

# Organizational and Individual Determinants of Atypical Employment: the Case of Multiple Jobholding and Self-employment in Canada

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## Abstract

The growing need for organizational flexibility has prompted increasing recourse to atypical work. Multiple jobholding and self-employment are atypical work forms that have particularly intrigued researchers. Using data compiled by Statistics Canada, we have identified factors that influence the probability of belonging to these two categories of atypical employment. Our results suggest that the influence factors are not identical for the two non-standard job categories studied. Sector of activity, gender and the absence of promotion considerably affect the probability of joining the ranks of the self-employed, whereas professional category and frequency of movement significantly influence the probability of belonging to the multiple jobholder group. The populations engaging in these two forms of atypical work are not homogeneous.

## Introduction

For several years, organizations have been rocked by profound structural changes, compounded by the advent of management philosophies that have impacted work organization and the nature of the job market. Central to the structural modifications that are radically transforming organizations is a generalized and constant goal: to enhance organizational flexibility (Keller & Seifert, 2005; Atkinson, 1984; Chênevert and Tremblay, 1995). There is every indication that this quest for flexibility and the growth of different forms of atypical employment in the workforce are two indissociable phenomena. Issues related to commitment are necessary components of analyses of atypical employment, given that the use of non-standard

workers heightens autonomy, independence and distance between individuals and organizations (Torka, 2004; Payette, 1998). Forms of atypical employment such as self-employment considerably transform the aspects of control because in these cases control is manifested largely by the attainment of objectives and results included in a global mandate. Organizational control is thus limited to products, not processes, and human resource management can be compared to a client/supplier process.

As various forms of atypical employment gain ground, the consolidation of contingent work strengthens the thesis of the constantly decreasing core workforce (Ogoshi, 2006; Booth, 1997; Macbride-King, 1997). There is a consensus that these forms of employment are constantly growing within the Canadian labor force, and even more extensively in Europe and North America as a whole (Buschoff and Protsch, 2008; Booth, 1997; Hipple, 2001; Krahn, 1991, 1995). Some authors argue that by increasingly targeting external flexibility, organizations are partially relieving themselves of the responsibility of career management (Brousseau et al., 1996; Hall, 1996). The predominance of management practices oriented toward increasing organizational flexibility and consolidating non-standard employment thus directly contributes to accelerating the evolution of the traditional career paradigm.

Organizational career management conventionally implied the existence of professional mobility channels that enabled individuals to ascend through a series of positions and functions, along with an identification system of potential candidates and management mechanisms that support and direct individuals (Smith & Sheridan, 2006; Caudron,

1994). In this career management system, individuals would spend little time organizing their career paths because they followed fairly standardized models that corresponded to criteria such as qualification, age, stage and seniority. These career models evolved within social and organizational environments that were relatively stable and predictable, which represents a stark contrast with new careers, whose development and consolidation unfold in unstable, constantly changing organizational settings. As a result, the representation of the traditional career no longer constitutes a universal reference paradigm, even if several "nostalgic" scholars continue to cling to universality and desperately wish the paradigm to hold true. The multiple jobholding and self-employment forms of atypical work deserve particular attention owing to their substantial, continuous and rapid growth (Edwards & Hendrey, 1996; Kranh, 1995).

The research question that underlies our analysis is as follows: what are the organizational and individual determinants that increase the probability that a standard worker will join the ranks of multiple-jobholders and self-employed workers. Our hypotheses examine the probability of a standard worker's engaging in one of these two forms of atypical employment. To our knowledge, most studies on this topic are limited to descriptive analyses whose main objective is to identify the individual characteristics of atypical workers (Akyeampong, 1997; Kranh, 1995; Webber, 1989). Apart from Carr's (1996) study of self-employment determinants, few scholars have seriously attempted to predict the use of specific forms of atypical employment, and none have conducted this type of analysis



with respect to both multiple jobholding and self-employment in the Canadian labor force; these analytical goals are the principal objectives of this article.

## 1 Determinants of atypical employment

Most studies of internalization and externalization of work are grounded in the theory of market duality proposed by Doeringer and Piore (1971). This theory states that internalization of work, generally discussed in the context of the internal job market, enhances the stability of labor while enabling an organization to better control its employees. In addition, in an organization that has a hierarchical structure that favors mobility between jobs, the internal market provides employees with the necessary competency and career development opportunities to ensure organizational loyalty. Nonetheless, because this approach encourages stability and control, it is costly and sometimes inefficient to implement for companies that operate in an unstable and turbulent environment (Davis-Blake & Uzzi, 1993).

In contrast, externalization of work enhances organizational flexibility, making it easier for companies to weather changing market conditions and respond rapidly to organizational requirements. Externalization of work enables an organization to adjust its personnel to changing market requirements and thus reduce administrative and labor costs. Companies can also terminate a position without tarnishing their corporate image; additionally, they acquire easy access to specialized resources, without having to offer long-term commitment in exchange (Belous, 1989; Matusik & Hill, 1998). Externalization of work is thus a strategy that directly contributes to the emergence and consolidation of what have been labeled "boundaryless careers."

Unlike the traditional career paths that are generally characterized by a linear and sequential trajectory within the same organization, boundaryless careers entail individual paths that exceed the frontiers of the traditional job status. Such paths are associated with new forms of careers that atypical job growth generates strongly. Whereas job

market conditions propel individuals toward this type of career, the recent literature specifies that many people will opt for a boundaryless career owing to the exchange value of their human capital or because of their experience on the job market. An additional motivator is that this type of career furthers the development of workers' expertise through contact with several companies instead of only one (Marler et al., 1998), a situation that certainly applies to a large proportion of the worker population.

As Davis-Blake and Uzzi (1993) observed, the factors that influence internalization of work are identical to those that induce externalization of work. The analytical model that we have adopted places particular emphasis on the factors specifically linked to organizational characteristics (e.g. sector of activity, unionization), job and career attributes (e.g. type of job, promotions, mobility) and individual characteristics (e.g. gender).

### 1.1 Organizational characteristics

#### Sector of activity

Some sectors of activity have been traditionally identified as being atypical-labour intensive owing to their strong propensity to promote externalization of work. For example, the construction sector and the services sector endorse a staffing strategy that is oriented toward the use of atypical jobs, more specifically self-employed workers and multiple jobholding, arising from the seasonal nature of their activities or the customer service requirements (Bregger, 1996; Hipple, 2001). In contrast, sectors such as the public sector have a low historical rate of recourse to atypical jobs. This phenomenon has been attributed to the government's need to demonstrate its social responsibility and attitude of good corporate citizenship (Davis-Blake & Uzzi, 1993). Nonetheless, it is difficult to clearly identify the precise influence of a sector of activity on the probability of adopting a specific atypical job form.

#### Unionization

Studies of the relation between unionization and atypical jobs have not consistently yielded conclusive results (Bielmann et al., 1999; Davis-Blake &

Uzzi, 1993). Nonetheless, it has been shown that to avoid the union influence, some organizations attempt to externalize work so as to maximize the use of human resources outside of union control. Nevertheless, recent studies conducted in the United States report that only 5.9% of atypical employees are unionized, versus 14.8% of full-time employees (Hipple, 2001). In addition, unions are historically opposed to externalization of work and often oblige employers to use this practice sparingly by emphasizing the need to increase stability and job security in order to create an atmosphere conducive to collective bargaining (Davis-Blake & Uzzi, 1993).

### 1.2 Job and career attributes

As mentioned above, the literature demonstrates that the search for flexibility extends to central activities that are non-critical for organizations. As a result, atypical work is not limited to low-skilled jobs and poorly qualified occupational categories (Caudron, 1994; Hipple, 2001; Matusik & Hill, 1998); in consequence, all occupational categories should be equally affected. The specialized literature reveals that many self-employed individuals are highly educated, which implies that they hold skilled occupations (Carr, 1996; Meyer & Bruce, 1996).

For at least the past decade, many career analysts have studied issues that directly call into question the traditional notion of the career. The classic view has since been overturned, a phenomenon that is even more evident in a context of generalized atypical employment. Given that the scarcity of hierarchical movement is manifested as one of the characteristics of the generalization of plateauing of traditional careers, and also as a net trend toward the systematic use of non-standard employment, the absence of promotions substantially increases the probability of being an atypical worker (Marler & Milkovich, 2000; Simard, 2000). In 1994 atypical Canadian workers were more likely to be in careers with non-ascending movement than standard workers, although this factor did not considerably influence the probability of being an atypical worker (Carr, 1996; Simard, 2000).



### 1.3 Individual Characteristics

Several individual variables may also influence the probability of being self-employed or holding multiple jobs. Gender, education and age are notable examples. Whereas the overall effect of these variables is inconsistent, gender is an exception: the specialized literature suggests that for several reasons women are more present than men in atypical jobs examined as a whole.

We have grouped some of the most frequent explanations into two broad categories. First, a more self-determined explanation for the higher presence of self-employed women is personal choice. These workers are motivated by the search for greater flexibility, given the presumed effects of this flexibility on the reduction of conflict related to the work/family balance (Hipple, 2001; Jurik, 1998; Marler & Milkovich, 2000).

In contrast, in a perspective dominated by a more Schumpeterian approach to structural constraints, self-employment corresponds to a response to unemployment or a refuge for aging workers. Carr (1996) established that men and women have different motivations for seeking self-employment, but that overall these motivations originate from constraints on career choices. However, from a strictly factual standpoint, men far outnumber women among self-employed workers, a trend that has been identified in American studies (Matthews & Moser, 1995).

Lastly, our previous research has found that Canadian multiple jobholders do not form a very homogeneous group (Simard, 1997). The same finding applies to self-employed workers (Carr, 1996; Jurik, 1998; Marler & Milkovich, 2000). These forms of atypical jobs are associated with unequal individual characteristics, conditions and living opportunities for the same type of workers (Carr, 1996; Hipple, 2001).

## 2 Research methodology

To attain our research objectives, we used secondary data produced by Statistics Canada, namely the micro-data file of the General Social Survey (GSS). In this article, we examine respondents in Section H, i.e. individuals in the labor force at the time of the sur-

vey (which excludes retired people but not active people age 65 and over). The sample therefore comprises 6,365 cases. Note that two samples are analyzed: 808 individuals for regression of multiple jobholders and 1,204 for self-employed workers.<sup>2</sup>

### 2.1 Operational definition of variables

#### Dependent variables

The dependent variables are dichotomous, and correspond to the job status of respondents—multiple jobholder or self-employed. Multiple jobholding is covered directly in question H1, which asks the respondent whether they held more than one job in the week preceding the survey. Self-employment is a constructed variable that encompasses individuals who claim to be self-employed professionals in question H13, and those who consider themselves self-employed workers in question H8, and who have no employees, i.e. the reply to question H9. This transformation and control are necessary to avoid counting respondents that fall into more than one variable more than once. In addition, if a self-employed worker has employees, he/she is considered an employer rather than a non-standard worker.

#### Independent variables

We will now describe the seven independent variables integrated in the two logistic regression equations. First, there are two organizational characteristics: the sector of activity in which the respondents primarily situate their work activity in the past five years, and whether the respondents held a unionized job five years ago. The latter variable is dichotomous, and is listed in raw form in the database. For the sector of activity, we have recorded the original Statistics Canada variable constructed based on an open question. This variable includes 18 sectors of activity, whereas the variable we used encompasses the primary sector, the manufacturing sector and the commerce sector.

Job and career attributes are the focus of questions that determine the occupational category held five years ago, along with the number of job

changes without vertical mobility and promotions in the past five years. The occupational category held five years ago is determined by an open question coded according to the 16-category Pinéo scale. We have recoded this variable in six categories by grouping professionals in the first category, managers in the second, supervisors and foremen in the third, vendors in the fourth, manual labourers in the fifth and farmers/farm workers in the sixth.

The number of movements in the past five years is obtained from a question that asks the respondent to indicate the number of different jobs held, specifically the holding of different positions within the same company or another company. The sum of these two variables provides the basis for the variable used in this study. Variance is low after six jobs, and we have grouped respondents into seven categories: from one to seven and up. The number of promotions is evaluated by an open question. Similar to the number of jobs, we have grouped respondents into five categories: none, one, two, three/four and five and up. Lastly, for individual variables, we use gender (1=female; 2=male) and age. This variable is produced based on a metric variable, and includes five categories: 18-29, 30-44, 45-59, 60-64, and 65 and +.

In the bi-variate analyses used to describe the families of multiple jobholders and self-employed workers, we also use the number of hours worked per week, annual income and the highest level of education attained. The duration of the work week is obtained by an open question that yields a metric variable that we have used as such. The respondents' annual income is recorded by the same type of variable and is used in raw state, whereas the level of education is measured by an ordinal 12-category scale, with the lowest category corresponding to no education. The variable has five categories: graduate studies, certificate, undergraduate studies, college studies and the equivalent of a Secondary V (Grade 11) diploma or less.

### 2.2 Methods of analysis

To adequately answer the questions raised by the literature, logistic regres-



sion analysis and various bi-variate analyses have been used. For logistic regression, we used the ENTER method to force all variables into the equation. The four category variables (sector of activity, number of movements, number of promotions and occupational category) are integrated in the regression model using the deviation technique. This technique allows generation of coefficients expressing the differing impact of each of the categories of the variable in relation to the general effect of the variable. The three other variables are dichotomous, and are integrated in the model using the “indicator” technique, which allows selection of the category of the variable included in the constant. The logistic regression analysis initially evaluates the validity of the global model, i.e. the model’s capacity to reproduce original data at a level of significance of  $\alpha = 0.05$ . In this case, the null hypothesis that expresses the similarity of the global model to the model that contains the constant only must be accepted. Whereas the results of the classification table have been used by some scholars, this statistic is not reliable, as it is largely descriptive (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989). The chi-square statistic, which clarifies the significant

character of the variation of -2 log likelihood, may be used. To identify the variables that influence the probability of becoming a multiple jobholder or self-employed worker, we use Wald’s statistic to evaluate the importance of the contribution of a variable or variable category. To tease out the individual effect of the significant variables, the impact of each variable is translated into a net variation (percentage) of the base probability.<sup>3</sup>

To isolate the families within each of the atypical forms of employment selected, we performed a cluster analysis with the annual income and duration of the work week variables. The groups produced in these analyses will be used as independent variables in bi-variate analyses to produce the descriptive results.

**3 Results**

The General Social Survey indicated that 7.2 % of the respondents were holding multiple jobs. Self-employed workers represented 11.6% of the GSS, a result that is comparable with corresponding American data (Edwards & Hendrey, 1996; Segal, 1996).

The logistic regression analysis shows that the validity of the global model is significant because the value

of the chi-square of Goodness of fit is 482.245—the critical distribution of chi-squares with 27 degrees of freedom is 55.47 —  $p = 0.000$  — for the model relating to self-employment, whereas the statistics for multiple jobholders are 113.765 for the chi-square. The global model is significant because overall the coefficients are different from zero ( $p = 0.000$ ). The two models thus generate valid predictions of the probability of being a multiple jobholder or self-employed worker. Nonetheless, the predictive capacity of the two models is not identical. The statistic of Cox and Snell, which provides a pseudo  $R^2$ , reveals that the model used for multiple jobholders explains only 13% ( $R^2=0.131$ ) of the probability of the shift from standard work to multiple jobholding, whereas that of self-employment is markedly stronger ( $R^2=0.330$ ).

Only three variables are excluded from the model used for multiple jobholding: age group, gender and union membership. Regarding self-employment, two variables are rejected: number of jobs in the past five years and age group.

**3.1 Organizational characteristics**

Table 1 presents the results of the logistic regression analyses performed

**Table 1:** Net variation in the probability of holding multiple jobs or being self-employed

Variables	Multiplication factor Exp (B)	Percentage points	Net variation in %
<b>Self-employed</b>			
Manufacturing sector	-0.8025	-19.5 %	-29.7 %
Construction	1.1498	20.1 %	30.6 %
Clerical and public service	-1.1977	-29.1 %	-44.2 %
Personnel	1.2067	20.8 %	31.6 %
Finance, insurance, real estate	0.5443	11.1 %	16.8 %
Management	1.0743	19.2 %	29.2 %
Education	-0.7278	-17.6 %	-26.9 %
Public administration	-2.9472	-56.6 %	-86.1 %
Senior and middle management	-0.5625	-13.5 %	-20.6 %
One promotion or more in past 5 years	-1.4303	-34.3 %	-52.2 %
No union membership in past 5 years	0.5194	10.6 %	16.1 %
Male	0.4487	9.3 %	14.2 %
<b>Multiple jobholder</b>			
Construction	0.5206	10.1 %	46.7 %
Finance, insurance, real estate	-0.6395	-8.9 %	-41.2 %
Professional and semi-professional	0.5790	11.4 %	52.6 %
Senior and middle management	-0.4941	-7.2 %	-33.4 %
4 jobs or more	0.5078	9.8 %	45.4 %
One promotion or more in past 5 years	-0.4820	-7.1 %	-32.7 %



for multiple jobholders and self-employed workers.

The **sector of activity** has a determining influence on the probability of being self-employed (Wald = 100.7830). This result differs substantially from that of multiple jobholders. Table 1 reveals that 8 out of 12 sectors of activity of the original variable have a significant effect on the probability of being a self-employed worker. Of these sectors, four produce a negative effect and the remaining four a positive effect.

The probability of being self-employed decreases by 86.1% for individuals that work in public administration, 44.2% in the communications and public services sector, 29.7% in the manufacturing sector and 26.9% in the education sector. In contrast, the personnel services sector increases this probability by 31.6%, construction 30.6%, management services 29.2% and finance, insurance and real estate 16.8%. Regarding multiple jobholding, the results show a weaker effect of sector of activity on this variable (Wald = 14.5669). Nonetheless, for individuals working in the construction sector, the probability of holding multiple jobs increases by 46.7%, whereas that of workers in finance, insurance and real estate decreases by 41.2%. In the latter case, the influence is strong but negative, which indicates that this sector does not use multiple jobholding; this does not imply, however, that all forms of atypical jobs are excluded.

Lastly, **unionization** exerts a mitigated influence on the probability of being self-employed, but not of holding multiple jobs, which is explained by the fact that multiple jobholders use atypical forms of employment that are generally unionized, such as part-time work. Therefore, holding a non-unionized job five years before the study increases the probability of being self-employed by 16.1%.

### 3.2 Job and career attributes

Regarding the influence of the occupational category held five years ago, Table 1 shows that 2 out of 7 categories of the original variable affect the probability of holding multiple jobs. The influence of this variable is comparable to that of the sector of activity (Wald =

15.2970). The two most influential categories are professionals and semi-professionals, and senior and middle managers. For the first group (respondents that held a professional or semi-professional position five years ago), the probability of holding multiple jobs increases by 52.6%, whereas it decreases by 33.4% for respondents that held a senior or middle manager position five years before the survey.

For self-employment, Table 1 illustrates that the influence of the professional category is fairly weak (Wald = 16.4104). Accordingly, 1 category out of 7 of the original variable affects the probability of self-employment. Note that respondents that were senior and middle managers five years earlier are 20.6% less likely to be self-employed. This result is consistent with that obtained for multiple jobholders, and indicates that this occupational category is affected by these atypical forms of employment, perhaps even by all types of non-standard work.

In addition, Table 1 reveals that some career elements have a marked influence on the probability of being in a multiple jobholding situation. This is notably and clearly the case with **frequency and direction of movement** in the five years preceding the study (Wald = 53.8196 and Wald = 41.1818). Respondents that experienced one or more promotions in the past five years were 32.7% less likely to hold multiple jobs and 52.2% less likely to be self-employed. Moreover, a very high frequency of non-hierarchical movement (over five jobs) increases the probability of holding multiple jobs by 45.4%. In contrast, frequency of movement in the past five years does not influence the probability of being self-employed.

### 3.3 Individual characteristics

Regarding self-employment, only one individual characteristic influences the probability of carrying on this form of atypical employment: the gender of the respondent. Accordingly, men have a 14.2% higher probability of being self-employed. As for multiple jobholding, no individual variable emerged from the logistic regression analysis, which implies that men and women have an equal probability of holding multiple jobs.

### 3.4 Multiple jobholding and self-employment: homogeneity or heterogeneity?

Table 2 shows that it is possible to isolate three broad families of multiple jobholders: a majority of *insecure* (51.7%), followed by *consolidated* (40.7%) and a minority of *stars* (7.6%), who are characterized by very high income. The stars also report the longest work weeks, yet their results are similar to the *consolidated* family. In contrast, the *stars* clearly stand out from the *insecure* because of their considerably longer work weeks. When annual income is taken into consideration, *stars* are categorically differentiated from *insecure* and *consolidated* by a much higher average annual income. Table 2 shows that men and women are equally represented in the group of multiple jobholders. However, two out of three women fall into the *insecure* family, whereas, inversely, two thirds of the *star* family are men. *Stars* account for most of the university graduates that hold multiple jobs, whereas the *insecure* group comprises more individuals with a high school diploma or less.

Table 2 distinguishes three significantly different families among the self-employed. The first is made up of conquerors, who comprise 17% of the population, the second family, survivors, accounts for 36.7% and victims are the majority, at 46.4%. Similar to multiple jobholders, one family of self-employed workers clearly stands out from the others. Conquerors have an annual average income of \$89,158, i.e. twice as high as that of survivors and five times higher than that of victims. In terms of education, conquerors encompass the majority of self-employed university graduates, whereas the victims family comprises more than half of respondents with high school diplomas or less. In contrast with multiple jobholders, men are over-represented in self-employment, at 61.6% of the population holding this type of atypical job. Moreover, men constitute the majority among the conquerors and the survivors. In terms of duration of work week, conquerors significantly stand out from the other two families because of their considerably longer average schedule.



4 Discussion

Overall, the results related to the effect of the sector of activity show that self-employment tends to span more sectors of activity than multiple jobholding. The fact that Canadian self-employed workers work in various sectors of activity clearly reveals the extent that this form of work has penetrated the job market. These results corroborate Matusik and Hill (1998), who describe the advantages of using atypical employment in some organizational environments, because this approach supports the creation of knowledge and competencies that organizations inevitably require. However, the results obtained confirm a trend toward polarization, or rejection of recourse to self-employment in certain sectors of activity, given that four of the sectors have a positive influence on the probability of holding this form of atypical job, while four other sectors have a negative effect.

This finding therefore indicates resistance to generalization of externalization strategies. Apparently, some sectors of activity refuse to use self-employment, i.e. this employment link is not part of their organizational reality, whereas other sectors rely on it considerably. There is notable underrepresentation of self-employment in sectors traditionally related to government activities, which have never opted for this type of employment (Hipple, 2001). In this respect, our results confirm the conclusions found in the specialized literature (Jurik, 1998; Matusik & Hill, 1998). Nonetheless, the case of the manufacturing sector is somewhat surprising. Although the manufacturing sector has always concentrated human resources and means of production, one would expect, as Matusik and Hill (1998) suggest, that organizations in this sector would opt for the use of atypical employment, especially given that a number of self-employed workers

would presumably agree to work as subcontractors, under service contracts, in premises and with equipment situated outside of the organization.

Further, self-employment can easily expand in the manufacturing sector because, like real estate, the form and organization of work lends itself well to this type of employment. In contrast, the construction sector has a positive effect on both self-employed workers and multiple jobholders. This sector should therefore be considered to place particular value on strategies based on external flexibility, together with fewer employee commitments and employment costs (Tremblay, D.G, 1990). Because the construction sector produces a significant effect for both types of atypical jobs analyzed, our results partially support the conclusions of other studies on the subject (Bregger, 1996). This is hardly surprising because this sector is characterized by frequent fluctuations in activity that oblige organizations and in-

Table 2: Families of multiple jobholders and self-employed workers

	Multiple jobholders				Self-employed			
	Insecure	Consolidated	Stars	ref. %	Victims	Survivors	Conquerors	ref. %
Hrs. work/week	41	52	55**		37	47	54**	
Level of education								
Graduate Studies	2.3%**	6.7%**	32.0%**	6.3%	1.7%**	4.4%**	15.9%**	5.1%
Bachelor	13.1%**	21.5%**	36.0%**	18.2%	1.7%**	21.3%**	49.2%**	21.3%
Univ. certificate	1.7%**	5.2%**	8.0%**	3.6%	11.0%**	3.7%**	3.2%**	2.7%
College	26.9%**	34.1%**	12.0%**	28.7%	32.0%**	26.5%**	12.7%**	26.7%
High school or less	56.0%**	12.0%**	12.0%**	43.3%	53.5%**	44.1%**	19.0%**	44.2%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Av. annual income	\$21,092	\$45,414	\$86,987**		\$17,665	\$45,952	\$89,158**	
Gender (Male)	36.6%	60.4%	64.0%**	48.1%	40.1%	75.7%	77.8%**	59.6%
Age								
18-29	42.2%**	23.7%**	0.0%**	31.5%	15.9%	16.5%	9.5%	9.5%
30-44	39.8%**	46.7%**	69.6%**	44.8%	45.2%	55.9%	55.6%	55.6%
45-59	16.9%**	28.1%**	26.1%**	22.2%	31.8%	22.1%	27.0%	27.0%
60-64	1.2%**	1.5%**	4.3%**	1.5%	7.0%	5.5%	7.9%	7.9%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
% of the family	51.7%	40.7%	7.6%		46.4%	36.7%	17.0%	

\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>1</sup> An initial version of this text was presented at the last meeting of AGRH in Lyons, France. A second draft of this paper was presented at the Academy of Management meeting in Toronto in August 2000. The authors would like to thank the editors for their valuable comments.

<sup>2</sup> To obtain equal groups in logistic regression analyses, we used a sampling factor of 0.08 for multiple jobholders and 0.125 for self-employed workers.

<sup>3</sup>  $[(1+e^{-(a+b)})^{-1} / (1+e^{-a})^{-1}] - 1$ .

<sup>4</sup> Other statistical tests allow evaluation of the significance of the -2 log likelihood whose classification ensues from the model. Several authors including Hosmer & Lemeshow (1989) warn that these results should not be used to assess the predictive capacity of the model because they are overly influenced by factors independent of the performance level of the model, notably the segregation point (0.5) and the relative size of each of the groups.



dividuals to be flexible. Consequently, it is not surprising that several authors (Davis-Blake and Uzzi, 1993; Matusik & Hill, 1998) reported that organizations that operate in an unstable or seasonal environment would benefit greatly from adopting a strategy of externalization and from offering atypical jobs. In addition, this sector of activity is replete with small contractors, subcontractors and craftspeople that can easily engage in multiple jobholding and self-employment.

To conclude the discussion of sector, it is worth noting that holding a job in the management services sector increases the probability of self-employment. Indeed, our results illustrate a trend toward outsourcing of many activities formerly carried out by the core workforce of organizations. It would be interesting to more precisely determine the management activities that are most affected. Overall, it is clear that atypical work affects activities that were formerly carried out by the central core work force (Booth, 1997; Chênevert and Tremblay, 1995; Jacob, 1993). It would also be interesting to investigate, in future studies, the size of the organization because the number of employees within a specific sector may impact the formality and longevity of the job relationship and thus become an important determinant of atypical employment.

In the area of unionization, our results reflect those of Blanchflower and Meyer (1994) in that the fact of having held a unionized job five years earlier reduces the probability of becoming self-employed. The advantages of unionization in terms of job conditions and job security may be dissuasive factors in the decision to abandon a traditional job in favor of self-employment. Nonetheless, the growing presence of atypical workers poses a major challenge for unionized organizations: that of representing workers whose interests vary considerably and whose presence in the job market is often virtual (Mackbride-King, 1997; Wever, 1997).

At first glance, for both multiple jobholding and self-employment, the results relating to occupational category held five years ago confirm that individuals in hierarchical situations are unlikely to engage in atypical work. These results corroborate studies (Addison &

Surfield, 2006; Brousseau et al. 1996; Hall, 1996) that conclude that new careers lack a hierarchy. At the very least, one can presume that individuals that find themselves in traditional career paths, characterized by relative job stability, promotions and high social status, as is the case for senior and middle managers, are not truly affected by the phenomenon studied. Our results nonetheless illustrate that more highly skilled jobs such as those held by professionals and semi-professionals, are beginning to be slightly but significantly affected by multiple jobholding. Here again, the results show that atypical work extends to activities and functions that call for skills previously found within the core workforce; in other words, the phenomenon concerns essential but non-critical tasks (Booth, 1997; Chênevert and Tremblay, 1995; Jacob, 1993).

With regard to multiple jobholding, the results related to the frequency of movement confirm the findings reported in the literature, namely that respondents that have experienced high non-ascending mobility are more likely to hold multiple jobs. In line with the literature on new careers, this observation implies that multiple jobholders experience more mobility than the majority of workers with traditional career itineraries. In contrast, frequency of movement does not influence the probability of being self-employed. There are two possible explanations for this situation. First, several self-employed workers may have been in a very stable job situation before the study; this possibility should be explored. In addition, one should bear in mind that self-employed workers do not change jobs frequently, the changes mainly concern the clientele.

Lastly, for these two forms of non-standard employment it is clear that hierarchical experiences are not predominant, reflecting a fundamental characteristic of new careers (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Bailly et al., 1998; Hall, 1996). Studies on career plateauing (Tremblay, 1995) have demonstrated the way in which the concept of the traditional career is being increasingly eroded by structural or individual blockage mechanisms.

Concerning individual variables,

only the gender of the respondent exerts a significant influence. Indeed, our results point in the expected direction. The gender of the respondent does not influence the probability of holding multiple jobs. In addition, the results obtained for self-employment support the specialized literature (Matthews & Moser, 1995), which states that men have a higher probability of being self-employed than women. These results suggest that in the atypical job context, occupational distribution apparently perpetuates stereotypes associated with traditional jobs. For instance, male self-employed workers are concentrated in professional and managerial professions, whereas women predominate in secretarial and office jobs, a pattern that reproduces within atypical jobs the same sexual stereotypes found in traditional jobs (Maler & Milkovich, 2000). Moreover, these results confirm those of Carr (1996), which clearly demonstrates that men and women do not hold atypical jobs for the same reasons and at the same ages.

Following the analyses of the differentiation between multiple jobholders and self-employed, we assert that these two forms of atypical jobs differ. Despite similarities within each of these two types of non-standard work, it is quite evident that the families are by no means homogeneous groups. In addition, the differentiation of families within the multiple jobholder and self-employed worker groups highlights the discriminating influence of education. Our results show that the higher the respondents' education, the more likely they will belong to the star or conqueror family, a finding that corroborates the conclusions of several researchers (Carr, 1996; Jurik, 1998). Therefore, even if the trend is clearer for the stars, multiple jobholders and self-employed workers follow the same logic pattern as standard workers, in that education apparently engenders markedly better living conditions. Annual income of both stars and conquerors is much higher than the average income. Nonetheless, higher income often co-occurs with longer work weeks. Women are over-represented among the insecure and the victims, which tends to indicate that they do not occupy choice places in the atypical labor force.



### Conclusion

The results of this study clarify the role of some organizational and individual variables in the probability of being a multiple jobholder or self-employed worker. Eight out of twelve sectors of activity influence this probability for self-employed workers. As for determining sectors, we have observed that the probability of being a self-employed worker decreases by 86.1% among respondents that work in public administration, thus confirming the lack of importance placed on this employment link in the government apparatus. The sector variable nonetheless has a more mitigated effect on multiple jobholding, because only two sectors of activity influence the probability of holding multiple jobs. More generally, our results clearly demonstrate that the construction sector is characterized by a constant search for external flexibility, because only this sector positively influences the probability of joining one of the atypical groups studied.

In terms of career-related factors, ascending mobility plays a unique role. This effect, homogeneous for both multiple jobholding and self-employment, is significantly manifested with respect to the probability of engaging in either of these atypical forms of employment. The fact of being promoted in the five years prior to the survey thus substantially reduces the chances of belonging to one of the two atypical employment categories studied, whereas non-ascending mobility increases only the probability of holding multiple jobs. Further, individuals that held senior and middle manager positions five years prior to the survey have a substantially lower probability of holding multiple jobs and being self-employed, thus confirming the persisting impact of more traditional career paths on occupational categories with a high hierarchical status. Consequently, we can consider that individuals in a situation of blockage in traditional paths may be inclined to adopt these forms of atypical employment in order to satisfy expectations beyond promotion and financial status.

Lastly, aside from the fact that men are over-represented in the self-employed category and that their probability of taking on this atypical

employment is higher, gender has no influence on multiple jobholding. It is worth mentioning that these two forms of atypical employment are subdivided into families that are not homogeneous in terms of annual income, level of education, hours worked and average age. In addition, women are much more prevalent in the families that have the most precarious job and living conditions. Nonetheless, major differences exist among the families of multiple jobholders and self-employed workers, and prudence is thus recommended to avoid indiscriminately pairing the concepts of atypical and precarious. In conclusion, although precariousness is indeed present, it is not a *sine qua non* of atypical employment.

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