies to examine the conflicting pressures on managers in their use of permanent part-time work.

This chapter outlines the research design process; states the research questions; describes the selection of organisations and subjects for study; describes the process of data collection, management and analysis; notes some limitations of the study; and discusses the perspective of the researcher.

Significance of the research topic

As earlier chapters have shown, employment of part-time workers is an increasingly significant management strategy, used either to address operating needs and improve cost efficiencies, or to operationalise good employer policies which are responsive to families and which enhance equal employment opportunities. But despite the fact that one in five workers now works part-time, studies from the perspective of the managers who employ them are extremely scarce.

The manager's role is central in the formulation and implementation of any organisational policy, and in the formulation and operationalisation of strategy. This is no less the case for policy and strategy regarding part-time work. The way in which managers experience part-time work has a strong bearing on the frequency and form of its use. Thus the **manager's** perspective is an important subject of study. But little has been written from the point of view of the manager.

Management writers advocating more flexible labour markets have (parenthetically) identified part-time workers as a potentially cheaper and more disposable workforce. A fairly sizeable body of literature from the disciplines of the social sciences has considered the reasons for this rise in use of "casualised" part-time workers, documented its negative implications, and analysed its place in labour process, labour market, and gender theories.

On the other side of the coin, prescriptive literature from Human Resources perspectives has advocated **permanent** part-time work as one of a list of policies to enhance equal employment opportunities and to make workplaces more family-friendly. These advocates have also asserted that permanent forms of part-time work can foster the pursuit of organisational goals. In the social sciences, a similar call has been made by feminists and writers from other perspectives. Although theoretical and prescriptive studies on part-time work are available, there is a gap in the empirical research.

As we have seen, managers are subject to a considerable number of pressures which can impact on the utilisation of part-time workers. Operating needs and possibilities have been created by the rise of the service sector, the advent of new technology, skills

shortages, recession, and increased competition in some sectors. The mass entry of women to the workforce has given rise to calls for "family-friendly" workplaces. At the same time, legislation and collective bargaining are beginning to focus on "good employer" practice and on equal employment opportunities initiatives. There is however potential for conflict between the goals of individuals and those of organisations, between cost efficiencies and good employer policies. **Permanent**, as opposed to casual or temporary, part-time employment seems to be the place where the goals of organisations and individuals can most comfortably coincide. The pressures on managers and the new opportunities presented by part-time work have not yet received a great deal of attention, and this study hopes to redress part of the balance by focusing on the manager's perspective on permanent part-time work.

Research design

The research incorporated a literature review and an exploratory and qualitative empirical study of managers in two New Zealand government departments.

Literature review

The literature review both examined previous studies on managers and used the theoretical and survey literature to establish the context within which managers operate. In addition, documents relating to permanent part-time work in the New Zealand Public Service, and specifically in the two government departments were studied.

To locate literature, the following steps were taken: search of the library's on-line catalogue; searches of databases, including ABI-Inform, ERIC, and NIOSHTIC; consultation of indexes of bibliography and dissertation abstracts; follow-up of bibliographies in articles and books; search of relevant journals; consultation of academics involved in the field; writing to clearing-houses of information on part-time work (New Ways to Work, and Catalyst); and asking managers in the participating organisations for in-house documents and memoranda.

The literature review initially posed some challenges. There is very little literature on permanent part-time work and management, and there is no compact body of literature on part-time work in general. It is spread across several disciplines and comes from several different perspectives. Examination of social sciences and policy literature, as well as management literature, proved necessary in order to understand the background for the study. It also served to generate sensitising concepts useful in the analysis of data.

The literature review served to shape the design of the empirical study. Managerial use or non-use of permanent part-time work was seen as the outcome of dynamic processes - social, economic, legal, historical, demographic, technological, organisational and personal. The manager was seen to operate within the context of these processes which the literature helped to identify. The literature review functioned somewhat like a zoom lens, beginning with the broader picture, and focusing more and more tightly on the experience of managers, as their importance to the existence and character of part-time work became increasingly clear.

The relevant existing empirical literature, primarily Nollen, Eddy and Martin (1978) was used to inform the research design and the development of the interview checklists. Although the present study was different than that of Nollen, Eddy and Martin, (1978), reviewed in Chapter Three, some of the findings proved particularly useful, in particular: the authors' conceptualisation of the *ad hoc* nature of the managerial decision-making process; their insight that even in the presence of very powerful evidence that permanent part-time work would enhance organisational efficiency, the strength of the *status quo* prevented managers from innovating; and the consequent need for a powerful catalyst to stimulate the use of permanent part-time workers; the differences in the perceptions of managers with experience in employing permanent part-time workers and those without; and the differences in the perceptions of managers at different levels of the organisation.

The literature was also used on an iterative basis. Ongoing research findings led to further searches of the literature. For example, areas of organisational change and policy implementation were consulted to understand the processes in which managers were involved. Equal Employment Opportunities literature was studied when the interviews revealed a strong connection between EEO and permanent part-time work.

Exploratory and qualitative, cross-sectional design

Given the very limited number of previous studies on managers and permanent part-time work, an exploratory research design was deemed most suitable. The study used an interpretive and naturalistic paradigm, in the belief that the participants (the managers) would be able to provide useful information and insights. As information was lacking on the nature of the managerial experience, a qualitative approach was chosen.

Initially, it was intended that a quantitative research element would be included to provide background. It was intended to analyse the use of permanent part-time workers in each organisation by occupational group, gender, and so forth over the period since the permanent part-time policy had been introduced into the Public Service. However, the incompleteness of the data collected in the past by each organisation ruled this out. From now on somewhat more complete records will be kept in the Public Service.

The design was cross-sectional, and the data collection was carried out over a four month period. A longitudinal design was ruled out due to constraints of time and finance.

Statement of the problem

The purpose of the empirical study was to examine the perspectives and experiences of managers regarding permanent part-time work to discover what were the incentives and constraints to the managers' use of permanent part-time work, and also to discover whether managers experienced conflict in simultaneously pursuing goals of operating and cost efficiency and of good employer policy, as these related to part-time work.

Managers' perspectives are considered to be of central importance in the implementation and institutionalisation of employment policy and practice, in the enactment of Human Resources strategy, and in the *ad hoc* carrying out of their responsibilities. Yet few studies have focused on managers, and there is a gap in understanding of the managerial perspective on permanent part-time work.

Research questions

The research problem was operationalised in the following questions:

What are the experiences of managers in implementing policies on permanent part-time work, and in using permanent part-time work to pursue organisational strategies? What shapes these experiences? More specifically:

1. What is the impact of central policy?
2. Which other factors are incentives for the use of permanent part-time work, and which are disincentives?
3. How does the use of permanent part-time work contribute to the efficiency of the organisation?
4. Which occupational categories have managers found best-suited to permanent part-time work and which, if any, less well-suited?
5. What comments or suggestions would managers make on filling positions with permanent part-time staff and on managing these staff?
6. What different concerns do managers at different levels of the organisation have regarding permanent part-time work?
7. What observations can be made about the institutionalisation of permanent part-time work?

Definition of terms

As some terms may be used differently in different studies, they are defined here.

Part-time work: Part-time work is defined in this study as work which is of shorter duration than what is considered usual for full-time workers in a particular job or occupation. In New Zealand, the Department of Statistics defines part-time work as work for 30 hours or less per week. In the New Zealand Public Service, part-time work is defined as any number of hours less than 37.5 per week. Definitions vary from country to country. (See ILO, 1989 for a summary of definitions).

Permanent part-time work: Permanent part-time work is regular part-time work which is not casual or temporary. It is carried out under terms and conditions more similar to

those for full-time work. Fringe benefits, for example, are sometimes paid on a *pro rata* basis. It is used in this study as an umbrella term including job sharing, work sharing, and work splitting arrangements.

Job sharing: This is part-time work where two or more employees share one job, and each is responsible for the whole job.

Work sharing and work splitting: This is part-time work where work is divided between part-time employees, each of whom is responsible for only specific discrete tasks. It is like a full-time job, only fewer hours are worked. It is often called "permanent part-time work", for example in New Zealand government studies where job sharing and permanent part-time work are contrasted. The term, "work sharing" is often used where hours of work have been reduced so that redundancies can be avoided.

NOTE: "Permanency", in the era of employment contracts, is perhaps an outdated term for both full and part-time workers. However, it is the term used in the literature and the term used in government employment both in New Zealand and overseas. To reduce confusion, it has been retained, in spite of its short-comings. Possible contenders as replacement terms include: "retention part-time work" (Tilly, 1992b); "New Concept Part-time Work" (Kahne, 1985); and "career part-time work".

Selection of organisations and of managers for study

Having narrowed the primary focus of the empirical research to **permanent** part-time work, and decided to study permanent part-time work in a setting where policy encouraged its use, the public sector immediately suggested itself as the best arena in which to pursue the goals of the research, and to do so within the time and resource constraints of the project.

Whereas the public sector has had a positive policy on permanent part-time work since 1986, the selection of private sector organisations would have first involved a time-consuming search for those which had a favourable policy, then a comparison of

policies, and so on. The public sector was large enough to ensure that a sufficient number of participants would be found. The experiences of other researchers indicated that a researcher would likely be granted access, if not to one department or organisation, then to another.

Within public sector organisations, there is also an opportunity to approach managers at every level of policy and strategy formulation and implementation, and to explore the different perspectives of managers in various hierarchical positions. It was decided to interview managers at the different levels of each department, in Head Office, and one each of Regional Offices and District Offices. All of these were readily accessible geographically. It was understood that permanent part-time work was used to a greater or lesser extent in different work units and therefore a selection of managers was likely to include both managers with experience of permanent part-time work and those without.

Most interestingly, the New Zealand public sector had been going through a major restructuring, downsizing and privatising; administrators had become managers and were being urged to operate as efficiently as possible. In this climate, any nascent contradictions between good employer policies and organisational efficiency goals were likely to be full-blown.

Organisations

Organisations were to be chosen for study on the basis of the following criteria: they should have a reasonably large number of permanent part-time staff; these staff should be spread across occupational groups; and the organisations should be considered to be "good employers".

It was decided that the circumstances surrounding the new State Owned Enterprises were still too volatile, and that Government Departments which employed relatively large numbers of part-timers should be approached for study instead. To both provide an opportunity for comparison and stay within time constraints, the number of departments was limited to two.

Advice was sought from a retired State Services Commissioner, and from academics with expertise in the field of public sector management. A number of departments were recommended for study. These were felt to have not only significant numbers of part-time workers, but also reputations as "good employers."

When the attempt was made to back up these impressions with hard data, it turned out that it was not easy to discover which departments were big employers of permanent part-time workers. Published records kept by the State Services Commission when it was still the employing authority of the government, did not differentiate between full and part-time workers, but, rather, distinguished only between permanent workers and wage workers. The State Sector Act 1988 had since decentralised the Human Resources function from the State Services Commission to the individual departments and records maintained by the departments varied in completeness. Many departments had not yet set up adequate Human Resources Information Systems. In any case, the records were now confidential, and accessible only by applying through the Official Information Act. Consultation with a researcher who had used this avenue revealed that records did not include data on permanent part-time work.

It was learned that from 1992, departments would be required to report to the State Services Commission on the numbers of permanent part-time staff which they employed (as far as they were able given the limitations of their information). It was unlikely that data on permanent part-time work by occupation or by other detailed measures would be available in most departments.

It was discovered that the municipality in the area of the country selected for study did collect local information on the numbers of staff, including permanent part-time staff, who worked in each government department. This was very useful in getting an overall picture of numbers.

On the basis of the information available, and of the advice received, three departments were selected. Each had relatively large numbers of permanent part-time workers, these workers were found in a number of different occupational groups, and the departments had reputations as "good employers".

Negotiating access

Letters were written to the Chief Executives of the three government departments requesting permission to carry out the study. In every case, this was granted within a few days by a telephone call and follow-up letter from a senior Human Resources manager. Other managers were then approached. The District manager of one of the departments did not wish to have his District participate, effectively reducing the number of departments to two, the number originally intended. These two were the Inland Revenue Department (IRD) and the Department of Social Welfare (DSW).

Managers

For the two departments, line managers at each level of the hierarchy, from first line managers in the District up to Chief Executives in Wellington, were approached. So also were Human Resources managers. Each manager, or their nominee, was interviewed. The number of interviews was thus largely determined by the hierarchical structure of the organisations. (In order to safeguard confidentiality, it was decided not to include organisational charts in this study.)

In the Inland Revenue Department, ten managers were interviewed. These included seven line and three staff managers. Two of these were in Head Office, two in Regional Office and six in District Office. In the Department of Social Welfare, fourteen managers were interviewed. These included nine line managers and five staff managers. Three were in Head Office, four in individual Business Head Offices, and seven in District Offices. In addition, a nominee of the Commissioner for State Services and Equal Employment Opportunities staff were interviewed.

Ethical approval

Prior to the data collection phase, the research proposal was scrutinised by the university Human Ethics Committee. This ensured the construction of a tightly structured proposal, as well as thorough consideration of the issues of informed consent, voluntary participation, confidentiality issues and the use to which the results would be put. (See

Appendix 1 for a copy of the Application). A summary of the application was used when requesting access to organisations. Managers were provided with information on the study, given the opportunity to ask questions, and asked to indicate their informed consent by signing a consent form, which was developed for the study (included in Appendix 1).

Data collection and management

Interviews

The primary sources of data were 25 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with managers, which took place during a four-month period at the end of 1992. Background interviews with union officers and part-time staff were also carried out.

Managers were sent a letter which described the research, and this was followed up by a phone call to arrange an interview. Managers were given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and then asked to sign a consent form.

Interviews were recorded on audio tape. Managers were given control of the tape recording machine in case they wished to speak off the record. Notes were also taken, a procedure which proved to have been well-founded when it was discovered that one tape and sections of another were almost unusable.

In general, managers seemed to be very forthcoming, and most chose to speak for longer than the one hour allotted.

The interview checklists were designed to address the research questions, and with an eye to the unique history and experiences of the New Zealand Public Service. Slightly different checklists were used for the different groups of managers: Head Office, Human Resources, and District. (See Appendix 2).

Each interview was recorded and transcribed, so it was available on disk and as a hard copy. Insights from the literature were used as a means of interpreting the data. The data were sifted and resifted to reveal common themes. As these key themes emerged, each interview was checked for content in relation to it. A matrix type of analysis was used.

Documents

Other valuable sources of information were the in-house documents, memoranda, and studies which managers in the participating organisations provided. Amongst these was information on an original Public Service permanent part-time work pilot study, a department-wide survey on permanent part-time work, and a Public Service-wide survey on management and permanent part-time work.

Data on permanent part-time work for the two Departments for the current year were provided. These had been collected for the State Services Commission's Equal Employment Opportunities report (DSW 1992 EEO statistics, 1992; IRD EEO statistical report, 1 July–30 June 1992, 1992).

Limitations

There were several limitations affecting this study. First, the group under study was relatively small. However, this was held to be appropriate in exploratory research in which in-depth interviews were conducted. The study aimed to draw out important themes which might be later addressed in larger studies or in other settings.

Next, the openness of interviewees was relied upon. Every effort was made to foster this and to be aware of constraints which managers might feel in the interviews. The need to maintain confidentiality when requested, meant that some interesting information was not included in the study.

The study was limited by its focus on the perspectives of one group of people, the managers. To provide balance and to ensure a broader perspective, background interviews were conducted. Interviewees included Equal Employment Opportunities personnel, permanent part-time staff, union officers and academic researchers. An extensive literature from the perspectives of workers was also reviewed.

The study was limited in that it was cross-sectional. It relied upon the memories of managers. In the presence of unlimited resources and time, a longitudinal, in-depth case-study research design would be useful.

Another limitation is the very sparse literature available from the management perspective. This was supplemented with literature from other disciplines.

A final limitation which may be stated was the undoubted subjectivity which any researcher brings to a question, and therefore, I will make clear my own interest in permanent part-time work. I have worked both as a manager of non-permanent part-time workers and as a manager of permanent part-time workers. I have been employed as both types of part-time worker. I have tried to balance efficiency with concern for staff, and I have tried to balance work with family responsibilities. This study has itself been carried out on a part-time basis. It is my hope that the diversity of these experiences has at least made me aware of the broader implications of the research questions.

It is my personal conviction that there is presently a mismatch between the expectations involved in paid employment and those of family and personal responsibilities. This is most clearly seen where women try to juggle work and child-care. But it is also evident in a system where people work at full capacity until the day of their retirement, and then stop completely, often with disastrous personal results. I am also by no means convinced that managers should be expected to work 60 or 70 hours each week just to stay even, or that some workers should feel pressured by their long hours of employment while others are unemployed. An acknowledgment of the role which permanent part-time work could play in our organisations would not be a panacea for these problems, but would go some way towards alleviating them.

Conclusion

This chapter has described the research design and method, and the rationale for choosing it. Permanent part-time work is increasingly significant to individuals and organisations. The New Zealand Public Service provided the best opportunity for studying the use of permanent part-time work in an organisational setting where a policy encouraging it was in place. Therefore the managers in two government departments, the Department of Social Welfare and the Inland Revenue Department were chosen and invited to participate.

The following chapter describes the organisational context of the study. It briefly reviews the use and development of permanent part-time employment in the New Zealand Public Service and relates this to the contextual factors explored in earlier chapters.

Chapter Five:

Permanent Part-Time Work in the New Zealand Public Service

Introduction

This chapter draws together some of the themes from earlier chapters in a discussion of the organisational context in which the New Zealand Public Service manager makes decisions on permanent part-time work. Earlier chapters established the importance of permanent part-time work and of the manager's role in its use and construction; described the growth of permanent part-time work as an outcome of changes in labour demand and supply; highlighted the impact which the decisions of unions, governments and organisations can have on the use and structure of permanent part-time work; examined the structure of part-time work in terms of the explanations offered by socio-economic theories; and examined direct influences on managerial decisions on permanent part-time work in terms of the pressures of operating and cost, and "good employer" policy incentives and constraints, and in terms of other organisational and personal factors. Chapter Four outlined how, based on these considerations, a decision was made to carry out an empirical study of managers' perspectives on permanent part-time work in the setting of the public sector, where policies to encourage the use of permanent part-time work have existed since 1986. The managers in the Head Office and in one Regional Office and one District Office of two departments were chosen as the focus for the study. The departments were the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) and the Inland Revenue Department (IRD).

In this Chapter, the use of permanent part-time work in the New Zealand Public Service, and in particular, in the government departments chosen for study, is discussed in terms of the insights gained from the literature review. The key sources of information on the New Zealand Public Service are relevant government documents and other publications

which illuminate them. Government documents include some publicly available, and other in-house documents obtained from interviewees. Other publications include public sector histories, periodicals and other published materials. The chapter progresses through the same path as did the literature review, briefly relating specific developments in the New Zealand Public Service to the general trends identified in the literature study. It then describes some factors which are specific to DSW and IRD. It concludes by picturing the New Zealand Public Service manager in his or her external and organisational context.

Permanent part-time work and managers' influence on use

Chapter One established the growing global and national importance of permanent part-time work and of the role of managers in its use and design. The New Zealand Public Service has reflected general trends in its use of permanent part-time work. Prior to 1986, permanent part-time work was not normally legally possible in the Public Service. Permanent part-time work became significant in the mid-1970s when its institution was recommended by the Public Service Association (NZPSA, 1976), and by official bodies and interest groups. These recommendations led, in the late 1970s, to a successful permanent part-time work pilot, and the recommendation by a joint State Services Commission (SSC)/Public Service Association (PSA) working party that permanent part-time work be instituted in the career service (SSC/PSA, 1979). Negotiations between the PSA and the SSC followed, concluding in 1986, when a policy encouraging permanent part-time work was agreed upon, and many part-time workers were given permanent status (SSC, 1986).

Permanent part-time work is now widely identified as an Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) policy, and its use has therefore been encouraged by the State Sector Act 1988, which required government departments to have EEO plans. Permanent part-time workers now constitute 6% of New Zealand Public Service staff (SSC, 1993: 24).

The importance of Public Service managers in implementing permanent part-time policy is highlighted by the fact that use of permanent part-time work varies widely from

department to department, even in similar occupations (SSC, 1993). Further, the discretion of managers in staffing matters was increased by the State Sector Act 1988, which devolved some powers from the centre to line managers.

The growth of permanent part-time work

The global and national growth of part-time work was described in Chapter One, where it was explained in terms of changes in the demand and supply of labour. In the New Zealand Public Service, part-time work has not grown to the same degree that it has in the private sector. This may be partly explained by the strong association of part-time work with the growth of the service sector. Within the service occupations which do exist in the public sector, part-time use has also been relatively high (for example, in cleaning, and in caring jobs such as social services and teaching). Another explanation for the slower growth of part-time work in the Public Service may be that much public sector part-time work is now permanent, and therefore there are fewer cost and flexibility incentives for its use.

The State Services Commission's publication, *Equal Employment Opportunities Progress in the Public Service as at June 1992*, reported that only 6% of the Public Service worked part-time, as opposed to 18% of the total workforce. The proportion of female part-timers was higher than that of males, at 10% of females as compared to 2% of males. This contrasted with almost 33% of women and 8% of men who worked part-time in the total workforce (SSC, 1993: 24). Further, the report pointed out that even the overall figure of 6% was an overestimation, because in the Public Service, part-time is defined as work under 37.5 hours per week, as compared to the Department of Statistics definition of 30 hours or less per week.

However, the picture may not be as gloomy for part-time workers as it first seems, in that the part-time work offered in the Public Service is on the whole, of better quality than much of the part-time work outside the service. Much Public Service part-time employment is permanent. Although a clear breakdown of figures on part-time work as permanent, temporary, or casual is not available for either sector, it appears that the

majority of private sector part-timers are casual or temporary service sector employees. And, as the EEO report referred to above also points out, the numbers of permanent part-time workers in the New Zealand Public Service are higher than numbers in the British civil service, where 4.5% work part-time (8% of women and 0.4% of men) and numbers in the Australian Public Service, where 4.7% of workers are part-time (9% of women and 1% of men) (SSC, 1993: 25).

The statistical progress of permanent part-time work in the public sector cannot be traced, as the data are not available. In 1992, it was first required that departments collect statistics on part-time numbers, but even these figures are not complete, because the Human Resources Information systems of many departments were not yet adequate to the task.

Changing demand and supply of part-time labour in the Public Service

In Chapter One, the growth of part-time work was discussed in terms of changes in labour demand and supply, and in terms of the institutional responses to these changes. Labour demand factors were identified as including: skills shortages, especially during the two World Wars; the growth of the service sector; recession; moves to increase labour flexibility; and new technology.

Demand for part-time workers in the Public Service reflects general trends in terms of its use to meet skills shortages, and its use in service occupations. There was a strong tradition in the Public Service of using women as casual and temporary workers (both full-time and part-time). Reasons included the skills shortages brought on by the two World Wars; the requirements of positions that were considered to be intrinsically part-time, for example, cleaner and tea attendant; and the needs generated by cyclical peaks, for example, in the collection of taxes. In addition, like private sector organisations, the Public Service came to depend more and more upon typists and other clerical workers in occupations which had come to be defined as female. Expansion of the public sector in the traditional female occupations of teaching, nursing, and social services further

increased the demand for female workers, both full-time and part-time. Women's work was not generally considered to be career work, and for much of the century, women were not permitted to sit civil service exams. Even when many categories of women workers were given permanent status after the Second World War, a marriage bar remained.

The New Zealand Public Service response to recession may also have influenced the use of permanent part-time workers. In response to recession, a profound restructuring of the New Zealand state sector began in the mid-1980s. New Zealand's economic reforms were described by the OECD as "probably ... the most extensive of any undertaken by its member states during the past decade" (Baird, Savage and Petherick, 1990: 1). Legislation which most affected government departments was the State Sector Act 1988. Treasury counselled financial restraint, and there were staffing reductions in many departments. Restructuring and downsizing had an undoubted impact on permanent part-time work, which will be outlined below. The potential impact of another piece of legislation, the Employment Contracts Act 1991, which deregulated the labour market, is not yet clear.

First, restructuring through the State Sector Act gave managers the freedom to innovate more in staffing matters. By decentralising control over staff from the State Services Commission to the departments, it gave managers the mandate to manage. There is now much more discretion over staffing matters, and outputs (results) rather than inputs have become the focus of assessment and accountability.

Second, the restructuring and financial stringency in government departments produced strong pressures on managers to reduce staffing and to maximise efficiency. It is apparent that part-timers could be used in efforts to more closely match job requirements and staffing. In practice, though, the main effect of downsizing has been to limit the operation of the permanent part-time work policy. Few new staff have been taken on, so there has been little opportunity to use permanent part-time workers in innovative ways. There has been a non-replacement policy in many departments, so part-time work has been limited to reductions of hours for existing staff.

Third, the Employment Contracts Act 1991 was enacted to increase labour market flexibility. All staff can theoretically now be employed on individual contracts, but the

departments still do negotiate with the PSA. Although there has apparently not been a mass move to place staff on individual contracts, there may be evidence that the concept of a "career" service is somewhat eroded. Chief Executives, for example, are on 5 year contracts. The Act signalled that any concept of permanency, whether full-time or part-time, cannot necessarily be relied upon.

New technology acted to further reduce staffing needs. But technology also gave departments incentives to consider increasing hours of opening to make best use of their investment.

The labour supply factors identified in Chapter One included: high unemployment with consequent worksharing proposals; changing lifestyles; the mass entry of women to the workforce; and the ageing of the workforce which has both increased the numerical significance of women returners and fuelled interest in phased retirement packages.

Statistically, the vast majority of permanent part-time workers in the Public Service are women. With women accounting for 53% of all permanent staff in the Public Service in 1992 (as compared to 43% in the labour force as a whole, female concerns must be something of a priority SSC, 1993: 41). In departments such as DSW, where 74% of the workforce was female in 1992 (DSW, 1992b), the numerical importance of women is already clear, and does not depend upon demographic projections. Permanent part-time work became a policy largely as an outcome of moves to eliminate discrimination against women, and not for the other reasons that appear in some of the overseas literature, such as moves to implement phased retirement schemes, to create youth employment schemes, or to share work to avoid redundancy. There is no evidence in the documents of phased retirement schemes, although the ageing of the workforce is acknowledged in statistics, and by the New Zealand Planning Council (Haines and Callister, 1989).

Women in the civil service had a long history of pursuing their rights - to sit civil service exams, to gain recognition of their seniority and skills, to receive equal pay and conditions, to continue in employment after marriage, and to enjoy permanent status (See Chapter, "The Temporary Civil Servant", in SROW, 1987; Couchman, 1990). The campaign for permanent status for part-time workers can thus be seen both as a new battle and as the extension of an old one.

The institutional responses of unions and governments are clearly highlighted in the historical development of permanent part-time workers in the Public Service. The PSA initially was opposed to part-time work in the Public Service. However, like other unions in this study, the PSA was influenced by its growing female membership to adopt a pro-permanent part-time work policy (NZPSA, 1976). The PSA participated with the SSC in a pilot scheme which tried permanent part-time work and job sharing in several departments from 1978. The permanent part-time work policy in the Public Service, adopted in 1986, was negotiated between the PSA and the SSC. The New Zealand government, in its role as model "good employer" was led to adopt a permanent part-time work policy which was ahead of what was happening in most of the private sector.

Development of permanent part-time work policy and practice

Chapter Two tried to account for the fact that most part-time work is not permanent, and is not rewarded as well as full-time work. It examined socio-economic tendencies to structure part-time work as marginal, and looked at the explanations of major socio-economic theories, including neoclassical economics, labour process theory, dual and segmented labour market theory, flexibility theory and gender theories.

Theoretical explanations saw the casual and marginal structure of part-time work as the outcome of women's lesser attachment to the workforce; of the use of part-timers as a reserve army of deskilled labour; as resulting from its positioning in the secondary labour market; as resulting from its use in peripheral employment categories in flexibility models; and as the outcome of gender segregation and patriarchy. Relating the theoretical explanations to part-time work in the New Zealand Public Service, it appears that prior to 1986, many factors tending to encourage non-permanent forms of part-time work were operating. Part-time wages were considered supplementary to family incomes, and part-time workers were considered to have a weak attachment to the workforce. Some researchers have seen the use of part-timers during the two World Wars as consistent with the reserve army of labour thesis. Part-time jobs were structured as secondary and peripheral employment, and part-timers were not in the career Public

Service. The vast majority of part-time workers were women, and the construction of part-time work has been explained in terms of gender theories (Couchman, 1990).

But the ability of union and government action to affect the construction of part-time work was also clearly shown in the New Zealand Public Service. Through the 1986 policy on permanent part-time work, and through subsequent EEO policies, the public sector has acted to counteract some of the tendencies for part-time work to be structured as marginal and inferior to full-time work. (Some casual and temporary forms of part-time work are still used in the Public Service, but the extent of this continuing use was not closely examined in this study).

From the 1970s, a ground-swell of support for permanent part-time work was generated. This was fuelled by union advocacy and by the recommendations of government bodies. The PSA was now championing improved status and conditions for part-time workers (NZPSA, 1976), and supported the favourable recommendations of a joint State Services Commission/Public Services Association Working Party set up to consider the issues of part-time work and job sharing and the results of the permanent part-time work and job sharing pilot (SSC/PSA, 1979). The introduction of permanent part-time work into the government services was recommended in several documents and by several bodies, including: a government Select Committee on Women's Rights in 1975 (SROW, 1987: 6); the National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women (NAECW) (Hansen, 1987); and the twelve government employing authorities in their Equal Employment Opportunities statements. The Working Women's Charter highlighted the need for permanent part-time work (NZPSA, 1989: 65), and the Labour Party in their 1984 manifesto, adopted a stance supporting its introduction into the Public Service (Hansen, 1987: 39). In 1984, in a lead-up to the establishment of a new Ministry of Women's Affairs, Women's Forums were held throughout New Zealand, and permanent part-time work and job sharing topped the lists of priorities generated by the forums (SROW, 1987). Thus, political advocacy at a number of levels influenced the adoption of the 1986 permanent part-time work policy in the Public Service.

The permanent part-time work policy

The agreement finally reached after SSC/PSA negotiations that lasted from 1977 to 1986, constituted a total about-face in public sector policy on permanent part-time work. It specified that full-time and part-time staff were now to have equivalent tenure and appeal rights. Many existing part-time workers would be given permanent status, and departments were expected to view the possibility of new permanent part-time positions favourably. Conditions for part-timers would be *pro rata*. Conditions under which part-time positions could be set up were clarified. (These conditions are also specified in voluntary agreements, for example, IRD Voluntary Agreement 2.1.0.2).

Departments may establish part-time positions where the work:

- (i) is ongoing (that is, not temporary, seasonal or fluctuating in nature);
- (ii) is of a type which would be performed by permanent staff members if it were full time;
- (iii) involves a regular pattern of at least 15 hours a week; and
- (iv) is capable of being performed efficiently on a part-time basis (SSC, 1986: 2).

Requests from existing staff to reduce hours, or from staff returning from parental leave were to be considered sympathetically:

Departments are encouraged to take a sympathetic view of employees' circumstances and have regard to the Government's equal employment opportunities policy ... (SSC, 1986: 5).

The SSC/PSA joint working party favoured permanent part-time work (in which employees are allocated discrete tasks) over job sharing (in which two or more employees are together responsible for one job), stating that "discrete tasks" were the key to the success of the proposal. The report of the Working Party referred to "grave administrative difficulties which immediately became apparent in the pilot scheme; eg. What happens when one employee leaves and the other wants to stay, or when one deserves promotion and the other does not" (SSC/PSA, 1979: 8). It opted for a system which followed the South Australian government scheme of discrete offices. The Department of Labour's report on the pilot scheme goes into more detail on this point (Belich, 1985). The PSA still adheres to this preference for permanent part-time work

over job sharing (NZPSA, 1989: 28), but either option is possible in the state services. Success stories about job sharing situations are described in *Service Magazine* (1989: 15-18), and the Health Services EEO Unit produced a paper on its use (Messervy, 1990). Job sharing is very rare, however.

In announcing the 1986 policy which introduced permanent part-time work to the government sector, the State Services Commission cited advantages to staff and departments. Permanent part-time work would:

- i.) make patterns of work more flexible, to better meet employees' personal and social commitments and thus enhance equality of opportunity within the Public Service;
- ii.) enable departments to offer attractive conditions of employment, including better job security, to part-time employees; and
- iii.) enable departments to attract skills which are difficult to retain on a full-time basis (SSC, 1986: 1).

The agreement led first to the assessment of all part-time temporary and wage worker (casual) positions for possible re-classification as permanent. Tea attendants and cleaners were not initially included. By January 1987, implementation had progressed as follows: 445 temporary and 159 wage worker part-time positions had been approved as permanent; 356 temporary and 1,079 wage worker positions had been declined approval; decisions were pending on 214 temporary and 14 wage worker positions. The high number of refusals was explained by the fact that the positions did not fit the criteria because they were not considered to be ongoing, were less than 15 hours per week, or involved a staff member over the age of 54. There had been 84 staff-initiated requests to make their positions part-time. Of these, 66 had been approved, 6 had been declined, and 12 were still pending (SSC, 1987). The total number of staff in 1986, before the implementation of the policy was: permanent (70,240); temporary (1,911); casual/wage workers (16,356), (Henderson, 1990: 398).

Unfortunately, data on the progress of the implementation were not available. Statistics routinely defined staff as permanent or as wage workers (casual) but did not distinguish between full-time and part-time hours of work. Then a further gap in statistics occurred from 1989 when the Human Resources function was devolved from the central SSC to

the departments, few of which apparently had adequate Human Resources Information Systems.

Policy and operating and cost factors

Chapter Three moved to the organisational level, and identified the incentives and constraints to the use of permanent part-time work operating directly on the manager. These included organisational and personal factors, and operating and cost factors. The organisational determinant of policy was found to be growing in importance. In the Public Service, "good employer" policy factors were legislated in the State Sector Act 1988, and were therefore operating perhaps more strongly than in the private sector. The main outworking of the good employer legislation relevant to permanent part-time work came through EEO plans, also a legislative requirement.

The State Sector Act 1988, in Sections 56, 58 and 6e, sets out the obligation for each department to act as a "good employer", and requires all departments to publish a yearly Equal Employment Opportunities Plan, Progress Report, and Statistical Report, to be monitored by the State Services Commission. Encouragement of permanent part-time work is not specified in legislation, but almost one third of all departments included it in their Equal Employment Opportunities Plans. This is an indication that permanent part-time work is widely understood to be an Equal Employment Opportunities policy (SSC, 1992a: 15). For example, DSW's EEO Management Plan said:

Women would like to see the Department remove the barriers that prevent their progress into management positions i.e. inadequate childcare facilities and support, Governmental and top management expectations that managers will work long hours at the expense of their families.

Women would like to see the Department do more to provide training in assertiveness, management and administration; to increase part-time and job share opportunities; and to promote more proactively EEO principles with male managers and staff (DSW, 1991: 7).

While one-third of the departments included these sorts of sentiments in EEO Plans, it should be noted that only one department had a specific and measurable goal associated with permanent part-time work. (The State Services Commission had a target of 10% permanent part-time positions. See SSC, 1991. It was later decided that the goal was unrealistic, and there were some doubts about setting this sort of target).

The State Services Commission's Equal Employment Opportunities Unit took further measures to encourage the use of permanent part-time work in the state sector. It published a study, (reviewed in Chapter Three), in which examples of good management practice were identified and held up as role models (Glendining, 1989). A recent publication was produced as a Women's Suffrage Year project. (This was published after the research for this study was carried out). It is based on interviews with permanent part-time staff and managers and explores issues involved in management of permanent part-time staff (Lampe, 1993). As the publication says in its foreword:

The State Services Commission had three aims for the resource. The first was to raise awareness of the equal opportunities issues associated with part-time work; the second to provide practical information to managers on the equitable design and management of part-time work; and the third to actively encourage part-time work within the Public Service (Lampe, 1993).

In addition to this study, EEO staff in some departments have written guidelines for the use of part-timers and job sharers (Gooda, undated, Ministry of Commerce; Messervy, 1991, Health Department).

The main incentives to the use of permanent part-time work identified in the managerial studies in Chapter Three were operating problems. The impact of operating and cost factors and of organisational and personal factors is explored in Chapter Six and Chapter Seven.

As we have seen, permanent part-time work entered the Public Service in New Zealand very much as a women's rights issue, and entered through negotiation by the union. The other major influence revealed by study of the documents is economic. The strength and character of its impact cannot yet be fully assessed.

Department of Social Welfare (DSW) and Inland Revenue Department (IRD)

The remainder of this Chapter focuses on DSW and IRD. Both departments had high proportions of female staff in 1992, at 74% in DSW and 62% in IRD (DSW, 1992b; IRD, 1992: 3). DSW and IRD had both participated in the original part-time pilot run from 1978, during the period when the joint SSC/PSA Working Party was considering the desirability and feasibility of introducing permanent part-time work into the Public Service.

Direct statistical comparisons between DSW and IRD are difficult because the same data are not available for each. Comparisons which can be made are as follows. As of June, 1992, the proportion of female permanent part-timers in DSW and IRD was equal at 10%, and this was also equal to the average for the whole Public Service. More men were permanent part-time workers in DSW (3%) than in IRD (0.5%). DSW reported an overall figure of 8.6% of employees to be permanent part-time workers, higher than the Public Sector average of 6%. Reflecting the high use of temporary employment to meet the demands of seasonal peaks, IRD reported figures for temporary part-time employees (13% of women and 4% of men). Almost all (94%) of permanent part-time workers in IRD were women (DSW, 1992b; IRD, 1992: 3, 11).

In IRD, a national occupational breakdown of permanent part-time workers was not available. In the IRD District under study, permanent part-time workers were found in a range of occupations, mostly of a clerical nature. In DSW, statistics supplied by the Personnel Policy Division showed that occupational groups had the following percentages of permanent part-time staff: 7% of executive clerical, 8.2% of social workers, and 9.7% of other occupations combined (Meynell, 1991). (See Appendix 3). Permanent part-time workers in the DSW District selected for study were employed in a similar range of occupations. Average hours of employment of permanent part-time workers were 59% of fulltime.

DSW had a proportion of permanent part-time workers higher than the average for the Public Service (8.6% as compared to 6%) and had published a pamphlet to make staff aware of the permanent part-time work option (DSW, undated). In IRD, the formal

permanent part-time work policy which was developed, appeared also to be more proactive than the baseline Public Service policy. The Circular introducing IRD's 1992 Permanent Part-Time Work Employment Guidelines enjoins managers and staff to: "... look for ways of making part-time work a practical proposition rather than searching for reasons why it couldn't work" (IRD, 1992e). The guidelines state that: "... as a general policy, consideration should be given to all employees wishing to reduce their hours of work, providing that this arrangement can be reasonably accommodated".

Due to the radical changes which had been taking place in government departments, both DSW and IRD had been preoccupied with major change. Staff reductions and restructuring had taken place in both DSW and IRD prior to this research study. Both departments had experienced major and ongoing restructuring since 1984. Each had reduced staffing and had shed significant numbers of middle managers.

DSW had, earlier in the year, adopted a decentralised structure. Functions were separated into Businesses, each with its own General Manager and Human Resources function. The two Businesses included in this study because of their national structures and large numbers of permanent part-time staff, were New Zealand Income Support Services and New Zealand Children and Young Persons Services.

IRD had also been restructured. Compared to DSW, it was highly centralised, but a significant amount of decision-making responsibility had been devolved to lower levels of management. The Head Office Directorates were now more advisory and less authoritarian than in the past.

Both departments had lost staff. The effects on DSW could be seen in the microcosm in the District. The loss of a Regional Office in 1990 had seen 25 staff lost. Further consolidation in 1991 saw the incorporation into the District of a neighbouring district which previously had been separate. When the function of collecting child support payments from liable parents was removed from DSW (and transferred to IRD), and when new computer technology was introduced, staff were lost. In 1992 the division of DSW into separate Businesses involved major restructuring. Perhaps as a result of the climate of uncertainty, temporary staff numbers were up, but permanent staff numbers were down.

IRD also lost staff. In April 1990, processing of income tax, GST, fringe benefits and PAYE were all centralised in Processing Centres and each District lost 30% of its staff. During restructuring, a significant number of middle managers was lost. As had happened in DSW, implementation of new computer technology increased efficiency and further reduced staffing needs. In the District involved in this study, the effects were somewhat mitigated by the assumption of regional responsibility for administration of duties, and the setting up of a Child Support Agency to take over from DSW the function of collecting revenue from liable parents. The staff reductions in IRD were accomplished without redundancy. A comprehensive package included early retirement options, relocation, and, significant for this study, the option to reduce hours to part-time status.

As we have established, permanent part-time work has a strong connection with EEO initiatives. DSW has an historic commitment to EEO. The official position is now that EEO has been so successfully institutionalised in the Department that a separate EEO unit and staffing are no longer needed. EEO initiatives go back as far as 1985 when a Women's Advisory Group was appointed to advise the Director General on affirmative action for women. The report of the group, based on consultations with women throughout New Zealand, included strong support for the policies of permanent part-time work and job sharing (DSW Women's Advisory Group, 1987). Following this, EEO officers and Regional Women's Advisory Officers were appointed in DSW, an EEO Training Programme was implemented, an EEO policy statement was made for the department, and EEO networks were established throughout the department. As part of EEO policy, positions in the department were advertised as part-time or full-time and a pamphlet on "Working Part-time in the Department of Social Welfare" was produced and distributed to staff. The recent cuts to EEO resourcing have left the Department with one part-time advisory EEO position.

IRD has more recently developed its EEO policies, but it now has a very strong and systematic approach to implementation. At the time of the study, a comprehensive network of EEO Coordinators and Liaison Officers extended throughout the country, and permanent part-time work was a current issue. A set of guidelines on permanent part-time work had only recently been promulgated by the Human Resources Services Directorate (IRD, 1992e). This had been informed by a survey carried out by the EEO Unit (IRD, 1990a; IRD, 1990b), and was formulated in response to a 1989/90 EEO

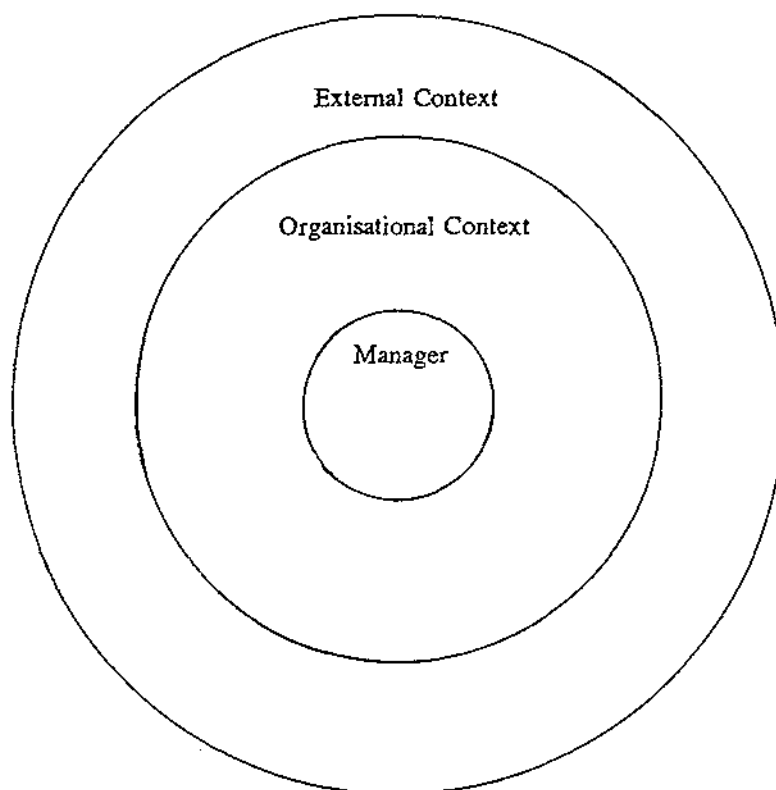
Management Plan objective that new guidelines for permanent part-time work should be developed. Respondents to the survey included a self-selected sample of permanent part-time workers, full-time workers, and managers. Topics included hours worked, who decided what hours were worked, the suitability of hours, reasons managers gave for turning down requests to work part-time, promotion prospects of permanent part-time workers, advantages and disadvantages as perceived by part-timers, pay equity, suitability of particular positions, benefits and costs to the department, and concerns. The survey results were confidential to the department and will not be published here. However, it should be said that nothing in the results was damaging to the department and that the genuine concerns which were expressed were not inconsistent with those expressed by the managers in this study.

Managers in their context

The background information discussed in this chapter depicts an image of the Public Service manager subject to the push and pull of complex forces which influence decisions on permanent part-time work. The manager at the centre of these contextual influences is portrayed in the model in Figure 5.1. External forces which act upon the manager include social, economic, political, legal, technological, demographic, historical and informational aspects. Internal contextual forces include industrial relations, Human Resources strategy and policy, administrative practice, climate, culture, technology, demography and history. To get some sense of the dynamic nature of the forces, it could perhaps be imagined that the model is not static, but is a multi-dimensional kaleidoscope of processes.

In the figure, some key aspects specifically relating to the managers in this study are detailed. For example, the State Sector Act is listed as a legislative factor. Other aspects could be included - these are some of the highlights only. How these forces impact on the manager is the subject of the next chapter, which reports on the interviews with managers.

FIGURE 5.1: KALEIDOSCOPE MODEL OF CONTEXTUAL INFLUENCES ON THE NZ PUBLIC SERVICE MANAGER'S USE OF PERMANENT PART-TIME WORK



External Context:

- Social (changes in attitudes to work, relationship of women and work, etc.)
- Economic (recession, deregulation)
- Political (pressure group advocacy)
- Legal (State Sector Act 1988, Employment Contracts Act 1991)
- Technological (information processing technology)
- Demographic (ageing of workforce, women growing as proportion of workforce)
- Informational (international use of permanent part-time work, for example growing protection in Europe, and earlier permanent part-time work policies in public services in other nations, Human Resources training)
- Historical (growth and development of permanent part-time work)

Organisational Context:

- Industrial Relations (permanent part-time work policy, and parental leave included in collective agreements)
- HR Strategy (career service, downsizing, restructuring, flexibility goals)
- Policy (1986 permanent part-time work policy, EEO policy and monitoring, departmental policies)
- Institutionalisation in Practice (inclusion in Operational Plans, etc.; advertising for vacancies; leave administration)
- Culture (attitude change programmes, openness to permanent part-time work)
- Technology (new information processing technology)
- Demographics (high proportion of female staff)
- History (women's changing position in service)

Conclusion

This chapter looked at background information relating to permanent part-time work in the New Zealand Public Service, and specifically in the Department of Social Welfare and the Inland Revenue Department. It highlighted some of the many similarities with general trends which were identified previously in the literature review.

Influenced by labour demand and supply factors, permanent part-time work became an issue for the New Zealand Public Service in the mid-1970s. It was instituted in 1986 after a permanent part-time work policy was negotiated between the State Services Commission and the Public Service Association. Since then, its use appears to have been influenced by the "good employer" requirements of the State Sector Act 1988, which requires departments to pursue EEO objectives; by the increased discretion over staffing which managers now have; and by the budget pressures in government departments. How managers in the Department of Social Welfare and the Inland Revenue Department experience these influences as incentives or constraints to the use of permanent part-time work is the subject of the next Chapter.

Chapter Six:

New Zealand Public Service Managers' Perspectives on Permanent Part-Time Work

Introduction

This chapter addresses the research objectives by exploring the experiences of 24 managers from the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) and the Inland Revenue Department (IRD) with permanent part-time work. It identifies organisational factors, personal factors, and cost and operating factors which the managers reported act as incentives and constraints to their use of permanent part-time work. The chapter uses the tapes and transcripts of in-depth interviews with the managers, who were drawn from the Head Offices, and the offices of one Region and District in each of the Departments. Except where confidentiality might be breached, differences in the perceptions of Head Office, Human Resources, Regional, and District managers are identified, as are differences between managers in the two Departments.

This chapter first reports how the interviews highlighted the importance of organisational policy on the use of permanent part-time work. It then reports the impact of the organisational factors of collective bargaining, strategy, the implementation of policy in administrative practice, leadership, climate and culture. It then considers the impact of the personal factors of attitudes; expectations and experiences; the differences in the perceptions of managers at different levels of the organisation; and the managerial decision process. Next, it reports managers' views of the influence of operating and cost factors including restructuring, skills shortages, supervision, scheduling, the appropriateness of positions, staff reductions, productivity, cost-effectiveness and promotability. Finally, it briefly reports managers' suggestions for good management practice involving permanent part-time staff. (Chapter Four gives details of the sample, and Chapter Seven considers the results in terms of the literature).

Interpreting the data

The interviews with the Public Service managers are used to identify factors which impact upon the utilisation of permanent part-time work. Some of these factors have acted both as incentives and constraints. For example, an important aspect of operating and cost factors is that of the staff reductions which have taken place in government departments. This has been a disincentive to the use of permanent part-time work in that there has been little opportunity to take on any staff, full-time or part-time, and little chance to experiment and innovate with alternative workforms such as permanent part-time work. At the same time, the need to reduce staff numbers has provided an incentive for managers to agree to staff requests to reduce their hours of work to part-time. Further, publicising of the permanent part-time work option has been part of downsizing strategies. Thus, staff reductions have acted sometimes as an incentive and sometimes as a constraint, and cannot be simply classed as one or the other. There are more complex dynamics operating.

Another aspect of these dynamics is that frequently the managers disagreed on an issue. To over-emphasise the majority view could be misleading, for often the minority group had an importance out of proportion to its size. For example, on the issue of scheduling, most managers reported that using permanent part-timers produced either a neutral effect, a potential advantage, or a minor irritation. One manager only, out of 24, reported serious problems in scheduling his permanent part-time workers. His view could not, however, be dismissed as a minor aberration, because he employed more permanent part-time workers than any other manager in the study, had more experience with part-timers than most of the managers, and managed a unit engaged in a different kind of work than most other units.

Similarly, on the controversial issue of permanent part-time staff in supervisory or management positions, the majority view was clearly that it would not work. However, only two of the managers expressing this negative view had any direct experience of employing permanent part-time supervisors or managers. On the other hand, most of the minority group who supported permanent part-time workers in management had direct experience of this. Because of these considerations, any temptation to systematically quantify results has been resisted. Although incentives and constraints are summarised

below, these results should be taken as indicative only. The value of the research should be seen as the identification of the factors important to managers in using or deciding not to use permanent part-time work, and the preliminary exploration of their dynamics.

To briefly summarise the managers' comments, it can be said that overall, managers gave a strong impression of satisfaction with permanent part-time work. They acknowledged some drawbacks to using permanent part-time workers, and described some teething problems in implementing permanent part-time work policy, but every manager expressed overall approval for the permanent part-time work policies.

When asked why they used permanent part-time work, the most frequent response that managers gave was that they had responded to employee requests. Managers usually explained that they had been happy to do so because permanent part-time workers were very productive, and because they had seen permanent part-time work to be effective. Underlying this responsiveness to employee requests were also the policies on permanent part-time work and Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO), described in Chapter Five. Managers frequently mentioned factors relating to policy and its promotion by top managers. Organisational culture, and the simple acceptance of permanent part-time staff as a normal part of organisational life received frequent mention. Factors responsible for the perceived high productivity of permanent part-time workers were related to operations and cost: the need to reduce staff numbers; the work habits and experience of the permanent part-time work pool; the suitability of positions (i.e. especially those involving discrete tasks or ease in attaining continuity); motivation; low turnover and low absenteeism. Scheduling needs were mentioned only for their potential use in the future if opening hours were extended.

The most important constraints to the use of permanent part-time work which managers described were: bad examples of permanent part-time work; downsizing which precluded the hiring of staff, whether full-time or part-time; operating factors, especially the need for high supervisory input; and the unsuitability of some positions, especially those that included supervisory or managerial responsibility or strong needs for continuity. Cost factors could be a weak constraint.

The incentives and constraints described by the managers included both the organisational context and operating and cost motives outlined in earlier chapters.

However, the managers rarely initiated permanent part-time positions on the basis of these reasons alone. There needed to be a catalyst, which was almost always an employee request for reduced hours. The organisational policies encouraging permanent part-time work as a "good employer" policy, and the acknowledged high productivity of permanent part-time work and the operating advantages which enhanced organisational efficiency, were essential pre-conditions to granting the request. Managers would not have considered permanent part-time work at all if the 1986 policy were not in place and they would have considered it far less often without the State Sector Act 1988 with its EEO clause. And, even in the presence of these legislative and policy inducements, managers considered permanent part-time work only in the light of a general perception that it was cost-effective. But the trigger that initiated use of permanent part-time positions was staff request.

The fact that permanent part-time work could be initiated by staff is notable in light of the fact that, as the literature has shown, much part-time work appears to be initiated by organisations for cost reasons. Permanent part-time work in this study was still, however, seen as a means of dealing with problems. In this case, it could be the problems of staff, rather than only the problems of the organisation. But although acceptance of permanent part-time work was almost universal, some managers still considered it a concession, granted as a magnanimous gesture, rather than a necessary and normal way of working in a world where workers include care-givers, older employees, and people with other needs. Each of the factors that managers described as influencing their use of permanent part-time work is described in the rest of this chapter.

Staff request

The literal answer which one line manager gave to the question, "Why do you employ staff on a part-time basis?", was typical of the replies given by managers in both departments. He said it was, "because the staff members requested it." Departmental encouragement of permanent part-time work, the high productivity of workers, the appropriateness of positions, and any of the host of other positive factors which will be described below, were not reasons for actually using permanent part-time workers. They

were only the essential pre-conditions. Managers rarely initiated permanent part-time positions. They most often responded to requests from staff, and without these requests, permanent part-time work did not happen. As one manager summed up:

It's probably 99% employee-driven. (District Manager, IRD)

Only one manager maintained that there was no strong demand from staff for permanent part-time work. Another maintained that if people really wanted to work, they would settle for full-time hours, but most managers were more responsive. As one manager commented:

It's a way of getting around those particular issues that people have within their private life, that don't really match very well with their organisational life. (Head Office Manager, IRD)

Most staff requests were due to family responsibilities. Often staff wished to reduce their hours upon return from parental leave, and the existence of parental leave provisions undoubtedly created a pool of potential permanent part-time workers. A few managers also mentioned study and disability as reasons for requesting reduced hours of work. Only two managers cited semi-retirement as a factor. When questioned, most managers replied that they had read about phased retirement schemes and were aware that they existed overseas, but were unaware of any here in New Zealand.

As well as simply wanting to comply with policy requirements, some managers also expressed a general wish to fit in with people's needs. As one manager described this:

I was just thinking that it really makes you feel worthwhile ... it makes you feel good that you can fit in with people. (District Manager, DSW)

Collective bargaining

Provisions for permanent part-time work were included in the collective agreements with staff in the departments, and managers were aware of the obligations which this imposed upon them. The Public Service Association's (PSA's) undoubted role in negotiating the policy which brought permanent part-time work into the state sector was mentioned by only two managers. There was a general lack of awareness about the development of the policy, and six or seven years seemed to be a major leap in the organisational memory.

As discussed in Chapter Six, the PSA was formally opposed to job sharing, and, in contrast, encouraged the work sharing arrangements involved in most permanent part-time work. How the PSA position may have influenced managers' views is not known, but many managers did have especially negative or ambivalent attitudes towards job sharing. The possibility of the PSA obstructing **future** use of permanent part-time workers was mentioned by a number of managers. Negotiations to extend hours of operation were currently underway, and were tied up with the wage round and discussions on new technology. One manager described this:

We actually have a big project at the moment looking at after-hours work - how we might accommodate after-hours work in the future - it's kind of tied up with the wage round ... (Head Office Manager, DSW)

The Departments wished to extend hours without payment of penalty rates, using either full-time staff working flexible hours or using part-time staff, and were expecting union opposition.

Strategy

A major underlying strategy of the Public Service is to provide professionalism and independence from political influence through a career service. While the inclusion of married women in the career service is relatively recent, once it had happened, it was

perhaps inevitable that women's needs should eventually bring about the incorporation of permanent part-time work into the career service also.

In terms of short-term Human Resources strategy, both departments were reducing staff numbers, preferably without redundancy. IRD had a clearly stated no-redundancy strategy, and one of the alternative measures to facilitate downsizing was to make staff aware of the possibility of reducing their working hours to part-time.

Government legislation and public sector employment policies and practices

Government legislation and the resultant public sector employment policy were undoubtedly the most important incentive to permanent part-time work. Ironically, in the past, legislation was also the biggest constraint, in that prior to 1986, it was not normally legally possible to employ permanent part-time workers in the Public Service. This section of the chapter looks at the 1986 policy on permanent part-time work, the State Sector Act 1988, the Employment Contracts Act 1991, and finally at policies specific to the Departments.

The 1986 agreement on permanent part-time work

The importance of the 1986 policy which introduced permanent part-time work into the public sector is self-evident - without it, permanent part-time work was not permitted and did not exist. This policy was in fact mentioned by only two managers. One was very actively involved in the promotion of women's rights issues in DSW, had been a member of the Women's Advisory Group described in Chapter Four, and was able to fill in much of the history of the policy development in DSW. She felt that from about 1985 there had been "major leaps forward in terms of EEO in DSW", although managers "took a lot of convincing ..." The Department had become very proactive in many things, including permanent part-time work. As the manager explained:

We took advantage of the fact that we had a woman Minister and it was the last year of the international decade of women, to promote within senior management (the idea of):

- a.) getting women together to look at women's issues in the Department
- b.) looking at some policies that would enable women's careers to expand. (Head Office Manager, DSW)

Another manager (male), who had been at top management level in DSW for many years stated firmly that there were no problems with the implementation of the policy.

What surprised me at the time was that there were still discussions, that other people had found problems with it, in other Departments. We had no problems at all. I'm quite clear about that. It was just a breeze, worked well, get on with it ... DSW was at the forefront of making those opportunities available, certainly we were on the social work side... (Head Office Manager, DSW)

The silence of other managers may mean that they considered the importance of the policy so obvious as to preclude mention. On the other hand, there was not a high level of awareness about the policy development or change. When questioned about the policy or its immediate aftermath when temporary and casual workers were accorded permanent status, several managers gave replies such as: "I think I remember something about that", or "I don't really remember there being much change", or "I wasn't at this level in the organisation then - it wasn't really my concern." Most managers were more concerned with the effects of more recent policy and legislation, in particular the State Sector Act 1988 and the Employment Contracts Act 1991.

The State Sector Act 1988

The State Sector Act 1988 placed more responsibility, accountability and authority in the hands of managers, and gave them more freedom to manage. It also legislated that Departments must act as "good employers", and that they must produce yearly EEO plans, progress reports, and statistical reports (Sections 56 and 58). These are monitored by the State Services Commission's EEO Unit.

Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO)

For the managers in both departments, there was a strong association between permanent part-time work and EEO. As a line manager in DSW explained her decision to grant the request of a supervisor to work part-time:

OK, it was a thing for EEO... (District Manager, DSW)

In DSW, the formulation of the part-time policy was referred to several times as part of an historical EEO push. In IRD, almost every manager interviewed referred to permanent part-time work as part of EEO, and most mentioned IRD's EEO Manager by name. The State Sector Act provides no specific details on what compliance regarding EEO might involve, and there is latitude permitted in interpretation, but the State Services Commission's EEO Unit does provide departments with reporting guidelines. These indicate the sort of goals which might be pursued, and in 1992, for example, the departments had, for the first time, to report on numbers of permanent part-time staff.

Compliance with the Act was more a direct concern of top managers than of those further down the line. Departments, and in particular, Chief Executives, could be punished by the State Services Commission for poor performance in EEO. As a Head Office manager explained:

They get quite nasty about it - actually report on it publicly to the Minister of State Services. They will mention it in their year-end report which will be picked up by the press. (Head Office Manager)

EEO was included as a target area in Corporate Plans and elaborated in separate EEO Plans for each Department. In DSW, national plans were operationalised in EEO Plans for each Business and for each District within it. In IRD there were Plans for each Region and District. EEO was also included in personal performance objectives. The top three tiers of management could earn bonuses based on personal performance appraisal. For management further down the hierarchies, there was variety in the assessment of EEO performance, depending on the priorities of the immediate supervisor. This also varied between the two Departments. In IRD, managers were expected to carry out policies set nationally. In DSW, this was also the case, but there was also more emphasis on setting objectives locally.

In DSW, EEO seemed to have had more of an historic than a current importance for permanent part-time work. A top manager declared that he would be "very surprised if EEO had any influence on permanent part-time work currently." From about 1985, EEO had been pushed strongly in the Department, first through the efforts of the Women's Advisory Group, and then through the EEO Unit, the EEO Coordinators, EEO Liaison Officers and EEO Networks. Part-time opportunities were part of the package. There were now at least two schools of thought. One was that EEO was totally institutionalised in DSW and no longer needed to be the province of an isolated group of specialist practitioners. EEO was now the responsibility of every manager and was written into every manager's performance contract. Women's rights were taken for granted. As one manager put it, "EEO is bedded-down in the organisation." In line with this view, the EEO Unit had been dismantled, leaving one half-time EEO advisory officer to prepare the national policy document. Like EEO, permanent part-time work was considered by many to be "taken for granted", "taken as read", "just part of the organisation".

The other view was that EEO would deteriorate without staff to maintain it. A female manager expressed it in this way:

Well, (EEO) is meant to be part of life - like all things - if you are not reminded they get left in the background - I guess for me they will always be there because I'm a woman and I've been through that myself ... I'm not sure if that is the same for some of my male colleagues.
(District Manager, DSW)

By the time of this study, the EEO resourcing in DSW had been cut, the EEO unit had been dismantled, and EEO networks had "kind of fallen apart" (Head Office Manager, DSW). There was now no mechanism to maintain EEO, and there was no way to be proactive on EEO issues. "Education and monitoring", and "enabling policies" were required, as one Human Resources manager put it. As two DSW managers commented:

Perhaps women think it's all been achieved when it's actually been sliding backwards. (Head Office Manager, DSW)

EEO has been part of the culture of DSW for the last six years - it is being eroded in part. (Head Office Manager, DSW)

The historical translation of EEO promotion into tangible incentives was also questioned. As one manager in the District put it:

EEO was a constant reminder of those sorts of options ... but I don't know if anyone was ever rewarded for doing it. (District Manager, DSW)

Also, while the EEO environment was generally favourable to permanent part-time work, actual EEO goals and objectives now focused Departmental efforts on other areas (Maori and Pacific Island concerns).

In IRD, work opportunities for women were very much a current concern. The EEO Unit had 3 permanent and 1 temporary staff, and there was a network of Regional EEO Coordinators, sometimes part-time appointments themselves. In the Districts, EEO Liaison Officers, who were staff with other jobs, were allocated time to perform EEO tasks. EEO networks of all types flourished. In the District studied here, these included a Part-Time Workers Network. EEO entered into all types of training programmes, for example, Management of Change, Management by Coaching Skills, and courses on sexual harassment. One Regional manager explained that over the last ten or fifteen years, values in IRD had changed to incorporate the merit principle of EEO:

(The culture was) based on male-dominated values ... that has substantially changed - personnel decisions are now very much made on merit. (Regional Manager, IRD)

At least one manager seemed to feel that EEO objectives had priority over any others in decisions on permanent part-time work, and was asked for clarification on this point.

INTERVIEWER: But if it (employing permanent part-time workers) is in conflict with your actual goals, your tasks?

MANAGER: I can't see that that comes into it. The over-riding feature is that you must give everyone equal employment opportunities.

It seems unlikely that this extreme view was the official one, but it may be illustrative of the strength and pervasiveness of the EEO message and of its relationship with permanent part-time work opportunities in the Department.

Managerial discretion

The other effect of the State Sector Act 1988 was to "free up" the state services from bureaucratic regulation. There was now more managerial control and discretion. As a Head Office manager described it:

It's not just in this area but it's in all sorts of areas that things have become more relaxed in the last few years. I guess the State Sector Act has done that, although it has changed us in other ways, which are not all beer and skittles, but it means that you can do things that are different and if you are comfortable with that - good. (Head Office Manager, DSW)

Management was budget-driven, and focused on outputs rather than on the monitoring of inputs. Managers now had "control over their own resources" (Regional Manager, DSW). As another manager said:

Previously people at my level wouldn't have known what a dollar looked like. (District Manager, IRD)

Several IRD managers commented that it was now much easier to make use of permanent part-time workers. No longer did they have to mix and match staff in a complicated endeavour to fit strictly determined staffing establishment numbers. A manager explained:

Establishments are now a national thing that we don't really look at, either we've got the money or we haven't got the money. (IRD District Manager)

In DSW, managers said that they were still working to establishments, but now had the authority to establish or dis-establish positions as part-time. There was no national promotion of permanent part-time work, but if individual managers wished to promote it, they were free to do so. Staffing decisions were made at the level of first-line management, as a manager explained:

Using permanent part-time work is up to the initiative of the managers -it's up to them how to manage. (DSW District Manager)

Some managers may still have been unaware of the full extent of the discretion that was now theirs. A top manager in DSW thought that the most powerful constraint to innovation was that managers did not quite realise how much freedom they had under the State Sector Act.

The Employment Contracts Act 1991 and flexibility

Some managers thought that the Employment Contracts Act 1991 had opened people's eyes to alternative working arrangements. There was a general change in attitudes to work, considered by one top level DSW manager, quoted below, to be the single most important factor in the increased openness to permanent part-time work.

... the whole way people work has changed enormously in the last few years ... We're much less concerned about people clocking in and out again ... you're going to pay them so much to do a job and you don't really care when they do it as long as they do it. Our latest contracts are using wording like: 'People shall work the hours necessary to complete the task.'... You're not bound by rules, you develop the situation to suit the people. (Head Office Manager, DSW)

But there was another side to this focus on flexible working arrangements. Rather than encouraging permanent part-time work, the Employment Contracts Act may discourage all forms of permanent work. One Human Resources manager outlined the argument:

The more permanent staff you have, the more difficulty faces the organisation in changing with the environment. ... My personal preference is for temporary rather than permanent part-time workers - our preference is towards much more a temporary-based workforce than a permanent workforce. There is a need to hold a core component of permanent employees, but I believe ... the numbers that have been predominant, particularly in the public service, in the past, are no longer necessary ... (HR Manager, DSW)

As stated earlier, the term "permanent part-time work" may have become to some degree a misnomer. But most managers in this study did not quote flexibility theory, and thought that there had as yet been little serious threat to the concept of a career service. There did not appear to have been a mass move to put staff on short-term contracts.

Institutionalisation through Departmental policies and practices

Legislation such as the State Sector Act 1988, described above, had sector-wide ramifications in removing bureaucratic obstacles to the use of permanent part-time work. Policies, such as those involving advertising vacancies, and administrative practices specific to the Departments were also important.

Advertising vacancies

Prior to restructuring, DSW had a national policy that positions should, where possible, be advertised as open to both part-time and full-time applicants. That meant that it was necessary for a manager to think about permanent part-time work every time there was a staff vacancy, and this was thought to be effective in raising awareness. Although the newly decentralised DSW Businesses appeared to have retained this policy, some managers worried that the lack of centralisation in the Departmental Human Resources function might now allow practices such as this to alter.

In IRD, there was no similar advertising policy. A Human Resources Manager explained that the policy of the Department was to get line managers or whoever was responsible for a vacancy to ask themselves: "a.) Is this job needed? b.) Can it be done on a permanent part-time basis?" If possible, it should be advertised as suitable for either full-time or part-time applicants. In effect, though, it seemed that most jobs were advertised as full-time unless they were open exclusively to part-timers, as in the case of a tea attendant, for example. However, people could apparently apply for vacancies and then negotiate for part-time status.

Administration

Although the State Sector Act had removed many of the difficulties involved in employing permanent part-time workers, some still remained. Some IRD managers, (although not any interviewed in this study) had apparently had problems with the administration of leave. As a Human Resources manager put it:

... the administrative instructions for the permanent part-timers were a mess ... It was absolute chaos trying to work out sick leave and annual leave ... (Human Resources Manager, IRD)

A set of personnel guidelines for permanent part-time workers had been newly promulgated in response to queries and complaints that had been received by the Human Resources Services Directorate from various parts of the country (IRD, April 1992). Administrative anomalies were sorted out, and the policy of the Department on permanent part-time work was clarified. It was hoped that by streamlining procedures, it would be easier for managers to employ permanent part-time workers. A Human Resources manager felt that this would, in itself promote use of permanent part-time work.

... at the same time as clearing up the conditions of work there was a push, then, to actually promote the idea of permanent part-time work. (Human Resources Manager, IRD)

An administrative difficulty in DSW was that staffing establishment numbers were apparently still strictly adhered to, and therefore managers had to establish or disestablish positions as part-time, and juggle staff to match the left-over hours.

Leadership and promotion by top management

The importance of the level of commitment of top management to the fostering of permanent part-time work was clearly highlighted by the managers in this study. A top level commitment was taken as a powerful signal that permanent part-time work should be encouraged.

It is legislated, but it's really driven by the Chief Executive. (Regional Manager, IRD)

In DSW, permanent part-time work had never been the object of a determined effort at promotion, and the independence of the new Businesses rendered any future coordinated

programme less likely. In the past, options like permanent part-time work were included under the umbrella of the EEO policies strongly promoted from the very top of DSW. However, promotion of EEO was no longer considered necessary by the Department, as EEO was felt to be institutionalised. Managers differed on the extent to which this was so, but agreed that top management engendered a climate generally friendly to permanent part-time work.

In IRD, the promulgation of strong EEO principles, including support of permanent part-time work, was part and parcel of restructuring, and promotion came from the top of the organisation. Several managers volunteered the comment that the Chief Executive was very committed to policies which took into account staff needs and preferences. Comments included:

He (the Chief Executive) has been very good at stressing the importance and value of employees in the Department - a very strong influence comes through from him ... (Head Office Manager, IRD)

(It is) very much driven by the present Chief Executive who has changed the culture ... He has led through personal commitment the introduction of EEO in the Department. (Regional Office Manager, IRD)

As several managers pointed out, the encouragement to use permanent part-time work came through consistently from Head Office, via a variety of channels - the Corporate Plan, the EEO Plan, the Operational Plan, and circulars from the EEO Unit or the Human Resources Services Directorate. Use was encouraged in person by the Regional EEO Coordinator who visited the Districts every three or four months to meet with managers and staff. There was also some intimation of consequences for managers who did not take the message on-board. For example, although other managers interviewed did not interpret the policy in this way, one manager said that he would not ask a person being interviewed for a position what hours they were prepared to work until he had decided whether or not to appoint them.

INTERVIEWER: So in the interview you wouldn't ask them what hours they were prepared to work?

MANAGER: No, that would be going against our EEO training and could be seen as discriminatory in a review situation.

Culture and climate

The climate in both Departments was friendly to permanent part-time work. This had long been the case in DSW, whose culture incorporated aspects amenable to such a climate: a high percentage of women on staff (74%) and in management; and the values engendered by social work. There was a feeling amongst many of the DSW managers that part-time work had been around for quite a while. Many managers could not recall its origins; it was simply the way things were. EEO was part of the culture, and so was permanent part-time work. In the words of a Head Office manager:

Part-time work? It's taken for granted. (Head Office Manager, DSW)

Other managers had nagging doubts. It was commented that a significant number of new managers had been brought in from outside, and that these "did not understand EEO". So the existing climate was changing. Also in DSW, a large number of female managers had been lost during restructuring, because they were over-represented in the middle management level that was targeted. This was felt to have implications for perceptions of women's issues.

In IRD, there was also a high proportion of women on staff (62%), but few in management. There had been a determined effort to make the culture and climate responsive to staff. The following comment was typical:

I've never seen so much help given to staff by managers as in IRD.
(Head Office Manager, IRD)

When asked if the Department was a leader in Human Resources thinking, one District manager replied:

Yes it is, I've been in five government Departments and none of them come close to this one in terms of how they treat their staff or the consideration they give to staff. (District Manager, IRD)

The effect of this responsiveness to staff on permanent part-time work was very positive, according to managers, as these typical comments indicate:

(The Department) has become more accommodating to part-time work - part of its awareness of EEO issues ... the Departmental attitude and culture has changed quite significantly. (Regional Manager, IRD)

In fact, what we say here is that you should look for ways of making permanent part-time work a practical proposition rather than searching for reasons why it wouldn't work. (Human Resources Manager, IRD)

Personal Factors

The perceptions, attitudes, and experiences of the individual managers affected the way that they saw permanent part-time work. Another influence on the perceptions of managers was their position in the management hierarchy.

Attitudes

Although almost all of the managers in the study claimed to have positive attitudes to permanent part-time work themselves, they frequently cited inflexible management attitudes as an obstacle to the use of permanent part-time work. And the comments of one or two managers seemed to show that their own attitudes were perhaps not as positive as they believed them to be. For example, in describing recent restructuring and staff movements one (female) DSW manager said:

I actually got stuck with a person who was part-time ... (Manager, DSW)

Scepticism from those "up and down the line" often greeted new initiatives, as one DSW manager put it. As the same manager said:

I found that my male colleagues tended to think of part-time work as a bit of a nuisance. (District Manager, DSW)

A few managers noted that opposition to things that were not well-understood could be a reason that job share and part-time supervision or management were viewed with so much suspicion.

In IRD, there was an ongoing determined effort to change the attitudes of staff. As a Regional Manager said, change was "... driven in a very structured way too - we've had an extensive programme of attitude-related training." But the same manager offered the comment that attitude change was a very long-term goal.

I don't think you can actually change people's beliefs - I think attitude change takes a generation. The next generation grows up with different values than their parents. I think you **can** modify the behaviours within a generation. (Regional Manager, IRD)

Experiences and expectations

Good experiences were a powerful incentive to using permanent part-time work. As one manager summed it up simply:

It works. (District Manager, DSW)

Bad experiences were perhaps an even more powerful disincentive to the use of permanent part-time work. Another very strong disincentive was a manager's lack of experience with permanent part-time work.

One of the most frequent responses given when managers were asked to explain why they had said they felt positively about permanent part-time work was that they had seen good examples of it. As the following comment describes, it was seen to work, part-time staff were happy, and other staff were happy.

That was the first thing, we had to convince ourselves as managers that this was good for us, that it was good for the organisation and easy to manage, that it wasn't causing us the chaotic disruptions we thought were going to happen... (District Manager, IRD)

One IRD Manager explained that two or three years ago, he had turned down a staff member's request to work reduced hours. Since then, having seen part-time arrangements work and having observed the flexibility possible on both sides, he would be less likely to turn down the same request today.

No manager reported having or hearing about bad experiences with permanent part-time work in discrete, non-management positions. In DSW, two managers reported having bad experiences with permanent part-time workers in supervisory positions, one of which was a job share. In IRD, one unsuccessful job sharing situation was reported. Most managers thought that although job share had positive potential, it also had potential for serious difficulties because of the extremely close association required between sharers. The possibility of personality conflict was very real. One manager described colourfully the personality tensions in a job share situation of which he was aware:

They might as well have had a pit bull terrier chasing a cat.

The impact of even one negative experience was quite profound. In IRD, where only one unsuccessful job share situation had been encountered, six managers spoke about it. All six demonstrated ambivalent or negative views on job sharing. Although both staff involved in the job share were thought to be highly competent, skilled, and hard-working, the job share was thought to have foundered due to personality incompatibilities.

Another problem cited was that of what to do if one job sharing partner wanted to leave. A DSW manager, commenting on the original pilot scheme which trialed permanent part-time work and job share, said that "job share tended to be a little bit clumsy and permanent part-time work seemed to be the better option."

Managers in the District Office of one DSW Business had experienced two less than successful efforts to use permanent part-time workers in supervisory clerical positions. This had apparently left them and the staff in their units less than enthusiastic about it. As one said:

... it led to the view that part-time jobs don't work - as seen from above and by the staff below - every time people would bring up part-time work there would tend to be a little bit of a cringe and the feeling that, yes, we've tried that before and it didn't work. (District Manager, DSW)

When the managers were asked to describe in detail the mechanics of these unsuccessful placements, it emerged that, in each case, the way in which the work had been allocated was less than ideal. In one case, a supervisory job had been "shared", and half of the staff made responsible to each supervisor. This left staff without supervision for part of each day. Staff apparently required large amounts of supervisory input, so the situation was unworkable. In the other unsuccessful part-time supervisory case, a supervisor had asked to reduce her hours to part-time status, in the belief that she could still do the full-time job. Her application was granted and no provision was made to cover the other hours. Her staff apparently were unable to work without her direction, and the arrangement was altered. As the manager said:

From her perspective things were going fine, but then you start to get the feedback from the staff that say, oh, when we come up with problems, who do we go to? (District Manager, DSW)

Extra pressure being placed on other staff was cited by a few of the managers as a disincentive to using permanent part-time work. This was usually in the context of overall reductions in staffing levels. One manager said:

I've heard on the rumour machine that permanent part-time staff get advantages, that the demands put on them are not as great as the demands put on full-timers, because they're not here, they're unavailable, so they're ignored, and the demands are put on others. (District Manager, IRD)

Lack of experience was at least as important a factor as good or bad experiences. It seemed that the less experience managers had with permanent part-time work, the more likely they were to be doubtful about it. This was particularly important regarding permanent part-time staff in supervisory jobs. There was little or no experience of the use of permanent part-time workers in management in IRD. The EEO Manager was unaware of any managerial jobs which were on a part-time basis. As she said, "I've

never known it happen..." In DSW, it had happened very occasionally. Yet most managers were convinced that it would not work.

Comparing the perceptions of managers at different levels

Some differences in the perceptions of managers at different levels of the organisation are noted throughout this chapter. Here, some themes are drawn out. These are the tendency of the District line managers to be less positive than the Head Office or Regional Office managers; the tendency of top managers to think in terms of policy and of District managers to think in terms of day-to-day management; and the role of differences in the degree of perceived managerial discretion in employment matters.

While managers in this study were generally positive about permanent part-time work, those with the least positive views were line managers in charge of work units. In contrast with the District line managers, no Head Office or Human Resources manager in this study expressed negative views about permanent part-time work, although some Head Office managers did express reservations about permanent part-time workers in management positions. Human Resources managers tended to be most positive about job sharing, and in particular about the possibility of job sharing in management positions. There is a possibility that the pessimism of other managers was partly due to lack of experience and knowledge about the management of this form of work.

As might be expected, managers at higher levels tended to see the larger picture. They thought in terms of the good employer requirements of the State Sector Act, and the need for organisational downsizing. The first-line managers on the other hand, tended to see things in more personalised terms. For example, they might have wanted to help out a particular individual who wanted to come back to work, or they might have needed more money for overtime payments and therefore been inclined to accept the next application for reduced hours so they could divert the rest of the salary. It also might be expected that top level managers would be somewhat more detached from the everyday problems which were very real to the first-line managers. Top level managers were therefore more inclined to dismiss the importance of the headaches which District managers sometimes associated with part-time work.

Some District line managers seemed to feel constrained by administrative regulations in their decisions on permanent part-time work. Head Office and Human Resources managers were more likely to suggest using permanent part-time staff in innovative ways. There was a feeling on the part of some top managers that District managers did not yet take advantage of their new discretion in their approach to potential operating problems. Many managers, they felt, did not realise how much things had changed and how much power they had to make things happen.

Operating factors

Operating incentives to using permanent part-time work included: the desire to retain or attract back the skills and experience of permanent part-time workers; skills shortages in some specialised occupations; scheduling compatibility; part-time only requirements for jobs; having the right mix of workers; and the suitability of some job technologies for part-time work. Constraints included the opposites of these factors: obsolete skills on the part of staff returning from parental leave; no skills shortages; scheduling problems involving training, meetings, or coverage of counter areas; jobs that required more than part-time commitment; having too many part-time workers already; and job technologies considered to be unsuitable. Other major operating constraints included the extra supervisory input required, and the sheer effort of running Departments which had been undergoing continuous restructuring since the mid-1980s. This section will first discuss the comments of managers on operating incentives and constraints.

Restructuring

The effects of restructuring were different in DSW and IRD. In DSW, restructuring had been all-pervasive and there was some sense that everything else had been put on hold. As one manager in the District commented, incorporating permanent part-time work was:

... too much trouble during restructuring. (District Manager, DSW)

Some managers thought that permanent part-time work had fallen through the cracks, and, for example, the new Personnel Management Provisions "were silent" on the subject. Permanent part-time work was simply not a current priority. A higher priority was, for example, setting up adequate Human Resources information systems. As one Human Resources manager said, at the moment there was no way of even knowing how many permanent part-time staff there were or what hours they worked. The only way to get the information would be to "visit the job and collect it from the site." Also, there was no compulsion for the newly decentralised Businesses in the Department to follow policies which had previously been determined in Head Office. Now each DSW Business had its own Head Office, and could decide on staffing policies as it saw fit. In contrast, in IRD restructuring had been seen as an opportunity to incorporate EEO practices, such as use of permanent part-time work, into all aspects of the organisation.

Retaining skilled, experienced, mature permanent part-time workers

The permanent part-time labour pool tended to be made up of mature women whose work habits were appreciated in the workplace, and whom the Departments wished to retain or attract back from parental leave. One DSW manager felt that as yet the Department had not made enough use of these mature part-timers, and was reaping the rewards of this oversight in terms of complaints from the public about the young inexperienced staff working in sensitive areas.

We tend to have targeted the bottom end of the strata, the school leaver, the young employee, which I don't think in the long run is what we need - in terms of a whole make-up we need a better mix ... I think there is opportunity ... which we haven't capitalised on (Human Resources Manager, DSW)

At the same time, in DSW, new policy and new technology had rendered obsolete some of the skills of staff on parental leave. There was less incentive to woo them back with part-time work arrangements, according to one line manager, although this view was not shared by managers in Head Office:

Of course with us, we've had the new technology, like the new computer system, and I've brought persons back from parental leave, and now I've got to upskill them on the computer system, you see. (District Manager, DSW)

Skills shortages

Historically, skills shortages had been an important factor, but more recently staff reduction policies had left a surplus of workers available to fill most positions. Skills shortages were currently a factor only in specialised areas. For example, tax analysts and qualified social workers were in short supply in some geographical areas. According to DSW's Head Office management, the Department was prepared to "be totally flexible" in recruiting skilled social workers. A national advertising campaign had invited skilled people to come in and negotiate working arrangements.

Supervision

All managers thought that including permanent part-time workers on staff involved more work for supervisors who were already over-worked and over-burdened. It took extra time and extra efforts in communication, and there were problems scheduling meetings and training. One manager said:

You probably have to devote the same amount of time (as for full-timers) even though they are only here for certain hours in a day. (Regional Manager, DSW)

There was apparently no formal departmental acknowledgment of the extra work that was required from supervisors. Numbers of supervisors were allocated by the Departments on the basis of full-time equivalent staff numbers, not on actual staff numbers, so one supervisor might end up with 20 staff instead of 12. Therefore, the attitudes of supervisors were important, and a supervisor strongly supportive of permanent part-time work opportunities or one who was innovative in resolving

difficulties, was an incentive. For example, in IRD, in a unit with a high proportion of permanent part-time workers, one manager highlighted the committed efforts of a supervisor, previously a part-timer herself, to make the situation operate smoothly. Almost all managers thought that supervisory difficulties could be overcome with planning and clear guidelines.

Scheduling

It did not appear that permanent part-time staff were being used to address scheduling needs. Indeed, few scheduling needs were apparent. Rather, using permanent part-timers tended to make scheduling more difficult. Every manager interviewed mentioned the difficulties involved in planning meetings or training. And, in one unit, the way in which permanent part-time workers were being used had actually created serious scheduling problems. Here, almost 1/3 of the workers were part-timers. Somehow the practice of allowing permanent part-time workers to set their own hours had arisen, and most apparently wanted to work the same core hours. This left customer service areas inadequately manned in the late afternoon, and caused serious headaches - one of the supervisors was said to be "at her wits end". The manager, quoted below, struggled not to describe this situation negatively.

MANAGER: It (permanent part-time work) works to a degree in IRD. Certainly here in this office it does. It does have its difficulties. Generally we live with it. We work around it. Manage to live with it - I am about at the limit at the present time, as to the number of permanent part-time workers I can actually take. Mainly because of their hours ...

INTERVIEWER: How were the hours of work actually decided on?

MANAGER: Virtually just agreeing to what the staff wanted.

This manager felt that the Department did not encourage setting times of work to cover the day.

We have got an Equal Employment Opportunity policy. How can I ... force one (permanent part-time staff member) into working the hours that suit me best whereas I accept a crowd of others, and I mean a crowd,

working the hours that best suit them? ... people working in the morning and the other half working in the afternoon - that has never been encouraged as a policy ... It is idealistic to think that you can get someone to work 8 - 12 and someone to work from 1 - 5. Because home life just isn't like that. (District Manager, IRD)

Further probing revealed that in a similar unit in at least one other District, permanent part-timers did work complementary shifts so that coverage was provided throughout the day. This "seemed to be appropriate" to the people there, but not to people in this District.

When the manager was asked if the permanent part-time staff had been made aware of the difficulties, the reply was equivocal. In some cases, part-timers had independently volunteered to change their hours slightly to smooth matters. One staff member, for example had asked if she could work an extra half hour each day so that the lunch period would be better covered. Another had increased her hours by one hour per day to help with the workload. The colleagues of the manager of this unit all had ideas about what could be done to address the situation, and felt that the problems could be resolved. Their suggestions seemed simple and logical (scheduling part-timers' hours so that all times of the day were covered; appointing an additional acting supervisor to help with the extra workload - the salary increment to be covered by increases in productivity). But the manager of the unit seemed to feel genuinely constrained by the EEO policies which he interpreted to mean that staff convenience should be placed above departmental task objectives.

This situation was not entirely unique. In an unsuccessful job share situation described by a DSW manager, two job sharing supervisors had been allowed to work the same hours. Unsurprisingly, the arrangement had not worked. As the manager said, at least it had been a learning experience, and the situation was not allowed to arise again, as managers "... became aware that we had to balance the needs of the individual staff with the needs of the organisation."

School holidays also constituted a special scheduling problem in the IRD District. Permanent part-time workers apparently tended to take school holidays off as leave without pay, causing difficulties in covering workloads. (This was not necessarily a

practice widespread nationally, as managers outside of the District indicated). In DSW, there was no similar practice, and no manager had detected any difference between full-time and part-time parents in requests for leave during school holidays.

Use of permanent part-time workers to actually address scheduling needs was mentioned only as a future possibility. Both departments were looking at extending their hours, partly to improve customer service, and partly to make better use of expensive computer technology. Negotiations with the Public Service Association were underway. Both full-time and part-time staff might be used to work the twilight shifts.

(It should be noted that there was no Processing Centre in the District of IRD which was studied. In the Processing Centres, apparently, part-time and temporary staff were used to accommodate peak periods.)

Mix right

Many of the managers felt that there was some maximum number of permanent part-time workers that could be accommodated in any unit, and that beyond this, they would be reluctant to take on more. The right mix of full and part-time workers was an incentive.

... there is a point at which you have to say no more - I certainly wouldn't hesitate to say no more - I mean you're put in a position to manage, to get the work done is the main objective ... you wouldn't compromise that by bending over backwards to put more part-timers on. (District Manager, IRD).

Positions suitable

Many managers mentioned that the requirement for some jobs was only part-time. Such positions varied from tea attendant to some specialist consultancy services for which there was only a limited need.

The level of skill or experience required in a job was not a factor in its suitability for permanent part-time work, but supervisory responsibility was a factor. Most positions below supervisory level were regarded as being suitable for part-time work, but supervisory and management positions were thought unsuitable by a majority of managers. However, a minority of managers argued that part-time could work in management, especially if job sharing options were incorporated.

Some positions mentioned as suitable for permanent part-time work by IRD managers included: policy analyst, accountant, auditor, technical officer, inspector, most clerical jobs, telephonist, typist, and tea attendant. In DSW, positions mentioned as suitable included: those in the investigations unit, support services jobs, clerical jobs such as processing claims or doing assessments, policy analyst, telephonist, typist, and tea attendant. There was an interesting division of opinion on the suitability of social work positions. Positions thought to be unsuitable included functional specialisms, such as practice consultancy, and jobs where there was a strong need for continuity and consistency.

Permanent part-time work was easiest to accommodate: where positions were stand-alone, involving discrete tasks; where continuity was not required; or where a lot of people were doing the same job so that continuity was easy to achieve. As one manager said:

That's the good thing about the government. You have got so many people doing the same sort of job, that someone can step in and do it. Unlike outside. When I worked outside, we had one wages clerk. Each person had their own job to do, and if you didn't do it, then there was a real inconvenience for someone to have to pick it up and do it. That's not the case here, because you have got people doing the same job. (District Manager, IRD)

Managers made a substantial number of comments on three job technologies in particular. These involved casework, social work, and supervisory or management responsibility. These are discussed in further detail below.

Casework

Much of the clerical work in each Department involves dealing with clients, who are referred to as cases. Certain types of casework are considered good for permanent part-time work. As one IRD manager explained:

(Casework) is really ideal for a part-time person, particularly if they are here for the main public counter areas for the day. We need just to allocate them a lower level of customers to compensate for the fewer hours they work.
(District Manager, IRD)

Another IRD manager, whose work involved the collection of overdue taxes, explained that the casework in his programme was ideal for part-timers, because it was not customer-driven, but "driven from us." Therefore, there was no problem with people coming in at inconvenient times wanting attention.

Another IRD manager, whose section did deal with customer-driven casework, felt that part-time work was less suitable, unless the part-time workers were there for core hours each day. This was because customers came and went without appointments, and it was better if they could deal with the same staff member each time.

Social Work

All of the Head Office and Regional Managers in DSW agreed that social work did lend itself to part-time work, and was in fact, as one manager said, "particularly suitable" (Regional Manager, DSW). Interestingly, two District Managers with direct responsibility for social work teams were included in the sample, and their views were diametrically opposed.

One manager felt that the long hours, out-of-hours requirements and crisis atmosphere of social work made it impossible for part-timers to cope. It was "like Hill Street Blues." Part-timers, in his view, all wanted to work core hours only. It was not realistic to divide the number of cases allocated to social workers, rather than dividing their hours of work, because no one had a reasonable idea of what constituted a caseload. Permanent part-timers would be of little use in addressing the present shortage of qualified social workers because the main shortage of trained staff was in the Maori area, and staff were

not available on a full-time or a part-time basis. Also, there was a lot of trouble involved in using permanent part-time workers because it was necessary to work to staffing establishments. And, new legislation on Family Group Conferences had made it more difficult to involve part-time staff because the requirements were so demanding, involving travel, weekend work and extremely long hours.

The manager who supported permanent part-time employment worked in a parallel position a few miles away. She had just appointed two permanent part-timers in Maori social work positions, and this suited because there were only enough resources for one paid position, but there were two major tribal groupings in the Region. In the past, she had used job sharers in a supervisory social work position and been very pleased with their energy, the way they covered for each other, and their use of complementary skills. She considered that social work was ideal for part-time work - staff were allocated a smaller number of cases and the staff did whatever was necessary at whatever times of day or week to deal with these cases. All social workers were expected to be flexible and deal with crises - it went with the territory. In any case, there was always a duty social worker on after 5 pm and at weekends - only if the duty social worker could not cope was the person in charge of the case contacted.

Differences in the experiences of the two managers could perhaps account for their different perceptions. The supportive manager had worked part-time herself and had significant experience in employing permanent part-time workers. She also appeared to be very sympathetic to measures which could enhance the career opportunities of her staff. For example, for a number of years, staff in the office had run a cooperative day care scheme during school holidays. Students were hired to babysit, and mothers took annual leave in turns to supervise.

On the other hand, the manager who was opposed to the use of permanent part-time workers did not have any direct experience of them, except in the adoptions area, where he felt that they were suitable because there was no crisis atmosphere. What had perhaps strongly affected his perceptions negatively, was his experience in using temporary part-time social workers. In his view, this placed a big strain on other staff. Perhaps understandably, the temporary workers were unprepared to do as many extra duties as the permanent staff, and were unfamiliar with the cases with which they were dealing.

Supervisory and management positions

At least three managers in DSW had been part-time supervisors or managers themselves, and were very supportive of the idea. Each volunteered the opinion that the task ahead was to restructure work to accommodate the needs of women and to acknowledge the reality of their career paths. But most managers thought that if management or supervision were involved in a job, that was a disincentive to appointing a permanent part-time worker. Several managers were unwilling to categorically discount the possibility, but were very doubtful. The way in which one manager prefaced his comments was typical:

It wouldn't be impossible, but ... (District Manager, IRD)

Some managers did qualify their objection to permanent part-time supervisors by saying that a job sharing arrangement might work, but, as one manager said, even in this case, it would require "two very special people". (District Manager, DSW)

In DSW, one reason for objections was the big Departmental emphasis on supervisory coaching of both social work and clerical staff. One District New Zealand Income Support Services manager explained that the same supervisor needed to be available to staff all of the time.

(Staff) need to see the supervisor quite a lot to get special needs payments approved, and we've found that if supervisory positions are part-time, one (supervisor) will come in with one set of guidelines and the other will come in the afternoon with another ... (District Manager, DSW)

Interestingly, the comments of managers seemed to indicate that it might be easier to use permanent part-time workers in management than in supervision. Supervisors had to be very hands-on, and to be constantly present. But most managers acknowledged that people in managerial positions were often tied up in meetings, and were rarely instantly accessible. Managers did have to be extremely flexible, able to work around the clock if necessary, and to respond to crises, but this was not necessarily incompatible with part-time appointment.

In most cases, managers had no permanent part-time supervisors or managers working under them, so their comments were not grounded in experience.

Cost factors

The most important cost incentive to the managers in the study was the opportunity to reduce staff numbers by acceding to staff requests for reduced hours of work. As has been outlined, the pay and conditions for permanent part-time workers in the Departments was *pro-rata* that of full-time permanent staff. There was therefore no opportunity to cut costs by paying permanent part-time workers less than full-timers in the same jobs, or to avoid fringe benefit payments. There was no evidence that permanent part-timers were used as a conscious policy to get more work out of staff for the same money, but this was acknowledged to be a usual side-effect. Permanent part-time workers were usually more productive. A typical comment was:

... you always get more than what you pay for. (Head Office Manager, DSW)

When asked, managers did agree that permanent part-time workers tended to be on the bottom rung of their occupational ladders because there was less opportunity for promotion. As one manager said:

... permanent part-timers tend to be employed at the lower level of their ability. (District Manager, IRD)

While differences in pay for workers in the same jobs were not a factor, other cost elements were important. These will be discussed under the headings of: staff reductions and budget pressures; cost-effectiveness; productivity; loyalty, motivation and turnover; and promotability.

Staff reductions and budget pressures

All of the managers interviewed referred to the enormous budgetary pressures which their Departments had experienced in recent years. Both Departments had lost staff, and neither had been taking on new staff in any numbers. There was very limited turnover, as staff who had jobs did not leave. There was simply little opportunity for the permanent part-time policy to operate because serious financial restraint had been the rule ever since its promulgation.

The Chief Executive of IRD had made a firm commitment to achieve the required reductions in staff (about 30% of staff in each District) without any redundancies. Partly as a result of this, he seemed to be held in universally high regard. The comprehensive package of downsizing measures included publicising the option for staff to reduce their hours. Although the managers questioned in this study were not personally aware of any staff who had done so as a direct result, they had themselves become more amenable to staff requests for reduced hours. In some cases it might be possible to avoid filling in the hours, or to put the money saved in a fund for overtime or temporary staff. As one IRD manager said, "I've always liked to have that little bit of a cushion sitting there." Budgetary pressures coloured managers' views of permanent part-time requests, as the following exchange indicates:

INTERVIEWER: If you didn't have this big pressure on you in terms of budget, do you think you'd have the same feeling about part-time work?

IRD MANAGER: I think we'd be just as open - we probably wouldn't be quite as eager.

DSW's New Zealand Income Support Service (NZISS) was in the process of introducing new computer technology, which had also reduced their staffing requirements. One District manager explained that because they were "utilising technology more fully ... I guess we're always willing to consider people who are willing to drop to part-time."

When questioned, managers maintained that productivity increases justified the staffing reductions, and that undue pressure was not being placed on the staff who had reduced their hours or on their colleagues. A female DSW manager suggested that probably

permanent part-time workers did feel pressure to work harder, but in her view this was a pressure which women still imposed on themselves - it was not imposed by the organisation.

In DSW, as well as cuts to general staffing levels, staffing in the Human Resources area had been reduced, so there was less opportunity to be proactive on issues. IRD had 65 Human Resources staff, including those working in the areas of change management, EEO, and training. DSW's New Zealand Income Support Service, apparently an organisation of a similar size, had 8 Human Resources staff (Human Resources manager, DSW).

Productivity

With only one or two qualifications, most managers thought that permanent part-time workers were more productive. The following exchange is illustrative of the comments made:

INTERVIEWER: So you have actually got feedback that they are more productive?

HEAD OFFICE MANAGER, IRD: Yes, that's an accepted fact in this organisation - permanent part-time workers are valued.

There were a number of reasons why permanent part-time workers had such high productivity. They were paid only for the hours they worked, they spent less time on appointments and breaks, they had more energy, and they tended to be mature, experienced workers.

Permanent part-time staff worked the hours they were paid, whereas full-time clerical workers, for example, received 40 hours pay for 37 1/2 hours work, according to their industrial agreement. One manager put it this way:

We actually get more mileage out of permanent part-time folk than we do out of full-time people. A full-time person works 7 1/2 hours and is

paid for 8. A permanent part-time person works for 4 hours and that's what they get paid for. (District Manager, IRD)

But, beyond this, several managers said that part-time workers often worked more than the hours they were scheduled. A sample comment was:

My experience with part-time staff is if you've got them for 20 hours they probably give you 25 hours. (Head Office Manager, DSW)

There tended to be less down time for part-time workers. They weren't getting paid for having breaks or going for doctor's appointments. There was not the same tendency to wind down on Friday afternoons. They were fresher and often had more energy. Their "energies were more focused" (District Manager, IRD); they did "more work in four days" than others did in five (District Manager, IRD). Because they knew they had only a limited amount of time, they worked hard to finish tasks before leaving. They were "more inclined to clear the desk" (District Manager, IRD), or as another manager said, "you get a very good day's work out of them ... it's quality time" (District Manager, DSW).

Another explanation offered for their high productivity was the maturity of most permanent part-time workers. The majority were skilled and experienced female workers who had family responsibilities. As a group they were generally conscientious and hard-working. They were "far better value for money", especially if they were being compared with a junior staff member (Human Resources Manager, DSW).

On the other side of the equation, one manager who had very limited experience of supervising permanent part-time workers, was not sure whether or not they really were more productive, or whether it was just hear-say:

There's a perception that permanent part-timers will work harder. That's a perception I've picked up. But whether that's from talking to other people or ... I don't know whether it's true or not. No idea. (District Manager, IRD)

An IRD District manager also pointed out that permanent part-time workers had to spend the same amount of time as full-timers familiarising themselves with new information, instructions, policy changes, and so forth, and that this reduced the time available for working.

Cost-effectiveness

There was an almost universal view that when all things were weighed up, use of permanent part-time workers in appropriate jobs was more cost-effective than the use of full-time staff. This was because of gains in productivity, reductions in turnover and absenteeism, and increases in job satisfaction. These factors were felt to outweigh a significant increase in the amount of supervisory input required, and a small increase in time and expense in administration and other overhead costs. A few managers thought that the cost-effectiveness of part-time workers was equal to, rather than better than, that of full-time workers, but no manager reported lower cost-effectiveness for part-timers, as comments such as the one following, indicated:

... people's time is more limited than full-time, but they always give very full measure, so that you actually do quite well out of it. (Head Office Manager, DSW)

An important negative cost consideration in some units was the "enormous pressure" on facilities and equipment, especially computer terminals, where part-time staff were working the same core hours. Apparently there was already a serious shortage of office space and terminals, especially in DSW.

Another cost consideration was training. It costs as much to train a part-time as a full-time person, but you get less return from the same training expense. In DSW, this was particularly a concern because of the Competency Programme whose goal was to get all staff up to skill within 3 to 5 years, to "get rid of all the adverse publicity about ourselves as a service" (Head Office Manager, DSW). It was considered by a few managers that the extra expense of training permanent part-time workers would be a constraint to their use.

Loyalty, motivation, and turn-over

Permanent part-timers were universally regarded as loyal and well-motivated, due partly, some managers thought, to their gratitude for the opportunities offered to them in the government service. Turnover was low, and this was in part due to the limited permanent part-time opportunities in the private sector. No managers reported worse loyalty, motivation, or turnover for permanent part-timers.

Promotability

Most managers thought that there was little if any difference in the suitability of full-time staff and part-time staff for promotion, but part-timers would usually have to be willing to work full-time if promoted. If they remained as part-timers, the promotability of the workers was low. One Human Resources manager in DSW believed that, with some exceptions who should be catered for, most women, including part-timers, did not want an upward career path. Their career goals were focused more on doing work that was satisfying, and in making a contribution. Sideways mobility was more important than upward mobility. Working in management required an enormous input of time and energy, and was not compatible with family responsibilities.

Managing permanent part-time workers

Overall, weighing up the operating and cost factors, permanent part-time workers were perceived positively by managers in this study. In the cases where permanent part-time work had not turned out well, this was often seen to be because of unsuitable positions or placement. Many of the managers also acknowledged that they had little experience in employing permanent part-time workers, and that there was room to learn. Several managers reported that planning for permanent part-time positions was the best way to avoid difficulties. There were no short-cuts in planning. As one manager said:

... part-time work has to be managed - it's not something that just happens - you have to work at it from both sides. (District Manager, DSW)

The managers in this study were asked to make suggestions for the successful management of permanent part-time positions. The specific suggestions most frequently given, were to: clarify expectations regarding the job and the conditions of work; negotiate issues such as suitable hours; treat permanent part-time workers equitably; establish a reliable means of communication with permanent part-time workers; and schedule meetings and training to take permanent part-time staff into account. These, and the other suggestions made are next briefly outlined.

Clear expectations

Many managers highlighted the need for clear expectations to be established from the beginning. As far as possible, managers thought these should be negotiated between managers and permanent part-time staff. The needs of co-workers should also be included. Agreements should preferably be put into writing, and should include job descriptions, required job performance, hours and times of work, and the degree of flexibility expected on both sides. Issues such as what to do about overtime; whether permanent part-time workers would be required to attend meetings and training sessions outside of their normal hours of work; how to handle crisis demands; whether space and facilities were to be shared; and whether permanent part-time workers could be contacted at home should be established at the outset. As a top manager in DSW put it, problems with permanent part-time work were generally caused by a failure to clarify expectations:

The lack of clarity is where you come into strife. (Head Office Manager, DSW)

Equity

In setting up the conditions of employment, several managers stressed the principle of equity. Permanent part-time workers and other staff should perceive fairness, and no one should be disadvantaged. As a District Manager in IRD expressed it:

Be seen to be fair - in terms of IRD's philosophy, that's crucial - we are seen to be a good employer, a fair employer, with equal opportunity, so that's crucial to me ... I look at who the person is, and then look at the work that's got to be done and then try to make it fit. (District Manager, IRD)

Communication

Communication was another key to successful management of permanent part-time workers which was stressed by many managers. It was easy to overlook permanent part-time staff, and so measures should be established to prevent leaving them out of communication channels. Practical suggestions included: having permanent part-time workers attend staff meetings; making use of electronic mail; making a policy as a manager, of ringing part-time staff or stopping by their desk; and establishing a buddy system in which a full-time co-worker would undertake to keep a part-timer up-to-date on any developments. As one Human Resources manager summed it up:

Don't forget the part-timers! (Head Office Manager, DSW)

Scheduling

Scheduling was closely tied to communication. Staff meetings and training sessions should, managers thought, be held at times when permanent part-time workers could attend, wherever possible. One way of accomplishing this was to establish times when all workers were present. It was acknowledged that at present much training involved full-time attendance. In the IRD District studied, attention was being given to the possibility of setting up part-time training sessions.

In scheduling work, managers needed to remember that permanent part-time staff needed just as much time as full-timers to keep up-to-date on issues and on new procedures or policies. Most important, managers should make sure that they did not push permanent part-time workers to produce full-time output. Employees themselves had to take some responsibility for this, as one manager said:

In terms of the employee's role, they have to be very careful that a 50% position doesn't stretch to 60% or 70%, with somebody saying, "Oh, just before you go ..." (District Manager, DSW)

At the same time, several managers stressed the need for both employer and permanent part-time employee to be flexible. For example, if permanent part-time workers were willing to be rung at home, that often could go a long way to providing any necessary job continuity. Permanent part-timers who wanted career jobs, in particular, had to be available out of normal hours. Full-time managers were expected to work 60 or 70 hours a week, and there would have to be a proportionate commitment from part-time managers.

Supervision and management positions

Most managers counselled against using permanent part-time workers in supervisory or management positions, but some had suggestions for making it work. One manager thought that if subordinates could be neatly divided between supervisors, the situation would be workable. One manager, who had previously worked as a manager on a part-time basis, shared some keys to her success. These included: going to work 5 days a week to maintain continuity; having full-time supervisors under her; establishing good reliable systems; having a supportive superior; and taking some work home.

A few managers thought that job sharing would be ideal for management positions. Other managers' comments ranged through: "avoid" (District Manager, IRD); "use with discretion" (District Manager, IRD); "you need the right people" (District Manager, DSW); and "it needs careful management" (District Manager, DSW). Many managers were worried about the potential for personality incompatibilities, and therefore

suggested that the two people needed to be chosen very carefully. In job share, it was essential to allow overlap time for discussion.

Other suggestions

Other suggestions for the management of permanent part-time staff included: the possibility of allowing staff flexibility to work at home; setting a maximum number of permanent part-time positions; using acting supervisors to handle extra duties if there were a lot of permanent part-time workers; and making use of networks to integrate permanent part-time staff into the organisation. On this last point, the IRD District which was studied had a permanent part-time workers' network which met regularly, and had access to management to discuss any concerns. The IRD managers interviewed seemed to feel that this nipped any potential problems in the bud, and kept communication channels open. One important factor was the presence of good practice models, as many managers simply did not know how to set up and maintain permanent part-time positions. The general tone of the suggestions from managers was that there should be give and take by both managers and permanent part-time staff.

Commitment to making permanent part-time work successful seemed to be the essential key to success. With goodwill, any problems could be overcome and the overall result would be one of satisfaction for both employer and employee.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the managers' views on the organisational, personal, and operating and cost incentives and constraints to the use of permanent part-time work, and it has also reported their suggestions for the successful management of permanent part-time workers.

One finding is particularly striking. The general satisfaction of managers with permanent part-time work arrangements emerged clearly. But, more interesting, was the fact that managers were satisfied with permanent part-time work even where, far from addressing operating needs, its use required special accommodations to be made. Although the managers used permanent part-time work in response to policy which required their sympathetic consideration of individual staff requests, rather than in response to operating needs in their units, most managers still found that use of permanent part-time work produced overall benefits.

In the following chapter, these findings are discussed further in terms of the other empirical literature.

Chapter Seven:

The Impact of Managers on Permanent Part-Time Work in a Policy Environment

Introduction

This chapter analyses the results of the interviews with Department of Social Welfare (DSW) and Inland Revenue Department (IRD) managers which were reported in Chapter Six, and compares the results with those of the studies which were reviewed in earlier chapters. One observation which stands out is the potential impact which the managers appeared to have on the use or non-use of permanent part-time work. Even in an environment where permanent part-time work was the subject of legislation, collective agreements and policy, individual managers were able to exercise significant discretion in their decisions on permanent part-time work. The results of the interviews therefore reinforced the initial assumption of the study that it was important to understand the ways in which managers experience permanent part-time work and make decisions on its use or non-use.

Notwithstanding the discretionary powers of managers, a second major observation was that, in this study, permanent part-time policy did have a transformational role, in that it required managers to sympathetically consider staff requests for part-time hours of work. Although permanent part-time work in this study was introduced, not in response to operating needs of the organisations, but rather, in response to policy requirements, permanent part-time use rarely came into conflict with operating goals. Indeed, it most often led to benefits to both the organisation and the individual.

The strongest continuity of this study with the management research discussed in Chapter Three may be the reported satisfaction of managers with permanent part-time work. The managerial satisfaction in this study was especially notable in light of the fact that use of permanent part-time work was initiated by staff, and not by the managers themselves. This after-the-fact satisfaction had spin-offs in making managers receptive to other staff

requests, but did not provide them with incentive to initiate permanent part-time positions independently of staff requests. As a result, permanent part-time employment was still very limited in the New Zealand Public Service.

This chapter discusses aspects of the use of permanent part-time work in the policy environment in which the study took place, including: managers' reported satisfaction with permanent part-time work; the way in which the organisations used permanent part-time work; the way in which managers made decisions on permanent part-time work; the impact of managers with different positions in the organisation; and implications for the expansion of permanent part-time work in organisations.

Management satisfaction

There is a fundamental difference between the use of permanent part-time work in this study, which was conducted in organisations where permanent part-time work policy was in place, and its reported use in studies such as Nollen, Eddy and Martin (1978), where relevant policy was usually absent. In the absence of policy, use of permanent part-time work was driven by the organisation and by operating needs. However, in this study, use of permanent part-time work was driven by staff and by policy requirements.

What is striking about this ordering of priorities is that even though permanent part-time positions came about because of staff initiatives rather than organisational initiatives, managers were satisfied with them. In spite of the fact that there were seldom operating incentives present, and that a certain amount of time and trouble was involved in setting up permanent part-time positions, managers were satisfied. Managers experienced permanent part-time workers as highly productive, often as more productive than full-time staff, and the operating advantages of employing permanent part-time workers almost always outweighed the operating disadvantages.

In the literature, managerial satisfaction with permanent part-time work was also reported both when it was introduced in response to operating problems, as in Nollen, Eddy and Martin (1978), and when it was introduced in response to policy, for example,

policy on phased retirement (Swank, 1983; Kahne, 1985), or in response to a staff request to job share (Syrett, 1983; Ronen, 1984; Meier, 1979).

Organisational use of permanent part-time work

The organisational use of permanent part-time work is described below in Figure 7.1, through a modification of the organisational-behaviour model of Nollen, Eddy and Martin, described in Chapter Three. The modified model retains the same major elements as Nollen, Eddy and Martin's model, but some aspects have been amended. Part of the value of the original model lies in its acknowledgement of external and organisational contextual factors. In the original model, general background factors gave rise to the two factors of "perceived economic incentives and constraints", and "organisational climate", both of which acted as "specific explanatory-variable sets" to influence decisions on permanent part-time work. These decisions led in turn to actual experiences. In the modified model in Figure 7.1, "general background factors", which include the external and organisational context factors, personal factors, and operating and cost factors, which were identified in earlier chapters, give rise to "specific explanatory-variable sets". The first, "perceived operating and cost incentives and constraints", remains similar to that in the original model. The second, rather than "organisational climate", is now "perceived policy incentives and constraints". These factors lead to decisions on permanent part-time work and on to actual outcomes for the organisation and the individual. Outcomes include, not only the use and non-use of permanent part-time work, but also its potential institutionalisation.

General background factors

In the original model, the general background factors were not detailed. Here, in Figure 7.1, they are grouped under the headings of: external context; internal organisational context; operating and cost factors; and personal factors. External factors include social, economic, political, legal, technological, informational and demographic aspects. Internal organisational context factors include: collective bargaining; Human Resources strategy;

permanent part-time work policy; related policies such as EEO; the routinisation of policies in administrative practice, performance appraisal, etc.; top management leadership; culture; and climate. Operating and cost factors include goals, tasks and job technologies. Personal factors include: attitudes experiences and expectations; management position; and characteristics of permanent part-time workers.

The significance of the external context factors, the internal organisational context factors, the operating and cost factors, and the personal factors was established in this study, first in Chapter Five, which discussed the development of permanent part-time work policy in the New Zealand Public Service, and second in Chapter Six, which discussed the results of the interviews with managers. Some of the organisational factors which did not appear in the original Nollen, Eddy and Martin model, are discussed in more detail below. These are the factors of Human Resources strategy; permanent part-time work policy, related policies and routinisation; top management leadership; and culture.

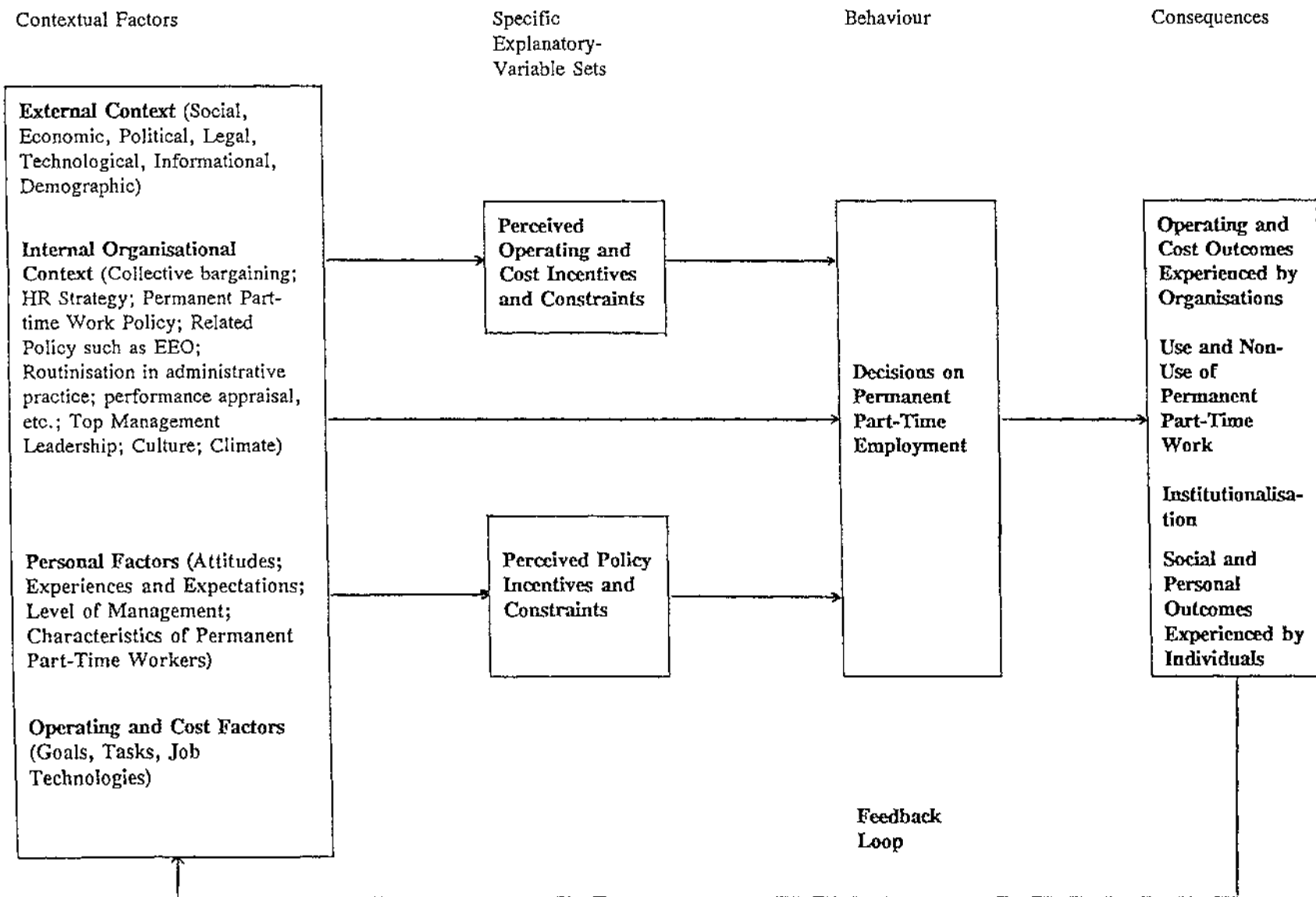
Collective bargaining

The present study lends support to the research of Dixon (1985) and other researchers who have identified collective bargaining as central in determining the use and shape of part-time work. Many other factors were also present, but the Public Service Association's (PSA's) importance is highlighted by the fact that when PSA policy did not support permanent part-time work, it did not occur, and when PSA policy changed, government sector policy soon followed suit. PSA support of permanent part-time work was vital to its institution. The presence of permanent part-time work provisions in collective agreements ensured that the policy would be ongoing.

Human Resources strategy

The most striking aspect of Human Resources strategy which emerged from the study was IRD's commitment to restructure and downsize without redundancy. This led to the adoption of down-sizing strategies which included relocation, early retirement, the redeploying of middle managers, and the promotion of the permanent part-time work option. This short-term strategy can be seen against the background of the ongoing strategy of a career service and a stable workforce. The career nature of employment

FIGURE 7.1: MODEL FOR EXPLAINING MANAGERS' USE OF PERMANENT PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT



had facilitated the incorporation of parental leave provisions. Indeed, most of the staff who requested reduced hours of work were returning from parental leave. Recent government flexibility policies did not appear to have substantially affected the stable employment of the core Public Service.

Permanent part-time policy, related policies and routinisation

Most of the organisations in Nollen, Eddy and Martin's 1978 study did not have permanent part-time work policies, while in contrast, the organisations in this later research were in an environment in which public policy had a strong influence. It follows that policy should be more central. The actual 1986 Public Service policy on permanent part-time work forms the cornerstone of departmental policy and practice. This was routinised through, for example, the promulgation of guidelines on the use of permanent part-time work and the administration of leave, in IRD. A very effective means of routinising use appeared to be the incorporation of a permanent part-time option in the advertising of vacancies in DSW.

The "good employer" requirement of the State Sector Act 1988 also encouraged permanent part-time work in its specification that Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) plans are to be developed by all departments, and in providing for the monitoring of progress by the State Services Commission (SSC). EEO tended to be the vehicle through which permanent part-time work was promoted. A high profile, well-resourced and active EEO unit was very significant for the promotion of permanent part-time work in this study. The EEO units within departments acted to identify EEO priorities, and to coordinate the implementation of policies. It was the EEO unit of the SSC that actually monitored the progress of the departments, and offered guidelines on implementation.

Culture

Culture did not appear in the original model, but in this study, culture did appear to be more important than even climate in explaining the use of permanent part-time work. A culture dominated by male values was not conducive to the use of permanent part-time work. Several managers in IRD explained that conscious and concerted efforts were being made to change their male-dominated culture to incorporate the values of EEO. In DSW, the high proportion of female staff, and particularly the relatively high number

of females in management, had made the culture there receptive to the use of permanent part-time work, according to some managers.

Top management leadership

Leadership was not explicitly considered by Nollen, Eddy, and Martin, but it emerged as a crucial factor in this study, and is therefore added to the model of decision-making. In the New Zealand Public Service, all departments have the same overall permanent part-time work policy. However, use varies dramatically from department to department, and this variation does not appear to necessarily be related to job technology. The signal given by the Chief Executive is very influential. In IRD, during the period of this research, managers had a strong impression that their Chief Executive was very committed to staff-responsive and EEO policies. The Chief Executive was the spearhead of a programme of attitude and behaviour change in the organisation.

Specific explanatory-variable sets

In Figure 7.1, background factors give rise to the specific explanatory-variable sets of perceived operating and cost incentives and constraints, and perceived policy incentives and constraints. The term, "perceived" may be stressed, because the use of permanent part-time work by managers showed that their perceptions of its impact on operations and cost, and their perceptions of the requirements of policy, varied. Chapter Six has discussed how two factors, the extent of managers' experience with permanent part-time work, and their position in the management hierarchy, influenced their perceptions.

Most managers saw the two sets of goals as compatible, and perceived permanent part-time work to be of mutual benefit to the organisation and to the individual. However, a few managers saw permanent part-time work and EEO policies as being in actual or potential conflict with operating and cost efficiency. The two explanatory-variable sets are discussed in more detail below.

Perceived operating and cost incentives and constraints

As in the original model, perceived operating and cost incentives and constraints are the first of the specific explanatory-variable sets in the revised model in Figure 7.1. However, their operation here is somewhat different. Operating and cost factors in this study seemed to exercise veto power rather than acting as genuine incentives to use permanent part-time work, in most cases. The absence of constraints rather than the presence of incentives was the more significant factor. The high productivity of permanent part-time workers was almost universally acknowledged, but did not seem to be a strong direct influence on decisions. The quality of the manager's experiences with part-timers did, however, contribute to a general atmosphere of goodwill which surrounded the issue of permanent part-time work in the Departments, and which characterised most managers' attitudes.

As was the case in Nollen, Eddy and Martin's study, when a request for reduced hours was being considered, operating factors were usually more influential than cost factors on decisions. Again, as in the Nollen, Eddy and Martin study, questions surrounded the use of permanent part-time work in management and in job share.

Two factors not stressed in the Nollen, Eddy and Martin study have emerged in this study. These are the factors of restructuring and staff reductions. These over-riding short-term goals figured prominently in this study. The requirement to downsize without redundancy was a particularly strong incentive to granting permanent part-time requests in IRD. Although this use of permanent part-time work policies did not emerge in the literature, it calls to mind the work sharing arrangements documented, for example in ILO (1989).

Requests for reduced hours also sometimes provided the opportunity to reduce wage costs. If managers could reduce the staffing levels in their units below establishment numbers and maintain productivity levels, they could then reallocate the money saved. Managers who discussed this option maintained that new technology and other factors had made it possible to increase productivity without placing extra pressure on staff. The question remains as to whether or not the permanent part-time staff themselves felt pressured.

The other side of staff reductions and restructuring was that there was no leeway to experiment with new forms of work. In addition, many managers gave the impression that they were somewhat shell-shocked by the almost constant restructuring which they had undergone since the mid-eighties. This constant change had left them little time or energy to worry about instituting permanent part-time work.

The most important operating and cost incentives identified in the literature did not emerge strongly here. Because fringe benefits were *pro rata* those of full-time staff, there was no opportunity to achieve cost economies by avoiding them. With the important exception of shortages of qualified social workers, labour shortage had a significance which was mainly historical. The potential to ease scheduling problems had rarely been used to advantage.

A peculiarity of the use of permanent part-time work in this study was that scheduling was transformed from a potential benefit into a potentially serious disadvantage. Formalised mechanisms for establishing clear expectations about hours of work did not seem to be present. In most units, there were few permanent part-time workers and therefore few problems. However, in one unit, where staff reportedly all wanted to work the same core hours, this left some periods without adequate cover in customer service areas. The manager seemed to anticipate serious opposition from staff if rosters were made to cover lunch, afternoon tea, and Friday afternoons in order to meet the needs of the public. Whether the fears of this manager were real or only imagined, and whether there was a communication problem, is not known. A related difficulty was the pressure on office space and equipment, especially terminals, where permanent part-time staff worked the same hours. None of the managers interviewed used permanent part-time workers to actually ease scheduling difficulties, as is often reported in the literature.

Perceived policy incentives and constraints

In the revised model in Figure 7.1, "Perceived policy incentives and constraints" replaces "Climate" as a specific explanatory-variable set. In the present study, policy and its implementation was a more significant factor than climate. Climate could not be said to have the central place ascribed to it in the original model, and, in fact, Nollen, Eddy and Martin seemed to somewhat modify their own views about its centrality.

Although climate was not rigorously tested in the present study, managers' comments about climate were recorded. An impression was given that the climate in DSW was less formally structured, less controlling, and less traditional than that in IRD, and this may indeed have contributed to an earlier openness to requests for permanent part-time work in DSW than in IRD. However, since IRD's adoption of Departmental goals that are strongly in support of permanent part-time work options, its more formal and controlling structure made it very efficient in implementation. It therefore appears that the crucial factor is not climate, but the policies of the organisation, and how thoroughly these policies are carried out.

While climate has been displaced from its position as a specific explanatory-variable set, it certainly did have a role in influencing managers' perceptions of the importance of permanent part-time work and EEO policies. The other general background factors also influenced managers' perceptions. As we have noted, for example, culture and the signals given by top managers were particularly significant factors.

Management decisions on permanent part-time work

In the model in Figure 7.1, the specific explanatory-variable sets give rise to decisions on permanent part-time employment. The next part of the model of the organisational use of permanent part-time work shows the decisions made by managers. The way in which the Public Service managers who were interviewed balanced organisational goals of operating and cost efficiency with social goals of permanent part-time work and EEO policy gave rise to their use or non-use of permanent part-time work in particular situations. If managers were able to perceive a congruence between organisational and individual goals, then they were most likely to use permanent part-time work. If they perceived a neutral effect from the use of permanent part-time work, they were also reasonably likely to grant staff requests for reduced hours of work. If they perceived a conflict between organisational and individual needs, they were most likely to pursue organisational goals. However, in some cases, they granted individual requests for permanent part-time work in spite of perceived conflicts, and this sometimes led to difficulties in management.

The process by which managers made decisions on permanent part-time work may be summarised as follows. A staff request for reduced hours of work acted as a catalyst. This request was considered against the background of the policies encouraging permanent part-time work, and in light of collective bargaining issues, perceived top management commitment to the policy, organisational culture, and operating and cost factors. Managers tended to check for operating and cost factors which might preclude the use of permanent part-time work, rather than looking for operating and cost incentives.

To graphically illustrate this management decision process, the management decision model of Nollen, Eddy and Martin, which was described in Chapter Three, is adapted below in Figure 7.2. The model has been modified for use in the policy environment represented in this study. It has, in fact, been turned on its head, and new dimensions added to it. Major modifications include the addition of the dimensions of: Human Resources policy and strategy; top management leadership; and organisational culture. There is also a major change to the way in which operating and cost factors are described as impacting on decisions. In contrast to the Nollen, Eddy and Martin model, where they acted as the catalyst to permanent part-time work use, here they were one more set of factors to scan before a decision was made. Their potential effect was more one of exercising a potential veto on the use of permanent part-time work than one of instigating its use. Thus, constraints tended to be more powerful factors than incentives in determining use, regardless of how seemingly great the incentives might have been. The management decision process is detailed below.

Use of permanent part-timers usually occurred when existing full-time employees asked to have their hours reduced, and only rarely when managers decided to use permanent part-time work to address a particular operating problem. Permanent part-time work was usually employee-initiated and only rarely initiated in response to an operating need (usually in cases where the job was clearly only part-time, as for the position of tea attendant).

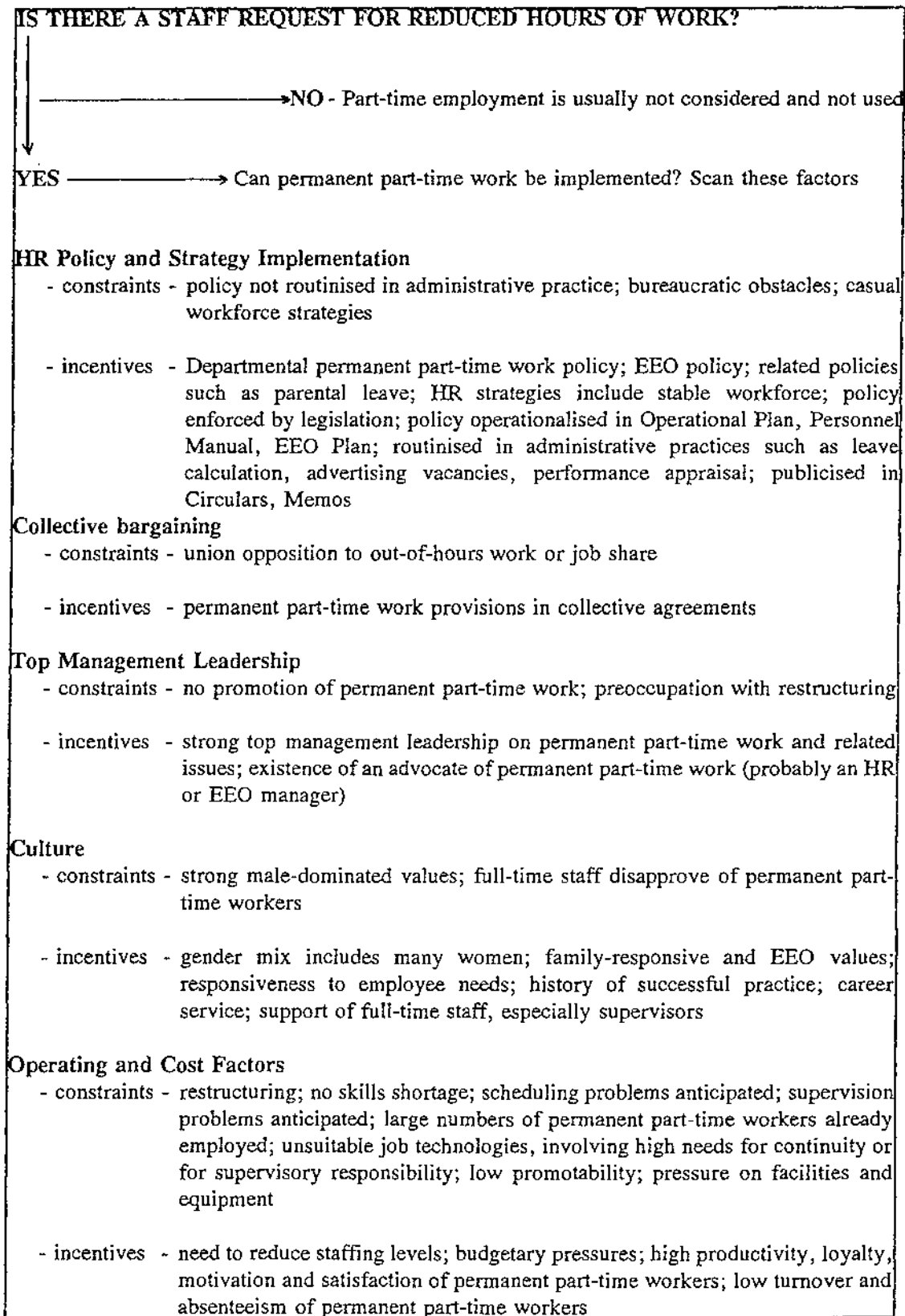
An employee request for reduced hours then acted as a catalyst. Managers considered the request in the light of the organisational, personal, and operating and cost factors identified in earlier chapters. Organisational context and personal incentives to granting the request included: the presence of permanent part-time work policy and EEO policy;

the degree of routinisation of policy in administrative practice and in performance appraisal; the inclusion of permanent part-time work provisions in collective agreements; a perception of commitment on the part of the Department and the manager's superiors to permanent part-time work and EEO policy; a culture accepting of permanent part-time work; the manager's own desire to accommodate employee needs; and the manager's positive past experience with permanent part-time work. Constraints to granting the request included: lack of routinisation of administrative practices facilitating the use of permanent part-time work; the existence of bureaucratic barriers; Public Service Association (PSA) objection to certain uses of permanent part-time work; a perception that top management was preoccupied with other issues; and an unsupportive culture characterised by negative managerial attitudes, overworked or unsupportive supervisors, and negative experiences or anecdotal knowledge of permanent part-time work.

The manager also considered the request in the light of operating and cost factors. The strongest incentive was likely to be a requirement to reduce staffing levels and the desire to do this without redundancy. Rather than considering other operating and cost incentives, managers were more likely to check for the presence of constraints. Operating and cost constraints which could add up to a veto on a staff request included: the complications of restructuring; lack of skills shortages; anticipated scheduling problems; anticipated supervision problems; large numbers of permanent part-time workers already employed; a job technology perceived to be unsuitable because it involved needs for continuity or supervisory responsibility; and the low promotability of permanent part-time workers.

If no alarming constraints appeared to be present and if the combined effect of the minor constraints was not too great, the manager would be likely to grant the staff request for reduced hours. The manager would then see his or her task as establishing the permanent part-time position in such a way as not to inconvenience anyone more than necessary. The manager tended to view any resulting advantages as a pleasant bonus. Possible advantages included: easing pressure on budgets; the high productivity, loyalty, motivation and satisfaction of permanent part-time workers; and the low turnover and absenteeism of permanent part-time workers.

FIGURE 7.2: MANAGEMENT DECISION PROCESS ON PERMANENT PART-TIME WORK IN A POLICY ENVIRONMENT
(Adapted from Nollen, Eddy and Martin, 1978: 149)



Consequences

The consequences of the decisions of managers were the use or non-use of permanent part-time work. When permanent part-time work was utilised, there was usually satisfaction with it, as we have discussed. Another important consequence was the degree of its institutionalisation in the organisation.

Permanent part-time work policy itself was no guarantee that permanent part-time work opportunities would be widely available, as the extreme variation in use between departments has shown. Implementation was a dynamic process. The policies themselves were somewhat ambiguous, being the outcome of political compromise and lacking detailed prescription. Nowhere, for example, does EEO legislation specify that permanent part-time work must be included as an EEO policy. It is identified as such by some departments and not by others. The same policy was thus implemented in very different ways, depending upon the Department, the Region or District, its structure and functions, and also upon the culture, attitudes and values of the people within it. In the absence of policy, in Nollen, Eddy and Martin's study, much permanent part-time work resulted from the *ad hoc* decisions of line managers. One reason for non-use of part-time workers was this *ad hoc* nature of the managerial decision-making process, and the consequent failure of organisational learning to take place. Organisations therefore did not institutionalise the use of permanent part-time work.

While there was more opportunity for institutionalisation to take place in this study, managers had mixed views on how far this had actually taken place. The Departments had different experiences of permanent part-time work policy implementation. In DSW, many managers believed that permanent part-time work was totally institutionalised. Significantly, DSW had a policy to advertise vacancies as both full-time or part-time wherever possible. DSW had a higher than average proportion of permanent part-time workers, compared to other government departments. However, it was still possible for two DSW District managers in parallel positions to have diametrically opposed interpretations of how the permanent part-time work policy should be implemented.

In IRD, as has been discussed in earlier chapters, a comprehensive approach had been taken to the implementation of EEO, and permanent part-time work policies had

benefited to some degree from their inclusion as EEO measures. Institutionalisation of procedures, such as those for permanent part-time work, lagged behind, in that guidelines for the employment of permanent part-time workers and for the administration of their leave had only been developed during the time of this study (six years after the Public Service permanent part-time work policy was put in place). There was no provision to advertise vacancies as open to both full-time and part-time staff in IRD at the time of the study.

Feedback mechanisms

The model in Figure 7.1 contains a feedback loop, and in the organisations which were studied, some feedback mechanisms were in place. In its monitoring role, the State Services Commission (SSC) had begun to collect information from the departments on the numbers of permanent part-time workers which they employed. Through its EEO Unit, the SSC had also carried out two studies on the management of permanent part-time workers, and had recently published guidelines for staff.

Within IRD, a Department-wide survey on permanent part-time employment had been carried out by IRD's EEO Unit. The results of the survey had been used to inform the development of guidelines on permanent part-time work by the Human Resources Services Directorate. In IRD, the comprehensive EEO structures also provided informal feedback systems. In DSW, at the time of the study, there did not seem to be any formal systems in place for providing feedback on the use of permanent part-time work. This may have been largely due to the dismantling of the EEO networks in DSW. It seems to have been the EEO personnel who have, perhaps by default, helped to smooth the implementation of permanent part-time work policies.

However, even given the existing feedback systems, some managers seemed to feel isolated in their administration of permanent part-time work. What managers in both Departments perhaps lacked, was detailed and specific information about ways of successfully using permanent part-time work and managing permanent part-time workers. Nollen, Eddy, and Martin, in their study, commented that the lack of adequate feedback

systems in the organisations which they studied inhibited the institutionalisation of permanent part-time work.

The next section of this chapter discusses the roles of the different types of managers in the use of permanent part-time work.

Management roles

The findings of this study indicated that, even within the policy environment, individual managers had substantial personal impact on permanent part-time work. Top managers had a role in the leadership and promotion of permanent part-time work policy; Human Resources managers drafted enabling policies which made the use of permanent part-time work more or less smooth and efficient, Human Resources managers and EEO managers promoted permanent part-time work; and line managers had a central role in interpreting and implementing policy. The results of the study also suggested that the supervisors who worked under the first-line managers had a significant role in implementation.

Top managers

Top management leadership featured prominently in this study. In DSW, the influence was more historical. In IRD, the recent very strong focus by the Chief Executive on EEO and other related goals had begun to transform the organisation. As well as providing vision, top management support translated itself into the allocation of resources and the changing of administrative procedures to facilitate change. Without this sort of administrative support, permanent part-time work was much less likely to be routinised. Where managers perceived administrative barriers, they avoided the use of permanent part-time workers. For example, many managers said that it had been too difficult to use permanent part-time workers prior to restructuring, because there were too many bureaucratic obstacles and some DSW managers still perceived barriers in the requirement to establish or disestablish permanent part-time positions.

Human Resources managers and EEO managers

Human Resources and EEO managers appeared to have a major role in promoting permanent part-time work, in educating managers about its use, and in streamlining administrative practices. In DSW, prior to the downsizing of the Human Resources function, and the dismantling of the EEO unit, people within these areas had acted as advocates of policies such as permanent part-time work.

In IRD, at the time of this research, the EEO unit was well-resourced and well-supported. The EEO manager had been able to take a proactive role in promoting permanent part-time work, for example through the Department-wide staff survey referred to in Chapter Five. There was integration between the EEO Unit and the Human Resources Services Directorate, which used the information obtained in the staff survey to feed into new Administrative Guidelines for permanent part-time staff.

Line managers

Line managers in this study had a large degree of discretion in interpreting and implementing policy. The impact of their discretion emerged throughout the study, and was highlighted by the example of the two District managers in parallel positions in charge of social work units. One supported permanent part-time work and employed permanent part-time workers, and the other did not.

The central importance of line managers meant that factors affecting them were also important as a consequence. These factors included: the strong association between lack of experience and negative attitudes towards permanent part-time work; the greater pessimism of line managers as compared to top and Human Resources managers; and the fact that one of the major operating constraints to the use of permanent part-time work, the requirement for extra supervisory input, most affects line managers.

As earlier discussions have noted, it is first-line managers who carry the burden of extra work resulting from the appointment of permanent part-time workers. In situations where these workers are appointed to address operating problems, first-line managers will also

reap the benefits. However, in this study, where appointment of permanent part-time staff did not address operating problems, line managers may at times have felt that the arrangement was one-sided.

There are implications flowing from the fact that first-line managers are both likely to be more pessimistic and to experience more genuine difficulties in the management of permanent part-time workers. To ensure successful implementation of permanent part-time work policy, it seems that these managers and the supervisors under them need careful attention. A lack of knowledge on how to set up and manage permanent part-time positions was not unusual amongst managers because most units only dealt with them in a very limited number of instances. On the other hand, in those work units where there were only a few permanent part-time workers, disruption was minimal. In other work units, where a high proportion of staff wished to work part-time on an ongoing basis, it might be expected that eventually a certain management expertise would develop, and that it would be possible to institute scheduling routines and any extra supervision required.

Supervisors

The supervisors who worked under managers were not interviewed in this study, but there were indications that supervisors may be an important key to making permanent part-time policy work. Supportive and innovative supervisors strongly influenced management decisions to use permanent part-time workers, and unsupportive supervisors were equally influential in the opposite direction. Supervisors had to deal with the real-life, day-to-day problems posed by the incomplete institutionalisation of permanent part-time work in procedure and practice. They reaped the harvest sown when permanent part-time positions were set up without clear guidelines or expectations.

A potentially serious operating problem arising from Departmental practice was that of putting too much pressure on many supervisors, whom managers felt were already overworked. Bureaucratic barriers apparently still existed, in that while some other staffing decisions were now budget-driven and up to the discretion of the manager, the number of supervisors was fixed by the number of full-time staff equivalents. There was

apparently no Departmental acknowledgement of the extra work involved in administration of two part-time staff rather than one full-time staff. However, several managers suggested ways to circumvent this problem, for example, by appointing "acting" supervisors to cope with the extra workload.

On the other hand, some managers felt that the supervision problem was rarely serious, because most permanent part-time staff were skilled, experienced, mature employees, some of whom may have been supervisors themselves prior to working reduced hours. Again, it was not clear whether the supervision problems resulted from a lack of established routines for dealing with permanent part-time staff, including for example, the formalisation of communication, or whether the problems resulted from other causes.

Expanding the use of permanent part-time work

The reported managerial satisfaction with permanent part-time work begs the question of why it was not used more often. A partial explanation may be the staff reductions which were occurring during the period of the study. There was simply very little opportunity to experiment with permanent part-time work. Another possible explanation is found in the staff-driven model of use. Because managers strongly associated permanent part-time work with staff request, rather than with solutions to operating problems, it may have been less likely to occur to them to use permanent part-time work to address operating problems.

One factor which was not examined in this study was the use of temporary workers. Departments continued to use temporary full-time and part-time staff to meet cyclical needs and to cope with short-term workloads. To what degree temporary workers were used to address needs which could have been met through the use of permanent part-time workers is not known. There was clearly a divide in the types of use - temporary workers were secondary, peripheral employees - permanent part-time workers were primary, core employees. Perhaps because of their core status, and the option of hiring workers who did not share it, little thought had gone into using permanent part-time staff to meet organisational scheduling needs, for example.

The staff-driven process of decision-making constitutes a significant acknowledgement of staff needs. In contrast to most private sector use of permanent part-time work, here the need for staff flexibility, rather than the need for organisational flexibility, was the catalyst for permanent part-time use. However, an implication of this mode of use is that permanent part-time work has come to constitute only a very small part of Public Service employment. Because permanent part-time positions have been initiated solely at the behest of individual workers, they have not necessarily arisen in positions that are considered totally appropriate or in units where systems are in place to cope with them. Managers in this study felt that they could cope with only a limited number of permanent part-time workers. There was some feeling that managers were doing employees a favour, and that use of permanent part-time work was a response to a short-term "problem". In some work units, the management of permanent part-time workers appeared to be somewhat *ad hoc*, and was considered to be somewhat inconvenient. While managers felt that the high productivity of permanent part-time staff outweighed any inconvenience, there seemed to be little perceived incentive to expand permanent part-time work opportunities beyond what was necessary to satisfy Departmental policy and collective agreements. In order for permanent part-time work opportunities to substantially expand, it would likely be necessary for managers to be able to see potential advantages in permanent part-time work, and to incorporate these earlier in the decision process.

In the Nollen, Eddy and Martin study, a further reason for the limited use of permanent part-time work was that managers needed a strong incentive in order to change the *status quo* of no permanent part-time work. In Nollen, Eddy and Martin, the usual incentive was an operating problem. It follows from this that if managers could perceive incentives more related to the actual operating needs of their units, they might be more willing to consider permanent part-time work. They might, indeed, initiate permanent part-time positions on their own without waiting for staff requests. Whether this would require education of managers as to the potential benefits of permanent part-time work, or modification of the way in which permanent part-time work is used might depend on the situation.

Wide dissemination of information on ways in which permanent part-time staff have been used to address operating problems in these and other organisations would give permanent part-time work a higher profile. At the same time, the way permanent part-

time work is used in some situations might need re-thinking. A case discussed in Chapter Six illustrates this point. The use of large numbers of permanent part-time workers in the IRD unit which experienced scheduling problems because permanent part-time staff were all permitted to choose their own hours, did show a high level of responsiveness to staff needs. However, it might ultimately be counter-productive for the cause of existing and potential permanent part-time workers. In that unit, the absence of procedures for negotiating hours that met organisational needs had created difficulties which threatened to poison management attitudes towards the future use of permanent part-time workers. A second example is the situation in which two DSW job sharing supervisors were permitted to work the same hours of the day, leaving their staff unsupervised for the rest. Again, this was counter-productive for permanent part-time work. In these cases problems arose not due to intrinsic characteristics of permanent part-time work, but due to the way in which it was used. Responsiveness to staff without taking sufficient account of the needs of the organisation could ultimately bring the use of permanent part-time work into disrepute.

By the same token, attempts to promote permanent part-time work by focusing on the acknowledged higher productivity of permanent part-time workers are probably ill-advised. This may create unrealistic expectations, potential ill feelings on the part of full-time staff, and undue pressures on permanent part-time staff to produce full-time output in part-time hours. Further, if the conclusions of this study and of Nollen, Eddy and Martin are correct, managers do not usually make decisions on the use of permanent part-time work based on considerations of productivity.

If permanent part-time employment is to expand further, it will likely do so in response to a balance of social and organisational needs as these are promoted by unions, interest groups, governments, and organisations themselves. This study has shown some aspects of how the interaction of the organisational goals of operating and cost efficiency with the social goals of good employer policy influence managers' decisions. Consensual approaches to industrial relations might focus on a pursuit of organisational goals by first building on a congruence of interests between organisations and individuals. Permanent part-time work is an employment policy which can enhance the flexibility of both individuals and organisations, and the objectives of both organisational efficiency and "good employer" policy.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the results of the interviews with Public Service managers regarding their use of permanent part-time work and compared these results with those reported in the literature. Here, the presence of permanent part-time work policy strongly influenced management decisions, giving rise to use which was driven by staff requests, rather than by organisational operating or cost needs. However, even in this staff-driven model, managers had a significant impact on the use of permanent part-time employment through their decisions on staff requests, and were satisfied with permanent part-time workers. Because of the nature of the management decision process, the very high productivity of the staff engendered positive attitudes towards permanent part-time work, but did not provide incentive for managers to initiate permanent part-time positions themselves. As a consequence of the importance of policy, related factors were also significant, including: the role of legislation and collective bargaining in shaping policy; and the central role played by managers in interpreting and implementing policy. The present research also identified other factors which impacted upon the organisational use of permanent part-time work and which were not explicitly considered in the literature reviewed. These factors include culture and the leadership of top management. Some of the strongest continuities with the existing research were: the general satisfaction of managers with permanent part-time work; the high productivity of permanent part-time workers; the strong link between lack of experience in employing permanent part-time workers and negative perceptions of them; the differences in the perceptions of managers at different levels of the organisation; and the substantial discretionary powers of line managers in using or not using permanent part-time work. The study affirmed the significance of the manager in determining the use and shape of permanent part-time work, and highlighted the need to give due attention to the manager's role. Any future expansion of permanent part-time opportunities in the New Zealand Public Service would probably hinge upon managers being able to perceive strong operating incentives to initiating permanent part-time positions additional to those which come about through individual requests from existing staff.

The Conclusion which follows sums up the contribution of this study, highlights some of its implications for managers and for permanent part-time work and makes some suggestions for further research.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to better understand the ways in which managers experience permanent part-time work; the reasons for the use or non-use of permanent part-time work in organisations; and factors contributing to its structure as permanent rather than casual work.

To pursue this aim, both a literature study and an exploratory empirical study were carried out. The literature study considered the managerial use of permanent part-time work within the context of the external socio-economic environment and the context of the internal organisational environment. It identified labour demand and supply factors contributing to the growth of part-time work, and examined theoretical perspectives on reasons for the widespread use of part-time work which is not permanent. It reviewed the small number of existing management studies on permanent part-time work, and identified organisational and personal factors which influence use.

The empirical part of the study was set in two departments within the New Zealand Public Service, where a permanent part-time work policy has been in place since 1986. The views of managers at different levels of the Department of Social Welfare and the Inland Revenue Department were explored through in-depth semi-structured interviews. Managers in both line and staff positions were included. A nominee for the State Services Commissioner was also interviewed, and informal background interviews with union officials and permanent part-time workers were also carried out.

The study highlighted the transformational role of permanent part-time work policy and the impact of managers in interpreting and implementing this policy. Operating and cost incentives and constraints to the use of permanent part-time work were identified, as were external and internal contextual factors, and personal factors which influence managers' decisions.

Out of the study, models were developed, showing the organisational use of permanent part-time work, and the managerial decision-making process regarding permanent part-time work within a strong policy environment. In the study, permanent part-time work was most often used in response to a request from an existing full-time staff member for

reduced hours, or from a staff member returning from parental leave. It was rarely used to address operating or cost problems, as was most often reported in the literature. The potential for using permanent part-time work to enhance the pursuit of organisational objectives was thus largely unexplored. However, in spite of the fact that permanent part-time work was initiated by staff, and not by managers, the managers reported general satisfaction with it, and found permanent part-time workers to be extremely productive.

In studying permanent part-time work from the manager's perspective, it is hoped that this study has made a contribution to a field in which research is very scarce. Most previous existing research has been conducted overseas, and this study adds a New Zealand perspective.

The study has moved out of the isolation of its discipline and also considered the contribution of social science studies to the understanding of part-time work. It has placed managerial use of permanent part-time work within a framework which acknowledges the impact of external factors and internal factors on use. In considering factors such as culture, institutionalisation and leadership, it has tried to build on the existing management research, and especially to build on one of the few permanent part-time work studies which have focused on organisational determinants of use.

The study has cast light on some aspects of the use of permanent part-time work in the New Zealand Public Service. The results will, hopefully, be of some benefit to the Departments in which it was conducted, and also to other organisations which may introduce permanent part-time work policy.

The satisfaction of the managers in this study with permanent part-time work which was used as a result of government legislated policy and collective agreements, rather than as a result of operating needs, could have major implications for government legislation, union policies on permanent part-time work, and the use of permanent part-time work in organisations. One implication is that the introduction of permanent part-time work can be of benefit to both individuals and organisations. Managers in this study did not experience significant conflict in simultaneously pursuing goals of organisational efficiency and the good employer policy of permanent part-time employment. Where conflicts did occur, they could be traced to misunderstandings or to teething problems

in setting up permanent part-time positions, rather than to any intrinsic characteristic of permanent part-time work itself.

In some other organisations, permanent part-time work is initiated to meet operating needs. However, because of all of the countervailing tendencies explored in Chapter Two where theoretical perspectives were considered, use is limited. Unions have sometimes won permanent status for part-time workers through collective bargaining, and there seems to be a growing trend for unions to seek the extension of permanent part-time opportunities. The New Zealand Government has introduced permanent part-time work into public employment, and could follow the lead of European governments in extending legislative protection to other part-time workers in the public and private sectors. The indication given in this study, that introduction of permanent part-time work through policy need not compromise organisational goals, is therefore an encouraging one.

At the same time, the difficulties experienced in a few instances in the study sound a warning. Where permanent part-time work was implemented without adequately balancing organisational and individual needs, the result was the generation of negative attitudes towards permanent part-time work. If permanent part-time work can clearly be seen to meet organisational needs as well as individual needs, its use is more likely to spread. One major implication of this study for the management of permanent part-time workers is the need for clear guidelines for line managers, and the need for the dissemination of information on positive models of permanent part-time work.

This study has only scratched the surface of a topic which is already large, and which is growing in importance. Further management research into permanent part-time work would be useful. There is considerable scope to study the introduction of permanent part-time work into public organisations from the perspective of the management of organisational change. EEO managers within the public sector have taken a change management approach, for example in their system of evaluating the progress of EEO within departments (see SSC, 1992; 1993). Ways in which the issue of permanent part-time work can be integrated further into EEO programmes and into family-responsive Human Resources policies could be investigated. The organisational change framework would focus attention on organisational context factors which have been identified here as of central importance. Some of these factors are culture and the roles of leadership

and advocacy. An important line of inquiry is the investigation of feedback mechanisms and the ways in which organisational learning about the use of permanent part-time work can take place.

A fruitful line of inquiry for further research in the New Zealand Public Service and other organisations which use permanent part-time work in response to the requirements of policy, would be to examine the process of policy implementation, and in particular, ways in which the policy is or is not routinised within departments and public organisations. Case study and comparative approaches would be useful.

The role of the first-line manager and the supervisor were found in this study to be crucial to permanent part-time use. Guidelines on ways to remove obstacles and streamline their use of permanent part-time work would be useful. These may be necessary for specific industries and occupations.

It seems likely that if more permanent part-time positions were established in their own right (not just as a response to the requests of existing staff), managers would develop expertise in dealing with them, and departments would develop systems to incorporate them into the fabric of the organisation. The research indicates that incentives for managers to use permanent part-time workers come from operating advantages. Therefore, investigation of potential operating needs which could be addressed by the use of permanent part-time workers is a priority.

The use of permanent part-time workers in supervisory or management positions requires further investigation, given the strong controversy surrounding this issue. Actual pilot schemes might contribute to an understanding of this issue. The related area of job share also requires study. For both of these areas, clear guidelines on use are required.

An overriding need is for information-sharing between users of permanent part-time work. In many cases they are relatively isolated, and a means of bringing together their viewpoints and insights would be valuable. A related matter is the incompleteness of statistics on permanent part-time work. More comprehensive statistics would aid the researcher and policy maker.

There is much unexplored potential for the incorporation of permanent part-time work into organisations. This study has pointed to some indicators that exploration of this potential can benefit both organisations and the individuals within them.

Appendix 1:

Human Ethics Committee Application

TITLE OF PROJECT: **Permanent Part-time Work and Public Policy: Tentative Lessons from the Experiences of Managers in the New Zealand Public Service**

DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT

(A) Justification

The New Zealand Public Service, in consultation with the PSA, has adopted policies to institute permanent part-time positions. This move is of considerable importance in light of: the growing numbers of women who both work outside of the home and care for dependents; the ageing of the population and the potential to use part-time positions in phased retirement plans; and the increase in numbers of mature workers who leave fulltime jobs and study part-way through their working lives. From the point of view of employers part-time work is being used more and more to increase flexibility. Most existing part-time positions are temporary or casual. Users of permanent part-time workers are pioneers and little empirical study has been done in this area in New Zealand. In New Zealand, the public sector is the major employer of permanent part-time workers.

(B) Objectives

The main objective of the study is to explore the experiences of managers in the state sector in adopting and implementing policies on permanent part-time employment and to elicit their suggestions for future practice.

(C) Procedure for Recruiting Participants and Obtaining Informed Consent (Information and Consent Forms Attached)

Chief Executives, Human Resource Managers and District managers will be invited to participate in semi-structured, tape-recorded interviews. The State Services Commission and two government departments will be approached. Approval to carry out the study will initially be sought from the Chief Executives. A letter will be sent setting out the reason for the study, introducing the researcher and explaining what is involved. A few days later the researcher will either telephone or send a follow-up letter to discover if approval has been granted. Once approval is obtained, individual managers will be approached by letter and follow-up phone call. Each manager will be given the same information and invited individually to participate.

As each manager agrees, appointments will be made for interviews. Before interviews begin each participant will be asked to sign an Informed Consent Form. The Form will state that managers may withdraw their participation at any time, and that they will have control of the tape recorder during the interview, and may turn it off if they wish. The Form will be discussed with managers before signing.

(D) Procedures in which Research Participants will be Involved

In a taped semi-structured interview, each participant will be invited to reflect on their experience in creating and managing part-time positions (or on their decision not to do so and the reasons behind this decision.) Questions will try to draw out factors which are incentives or disincentives to the use of part-timers (for example, other goals of the unit, occupational categories, etc). Managers will be asked to suggest how they would like to do things differently in the future. During the interview, participants will have control of the tape recorder.

(E) Procedures for Handling Information and Materials Produced in the Course of the Study

Tapes and transcripts will be available only to the researcher and her supervisor and advisors, and not released to any other party. Where appropriate, draft copies of relevant sections of the report will be sent to individual participants for comment before being finalised. A summary of final results will be sent to participants.

ETHICAL CONCERNS

(A) Access to Participants

Each subject will be free to choose whether or not to participate.

(B) Informed Consent

Potential participants will be fully informed about the study and their rights, both verbally and in writing, and will have the opportunity to raise questions with the researcher. Participants will sign a consent form before the interview begins. (Attached) Participants will be able to withdraw from the research at any stage and will be able to decline to answer any particular questions. They will have control of the tape recorder and may turn it off whenever they wish.

(C) Confidentiality

The research material will be available only to the researcher and her supervisor and advisors. The thesis and any published results will be in a form that will continue to protect confidentiality.

(D) Potential Harm to Participants

It is not anticipated that the study could cause harm to participants. On the contrary, it is intended to be a positive exercise in which managers are able to share their experiences and expertise.

(E) Participants' Right to Decline

Participants will have the right to decline to take part, or to stop participating at any point.

(F) Arrangements for Participants to Receive Information

Participants will be provided with a summary of results. They will also be free to contact the researcher if they wish.

(G) Use of the Information

Little is known about the practical implementation of policies on permanent part-time work in New Zealand. This study is an exploratory investigation. Results may be published in an appropriate peer-review journal and used in the development of future policy. It is also hoped that the results may be of practical use to managers.

LEGAL ISSUES

No legal issues concerning copyright, ownership of data or materials, or any conflict of interest arising from the research are foreseen.

OTHER ETHICAL COMMITTEE SUBMISSIONS

No submission to other ethical committees is foreseen.

MATTERS TO BE DISCUSSED WITH THE HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

There are no other specific matters which we wish to raise with the Ethics Committee for discussion.

Researcher: _____

Supervisor: _____

DRAFT ONLY

CONSENT FORM

**STUDY ON PERMANENT PART-TIME WORK AND PUBLIC POLICY AND
THE EXPERIENCES OF MANAGERS IN
THE NEW ZEALAND PUBLIC SERVICE**

I have read the letter which contains information about this study and I have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or not to answer any particular questions. I understand that I will have control of the tape recorder being used.

I agree to provide information for this research on the understanding that it is completely confidential.

I understand that should this research be published or reported in any way I will not be identified.

I wish to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the information letter.

SIGNED: _____

NAME: _____

DATE: _____

RESEARCHER _____

DRAFT ONLY

LETTER TO CHIEF EXECUTIVES

Dear

Re - Study on Permanent Part-time Positions and Public Policy: the Experiences of Managers in the New Zealand Public Service

I am a Masters student in Management Systems at Massey University, and am doing research for my thesis on permanent part-time employment. As a mature student, I have had experience both as a manager of part-time workers and as a mother and part-time employee. I am interested in the institution of permanent part-time positions and the management of these positions. In New Zealand, the public sector is the major employer of permanent part-time workers. My study will look at public sector policies on part-time work and at the experiences of public sector managers in creating and managing permanent part-time positions.

I would like to invite you to be part of this study. I would also like to approach other managers from your organisation. These would include human resources managers and any managers with line responsibility for one District, including those who work in the District.

Participation would involve taking part in a semi-structured interview at a time and place convenient to the interviewee. Interviews would be tape-recorded, but participants would have control of the recorder and be able to turn it on and off as they liked. The interview would take 45-60 minutes. Information would be treated confidentially, and when the research was written up participants would not be identified. If desired, draft copies of relevant sections of the report would be given to individual participants for comment before being finalised. (My research proposal has been approved by the Human Ethics Committee of Massey University.)

Summaries of the research would be provided to participants, and it is hoped that the results would be of practical use.

By participating, you would be helping to expand the body of empirical knowledge in a relatively new area and also sharing your expertise with others who may be contemplating implementing similar policies.

I will contact you in a few days to see if this proposal meets with your approval. If you have any queries please ring me ...

Yours sincerely

DRAFT ONLY

LETTER TO MANAGERS

Dear

Re - Study on Permanent Part-time Positions and Public Policy: the Experiences of Managers in the New Zealand Public Service

I am a Masters student in Management Systems at Massey University, and am doing research for my thesis on permanent part-time employment. As a mature student, I have had experience both as a manager of part-time workers and as a full-time mother and part-time employee. I am interested in the institution of permanent part-time positions and the management of these positions. In New Zealand, the public sector is the major employer of permanent part-time workers. My study will look at public sector policies on part-time employment and at the experiences of public sector managers in creating and managing permanent part-time positions.

I would like to interview public service managers from selected departments in this District, and I invite your participation in this study. This would involve taking part in a semi-structured interview at a time and place convenient to you. Interviews will be tape-recorded, but participants will have control of the recorder and be able to turn it on and off as they like. The interview will take 45-60 minutes. Information will be treated confidentially, and when the research is written up participants will not be identified. If desired, draft copies of relevant sections of the report will be given to individual participants for comment before being finalised. My research proposal has been approved by the Human Ethics Committee of Massey University, and the Chief Executive of this Department has agreed to my approaching managers and inviting their participation.

Summaries of the research will be provided to participants, and it is hoped that the results will be of practical use to managers.

By participating, you would be helping to expand the body of empirical knowledge in a relatively new area and also sharing your expertise with others who may be contemplating implementing similar policies.

I will contact you in a few days to see if this proposal meets with your approval. If you have any queries please ring me ...

Yours sincerely

Appendix Two:

Interview Checklists

The following Interview Checklists were used as guidelines to ensure that certain core information was obtained from each manager. However, the Checklists were not used in the sense of questionnaires. Specific questions were only asked if the managers did not generate the information themselves. The interviews were semi-structured, and sometimes ranged through a variety of relevant matters not covered in these lists.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND GENERAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION (SAME FOR ALL INTERVIEWS)

Interviewee

Department
 Position
 Sex
 Approximate Age
 Years in the Job
 Marital Status

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - LINE MANAGERS

I am interested in your experiences with permanent part-time employment - both in creating permanent part-time positions and in managing permanent part-time staff. (And even if there are very few, or perhaps no permanent part-timers here in your Region, I am still interested in any impact of Departmental policies on this type of employment; and in any decisions you may have made regarding potential permanent part-time positions. For example, a decision not to fill a position with a part-time staff member because it was felt to be unsuitable, is just as interesting to me as a decision to establish a part-time job.)

1. What has been your experience with permanent part-time employment in this Department / Region / District / unit?
 - Are there permanent part-time workers here?
 - How many?
 - Are any of the positions ones that have been recently established?
 - At whose initiative were the positions established? (Yours, Department heads, staff themselves?)
 - Who has the final say as to whether or not a position will be part-time?

- Why do the staff say that they wish to work part-time? (family responsibilities / semi-retired / study / disabled?)
2. What have been the major influences in your decisions about part-time jobs?
- Policy of Department / SSC
 - Flexibility (numerical / functional / wage)
 - Desire to keep a good employee
 - Cutbacks
 - Job only takes half time
 - Shortage of fulltime workers available with particular skills and experience
3. What policies (if any) impact on your decisions in relation to permanent part-time employment (Departmental, SSC, Regional, branch)?
- What are they?
 - Are you involved in formulating them? / How are they communicated to you?
 - What sort of monitoring or follow-up is involved?
 - How do EEO policies impact on this Region or branch?
 - Is there more independence in decision-making at Regional level now after restructuring?
5. Are you aware of any specific goals relating to part-time work in this Department / Region / branch?
- How do you think that they should apply to this sort of / District / unit?
 - What sort of feedback / follow-up / monitoring is associated with these goals?

The next questions focus on the process of establishing part-time positions either by creating new jobs, or by changing existing jobs to make them part-time.

4. Have you ever had to make a decision whether or not to use part-timers in a position? If so, please reflect on one of these times.
- Describe the situation (job, position, person, needs of organisation, etc).
 - What was most significant about the situation?
 - What was your decision?
 - What influenced your decision?
5. Now, please reflect on the actual process of creating the permanent part-time job.
- Please describe it.
 - Did it involve job-sharing?
 - What factors were important for the success or lack of success of the position?
 - What were the strong points / weak points?
 - If you had it to do again, what would you do the same/ differently?

6. What if you were presented with a request to make a job part-time. Under what circumstances would you do it?
7. What advice would you give to other managers about establishing part-time positions?

The next questions focus on your experiences in managing permanent part-time staff. I am interested in both positive and negative experiences.

6. Please think about the positions in which the permanent part-time staff that you have managed are placed.
 - What positions have you found to be best-suited to permanent part-time status?
 - What is the influence of workflow, structure of the job, skill level, project work, peak time requirements, etc?
 - What positions have you found to be less well-suited to permanent part-time status?
 - Again, what is the influence of workflow, structure of the job, skill level, project work, peak time requirements, etc?
 - Are there any positions where you would never consider a part-timer? Why or why not?
7. Please think about your experiences in managing permanent part-time staff (positive and negative). Do you have any comments on:
 - Communication (staff-staff / supervisor-staff)
 - Continuity
 - Commitment to job
 - Productivity
 - Scheduling
 - Supervision
 - Training
8. In what ways do permanent part-timers contribute to other goals of the Department (efficiency / service) or make these goals more difficult to achieve?
9. What advice would you give to a manager who was about to take on the management of part-time staff?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - TOP MANAGEMENT

I am interested in your experiences with permanent part-time employment - in particular in formulating and implementing policies on permanent part-time staff.

1. What has been your experience with permanent part-time employment in this Department / Region / District / unit?
 - Have you seen significant changes in policy and practice over the last few years (since 1986?)

2. What have been the major influences in your thinking about part-time jobs?
 - Policy of Department / SSC
 - Flexibility (numerical / functional / wage)
 - Desire to keep good employees
 - Cutbacks
 - Structure of jobs
 - Shortage of fulltime workers available with particular skills and experience

3. What policies (if any) impact on your decisions in relation to permanent part-time employment (Departmental, SSC, Regional)?
 - What is your role in formulating and/ or implementing them? / How are they communicated to you?
 - What sort of monitoring or follow-up is involved?
 - Performance appraisals
 - Reporting back
 - EEO review

4. How does the Department operationalise the "good employer" requirement of the State Sector Act?
 - How are EEO policies operationalised?

5. Are you aware of any specific goals relating to part-time work in this Department/Region?
 - The SSC has a 10% goal - how would you feel about that sort of target?
 - How would you go about working towards that sort of definite goal?
 - What sort of feedback / follow-up / monitoring is associated with these goals?

6. Does the use of permanent part-timers have an effect on administrative arrangements and personnel procedures (for eg - paperwork assoc. with pro-rata benefits)?

The next questions focus on the process of filling positions with part-time staff.

7. Have you ever had to make a decision whether or not to fill a position with part-timer? If so, please reflect on one of these times.
 - Describe the situation (job, position, person, needs of organisation, etc).
 - What was most significant about the situation?
 - What was your decision?
 - What influenced your decision?

8. Now, please reflect on the actual process of creating the permanent part-time job.
 - Please describe it.
 - Did it involve job-sharing?
 - How were duties and responsibilities divided?
 - task analysis?
 - were there separate job descriptions?

- Did it involve work sharing (reducing total hours). How was it decided what should no longer be done?
 - Were supervisors happy with reduced output?
 - What factors were important for the success or lack of success of the position?
 - What were the strong points / weak points?
 - If you had it to do again, what would you do the same/ differently?
9. What sort of guidelines would you recommend to managers presented with a request to make a job part-time. Under what circumstances should it happen?
10. What advice would you give to other managers about creating part-time positions?

The next questions focus on your experiences in managing permanent part-time staff. I am interested in both positive and negative experiences.

11. What positions have you found to be best-suited to permanent part-time status?
- What is the influence of workflow, structure of the job, customer contact, skill level, project work, peak time requirements, etc?
12. What positions have you found to be less well-suited to permanent part-time status?
- Again, what is the influence of workflow, structure of the job, skill level, project work, peak time requirements, etc?
 - Are there any positions where you would never consider a part-timer? Why or why not?
13. Please think about your experiences in managing permanent part-time staff (positive and negative). Do you have any comments on:
- Communication (staff-staff / supervisor-staff)
 - Continuity
 - Commitment to job
 - Productivity
 - Scheduling
 - Supervision
 - Training
 - Absenteeism
 - School holidays
 - Career structure
 - Turnover
8. In what ways do permanent part-timers contribute to other goals of the Department (efficiency / service) or make these goals more difficult to achieve?
9. What advice would you give to a manager who was about to take on the management of part-time staff?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGERS

I am interested in your experiences with permanent part-time employment - in particular in formulating and implementing policies on permanent part-time staff.

1. What has been your experience with permanent part-time employment in this Department / Region / District / unit?
 - Have you seen significant changes in policy and practice over the last few years (since 1986?)
2. What have been the major influences in your thinking about part-time jobs?
 - Policy of Department / SSC
 - Flexibility (numerical / functional / wage)
 - Desire to keep good employees
 - Cutbacks
 - Structure of jobs
 - Shortage of fulltime workers available with particular skills and experience
3. What policies (if any) impact on your decisions in relation to permanent part-time employment (Departmental, SSC, Regional)?
 - What is your role in formulating and / or implementing them? / How are they communicated to you?
 - What sort of monitoring or follow-up is involved?
 - Performance appraisals
 - Reporting back
 - EEO review
4. How does the Department operationalise the "good employer" requirement of the State Sector Act?
 - How are EEO policies operationalised?
5. Are you aware of any specific goals relating to part-time work in this Department / Region?
 - The SSC has a 10% goal - how would you feel about that sort of target?
 - How would you go about working towards that sort of definite goal?
 - What sort of feedback / follow-up / monitoring is associated with these goals?
6. What criteria are used to decide on models for permanent part-time work? (eg job-share, work-share, etc)
7. What kinds of shared schedules are called for technologically?
8. Does the use of permanent part-timers have an effect on administrative arrangements and personnel procedures (for eg. - paperwork associated with pro-rata benefits)?
9. Do part-timers have a career structure?

The next questions focus on the process of filling positions with part-time staff.

10. Have you ever had to make a decision whether or not to fill a position with part-timer? If so, please reflect on one of these times.
 - Describe the situation (job, position, person, needs of organisation, etc).
 - What was most significant about the situation?
 - What was your decision?
 - What influenced your decision?

11. Now, please reflect on the actual process of creating the permanent part-time job.
 - Please describe it.
 - Did it involve job-sharing?
 - How were duties and responsibilities divided?
 - task analysis?
 - were there separate job descriptions?
 - Did it involve work sharing (reducing total hours). How was it decided what should no longer be done?
 - Were supervisors happy with reduced output?
 - What factors were important for the success or lack of success of the position?
 - What were the strong points / weak points?
 - If you had it to do again, what would you do the same / differently?

12. What sort of guidelines would you recommend to managers presented with a request to make a job part-time. Under what circumstances should it happen?

13. What advice would you give to other managers about creating part-time positions?

The next questions focus on your experiences in managing permanent part-time staff. I am interested in both positive and negative experiences.

14. What positions have you found to be best-suited to permanent part-time status?
 - What is the influence of workflow, structure of the job, customer contact, skill level, project work, peak time requirements, etc?

15. What positions have you found to be less well-suited to permanent part-time status?
 - Again, what is the influence of workflow, structure of the job, skill level, project work, peak time requirements, etc?
 - Are there any positions where you would never consider a part-timer? Why or why not?

16. Please think about your experiences in managing permanent part-time staff (positive and negative). Do you have any comments on:
 - Communication (staff-staff / supervisor-staff)
 - Continuity
 - Commitment to job
 - Productivity
 - Scheduling

- Supervision
- Training
- Absenteeism
- School holidays
- Career structure
- Turnover

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: STATE SERVICES COMMISSION

- What is the role of the SSC in relation to the Departments?
 - In monitoring "good employer" requirement?
 - In monitoring EEO requirements?
 - Provides guidelines?
 - Formulates policy? or does this originate in Departments?
- What is the EEO coordinator's role?
 - In relation to other EEO units?
 - In monitoring, etc?
- What is the role of the CEO of SSC in terms of EEO requirements and monitoring, etc.?
- Please explain monitoring process
 - of CEOs
 - EEO Review teams
 - How they were formed / by whom / who was on them?
 - Names of people to contact
- Reports from Departments
 - Any which had part-time goal
 - DSW
 - IRD
- Implementation Committee for 1986 part-time work policy (mentioned in policy paper)

PART TIME EMPLOYEES

Occupational Group	Female		Male		Total	
	No. of Staff	Avg % Emp	No. of Staff	Avg % Emp	No. of Staff	Avg % Emp
0000	26	58	1	26	27	56
8301	1	84	-	-	1	84
8310	283	59	26	60	309	59
8311	9	66	-	-	9	66
8312	17	72	1	63	18	71
8313	14	58	1	55	15	58
8314	43	62	-	-	43	62
8322	4	61	-	-	4	61
8340	77	56	9	58	86	56
8342	7	51	3	59	10	54
8343	-	-	1	53	1	53
8344	1	86	-	-	1	86
8352	-	-	1	38	1	38
Total	482	60	43	57	525	59

KEY TO OCCUPATIONAL GROUP CODES:

0000	Unclassified
8301	Senior Managers (Group A&B)
8310	Executive Clerical (Ranges of Rates - Primarily Districts)
8311	Head Office Advisory
8312	Executive Clerical (Non-Ranges of Rates - Primarily Districts)
8313	Telephone Operators
8314	Typing Services
8322	Psychology
8340	Social Work
8342	Institutional Welfare
8343	Institutional Instruction
8344	Hostel & Domestic Services
8352	General Servicing

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