

# Gender and Self-employment in Canada: Assessing Trends and Policy Implications

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# Executive Summary

This CPRN report examines the growing role of self-employment in the Canadian labour market, focusing particularly on the gender patterns within self-employment and the policy implications raised by this form of work.

Self-employment has expanded dramatically in Canada, accounting for over one-quarter of all new jobs since the mid-1970s and roughly three-quarters of all new jobs in the 1990s. Currently, more than one in six workers are self-employed, accounting for nearly 2.5 million Canadians. This study furthers our understanding of women and men's participation in such work, focusing on two distinct groups of the self-employed: *employers* (those who have paid employees) and *own account* workers (those who work alone). It addresses the following key questions:

- How has the prevalence of self-employment in Canada changed since the mid-1970s, and to what extent do trends for women and men differ?
- What is the nature of the work offered by self-employment (e.g., occupations, industry, hours, earnings)? How does the work of self-employed women and men compare?
- Based on overall trends, how does gender segregation within self-employment compare to that in paid employment? Does self-employment have the potential to reduce gender based economic inequities between women and men?
- In light of current trends within women and men's self-employment, what are the implications for public policy in relation to job quality and income, training and education, and equity initiatives?

The study draws on evidence from Statistics Canada's *Labour Force Survey* and the *Survey of Consumer Finances*. The key results are summarized below.

## Prevalence of Self-employment

- Self-employment in Canada has expanded significantly, growing from 12.3 percent of total employment in 1976 to 17.8 percent in 1997. Both women and men have been affected by this trend, though rates for women lag behind those of men. In 1997, 21.1 percent of men were self-employed compared to 13.9 percent of women.
- Rates of growth have diverged for *employers* and *own account* workers. After rising steadily from the mid-1970s, *own account* self-employment took a sharp upward turn in the 1990s, both for women and men. In contrast, growth among *employers* was more moderate, increasing steadily for women but falling slightly for men in the 1990s.
- Over time the gender composition of the self-employed workforce has changed notably. Whereas women once accounted for just one-quarter of *own account* workers, they now comprise 40 percent of this group. As *employers*, women still make up a smaller part of the workforce but have increased their numbers significantly, from 11.3 percent in 1971 to nearly one-quarter of *employers* in 1997.
- In terms of the current profile of self-employment, the majority of women and men are in *own account* work. In 1997, three-quarters of self-employed women, and 59 percent of men, were *own account* self-employed.

## Nature of Work and Gender Segregation in Self-employment

- In terms of industry, women today are located in a more diverse array of sectors than in the past. However, there is still significant concentration in traditional areas – such as trade, food/accommodation and other services – especially for *own account* workers. Men continue to be involved in a broader range of industries, and have notably increased their presence within business services in the 1990s.
- In terms of occupation, women *employers* have traditionally been segregated into sales and service jobs, whereas male *employers* have worked in a broader range of jobs, most notably sales, management and construction. Over time, their occupational profiles have become more similar, as women have moved into previously male domains. For *own account* workers, women continue to cluster in service and sales jobs, and males in sales, construction, and transportation jobs, despite some changes in recent years.
- In terms of full-time and part-time work status, *employers* are more likely to work full-time than *own account* workers. Self-employed women are also far more likely to work part-time than their male peers. Among *employers*, for

example, 19.2 percent of female *employers* worked part-time in 1997, compared to just 3.9 percent of men. For *own account* workers, rates of part-time are especially high for women but also for men. In 1997, 45.7 percent of female *own account* workers worked part-time, as did 17.4 percent of *own account* men.

- Earnings for self-employed workers are more polarized than for paid workers, and *employers* generally earn more than *own account* workers. In 1995, over 55.7 percent of *own account* workers made less than \$20,000 (compared to 31.4 percent of *employers*), and 8.6 percent of *employers* made over \$80,000 (compared to just 2.2 percent of *own account* workers).
- In terms of earnings for women and men, the wage gap in self-employment is greater than that among paid workers. In 1996, women in full-time paid employment made 72.8 percent of their male peers. In comparison, full-time women *employers* made 69.2 percent of their male colleagues, while the earnings gap between male and female *own account* workers was 67.3 percent.

## Conclusions and Policy Implications

- The evidence from this study shows that while self-employment has contributed significantly to employment growth, especially in the 1990s, the quality of jobs is highly variable. While some women and men enjoy very good earnings and economic opportunities, others are concentrated in low paying, insecure jobs. Gender disparities also persist, despite important changes over the past two decades.
- In addition to low pay, many self-employed workers may lack important benefits available to paid workers through government or company sponsored programs (e.g., disability coverage, parental benefits/leave, pension plans, Employment Insurance). This is of less concern for high earners or *employers*, who may set up their own plans, but remains a significant issue for *own account* workers, especially those in low paying sectors.
- Barriers to training and education may also exist for self-employed workers, due to limited access to financing and an inability to absorb the costs of downtime associated with training. This is an important problem given the growing importance of training and education in the Canadian labour market and its potential to assist the self-employed in developing the necessary skills to expand existing businesses or move into new, more lucrative, areas.
- In terms of equity issues, self-employment is highly relevant to current debates over child care and work-family balance, as many women appear to be using self-employment as a way to balance work and family demands. Self-employment also has implications for pay and employment equity, as it places increasing numbers of women outside of these initiatives.
- As to whether self-employment itself provides an “emancipatory” route for women, the evidence suggests a mixed picture. Some women now enjoy good

economic prospects but others remain in traditional, low paid areas, and the gender wage gap persists both for *employers* and *own account* workers, despite the gains made by some women.

- Appropriate policy responses to self-employment will require careful attention to the distinct situations of various groups of self-employed workers. Further research is also needed to clarify the legal situation of self-employed workers, the flow of workers in and out of self-employment, and the day-to-day working experience of the self-employed, particularly those in less lucrative areas.

# Foreword

Two decades of breathtaking economic change in Canada have transformed labour markets and workplaces. And, while we have a wealth of statistical descriptions of the changing structure of the labour market, we know little about what is happening to the relationship between employers and employees.

Earlier in 1999, CPRN commissioned a project to explore the rights, obligations, expectations, and values that characterize employment relationships as we enter the 21st century. We are interested in the perspectives of both employed and employer, in the people working in both non-standard and more traditional job types. We want to know how these relationships have changed since the mid-1970s, and why they have changed. We want to understand the consequences for workers, for employers, for collective bargaining processes, and for public policy.

Outputs from the project will include a discussion paper – “Re-thinking Employment Relationships” – and a final report, to be completed in 2000, synthesizing the results of a national survey of workers and a series of focus groups designed to investigate the experiences, attitudes and responses of workers and employers to these changing relationships. A related paper is now being planned to explore the legal implications of these relationships, based on the results of the socio-economic analysis now under way. The project is being funded by a group of corporate, union, and public sector organizations listed at the back of the volume. And it is being guided by an Advisory Committee of experts representing a range of perspectives on the world of work.

One of the most dramatic changes in the nature of work over the past 20 years has been the explosive growth in self-employment – faster than in most industrialized countries. Since the self-employed now account for 17.6 percent of all employment in Canada, it is one of the many forms of employment relationships we wish to explore in the project, and the one addressed in this first publication from the project.

Karen Hughes is an Assistant Professor of Women’s Studies and Adjunct Professor of Sociology at the University of Alberta. She has provided us with a

portrait of the people who are self-employed, with a special focus on the distinctive patterns of self-employment among women and men. Probing deeply into existing databases from Statistics Canada, she has provided us with a much more complete picture of the remarkable diversity within this segment of the work force. Importantly, the data reveal that although a small proportion of self-employed women (largely employers) are doing well, there are greater gender inequalities in self-employment than in the labour force overall. Important policy implications are raised around issues of supports to the self-employed. Because of the detail and her careful presentation, the study is a useful contribution to Canadians' understanding of the changing world of work. It will also do much to shape the questions to be posed in the forthcoming survey and focus groups.

Judith Maxwell  
President

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# Gender and Self-employment in Canada: Assessing Trends and Policy Implications



# 1

## Introduction

During the last few decades of the 20th century, there has been a dramatic rise in the rate of self-employment<sup>1</sup> within many industrialized countries. In Canada, this trend has been particularly significant. Since the mid-1970s, over one-quarter of all employment growth has come from self-employment and, during this period, the importance of self-employment has accelerated. Compared to the 1980s, when the annual growth rates for self-employed workers and paid employees were 2.4 and 1.9 percent respectively, in the 1990s self-employment growth far outstripped that of paid employment (3.3 vs. 0.2 percent per annum). Indeed, given the almost negligible growth in paid employment in the early to mid-1990s, self-employment accounted for roughly three-quarters of all job growth between 1989 and 1996. By 1997, more than one in six Canadian workers were self-employed, accounting for nearly 2.5 million Canadians.<sup>2</sup>

These rising levels of self-employment have marked not only a significant material change in the employment relationships and structure of the Canadian labour market, but also an important cultural shift in individual and public ways of thinking about employment and work. Increasingly in the 1980s and 1990s, public policy and debate has promoted the merits of an “enterprise culture” – celebrating the ideals of individual initiative and self-reliance, and emphasizing self-employment as a solution to the problem of high, and persistent,

unemployment that has plagued many industrialized countries. Against this largely positive view, however, has also emerged a more critical perspective – one that sees self-employment not as “a solution to” but as an “inevitable result of” deeply rooted economic and political change. Viewed from this perspective, self-employment is the “job of last resort” – a form of precarious employment that workers have increasingly been forced into as once secure, full-time jobs in the Canadian economy have declined.<sup>3</sup>

Taken together, these contrasting views spark many critical questions about the growing role of self-employment in the Canadian labour market, and its implications for workers, employment relationships, and public policy. At one level are basic empirical questions about the extent of change, and the nature of self-employment compared to more traditional forms of paid work. Beyond these lie broader questions about how labour market and social policy should respond to this change. Embedded within all of these issues are particularly important questions about the gendered dimensions of such change. In many industrialized countries – such as Canada, the United States, and Britain – women have made particularly notable gains within the overall expansion of self-employment.<sup>4</sup> Commentators have questioned whether women are pursuing self-employment as an “emancipatory route,” to bypass gender segregation within paid employment, or whether women have been increasingly

pushed into marginalized forms of self-employment, as economic restructuring has eroded the availability of more secure forms of paid work. To date, we do not know the answers to these questions in the Canadian context as we lack detailed information on women's self-employment trends, and a fully gendered analysis of self-employment as a whole.

The purpose of this paper is to examine these issues by providing an in-depth analysis of (i) the general trends within self-employment in Canada and (ii) the gendered patterns within this form of work. The intent is to provide a sound empirical basis from which to evaluate the implications of self-employment, both for Canadian workers and for public policy. Towards this end, the paper assesses trends from the mid-1970s to the present, in order to map out the extent of change and the current situation. Guiding the discussion are four central questions:

1. How has the prevalence of self-employment in Canada changed since the mid-1970s, and to what extent do trends for women and men differ?
2. What is the nature of the work offered by self-employment (e.g., occupations, industry, hours, earnings)? How does the work of self-employed women and men compare?
3. Based on overall trends, how does gender segregation within self-employment compare to that within paid employment? Does self-employment have the potential to reduce gender based economic inequities between women and men?
4. In light of current trends within women and men's self-employment, what are the implications for public policy in relation to job quality and income, training and education, and equity initiatives?

Before turning to this analysis, the next section briefly examines what existing research in Canada, the United States and Britain has had to say about these issues. In Sections 3 and 4, we discuss the data and definitions used in the analysis, and present the central findings. Section 5 concludes the paper with a more detailed discussion of policy implications.

## Gender and Self-employment: Debates, Issues, Policy

As self-employment has grown, academic and policy researchers have begun to explore a number of different issues. Here we highlight some of the findings and debates around two main themes: (i) the growing prevalence of self-employment and the factors fuelling its growth, and (ii) the nature of self-employment and patterns of gender segregation within it. In order to contextualize our later analysis, we also comment briefly on government policy towards self-employment in Canada, and some of the issues it raises with respect to job quality, income, training, and equity.

### **Prevalence of Self-employment and Factors Underlying Its Growth**

One of the most discussed issues in current debates and writing on self-employment concerns its so-called “renaissance” in the 1980s and 1990s – not only its dramatic rise in many industrialized countries, but also the apparent importance of women’s contribution to this phenomenon.<sup>5</sup> In the United States, studies show that self-employment has grown dramatically, and that growth rates for women have far outstripped those of men.<sup>6</sup> Between 1975 and 1990, for example, the number of self-employed women doubled, compared to a 54 percent increase for men.<sup>7</sup> Women-owned businesses have also seen their gross receipts expand 50-fold since the 1970s.<sup>8</sup> In Britain, similar trends

have been evident since the late 1970s, when the then Conservative government placed particular emphasis on the role of small businesses and self-employment in regenerating the economy.<sup>9</sup> During the 1980s, growth in self-employment for both women and men exhibited a sharp upward trend. From 1981-89, male self-employment rose by 51 percent and female self-employment by 81 percent,<sup>10</sup> with British women making up approximately one-quarter of all self-employed workers by the early 1990s.<sup>11</sup> Other countries have also noted a particular rise in women’s self-employment, with increases from 1975-90 in Belgium, Finland, Germany, Italy, and Spain.<sup>12</sup>

A critical, but rarely discussed, issue in relation to the different rates of growth for women and men’s self-employment is the fact that women’s entrance into such work has occurred at roughly the same time that their labour force participation has risen dramatically. This raises the question of whether gender differences in the changing prevalence of self-employment are truly significant – that is, whether women have entered self-employment at above average rates, or whether their higher rates are simply an artifact of increased rates of labour force participation overall.<sup>13</sup> Equally important is the type of self-employment women and men are entering. Whereas some studies treat self-employment as a homogenous category, it actually embraces a diverse range of work statuses. Analysis on the prevalence of self-employment thus needs to

distinguish between distinct types of self-employment – in particular, between those self-employed workers who have employees working for them (*employers*) and those self-employed who work strictly on their own (*own-account workers*). These issues are taken up in Sections 3 and 4 (see Box 1, Section 3).

Beyond discussions of the trends within self-employment are central questions about what is driving its growth, both as a general trend within the labour market and one that appears to have gender specific dimensions. As with other types of “non-standard work,” there has been considerable debate over whether it is workers’ personal choices, or employers’ attempts to create more flexible firms, that is fuelling the growth of self-employment.<sup>14</sup> Whereas the former view emphasizes individual choice, suggesting workers have been voluntarily “pulled” into better opportunities within a growing “enterprise culture,” the latter contends workers have been “pushed” out of secure, paid employment into marginalized jobs. Existing evidence on this issue suggests that both “push” and “pull” factors are involved, though to differing degrees. In the United States, research suggests that while some workers can be considered “involuntarily self-employed,” they comprise only a small minority of the self-employed.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, in Canada, the 1995 Survey of Work Arrangements found that roughly 12 percent of self-employed workers lacked other work alternatives, with this being higher for *own-account workers* (15.4 percent) than those who were *employers* (6.9 percent).<sup>16</sup> Recent longitudinal analysis by Lin et al. (1999a: 14) also finds no evidence that “push” factors have been the dominant factor in rising self-employment levels in Canada, suggesting instead that both “push” and “pull” factors may be at work.

Whether there is a different dynamic fuelling women and men’s self-employment is a critical question, though this issue has not been fully explored. Given that women still face gender segregation in the labour market, and greater domestic responsibilities at home, they may have more incentives, or at least different reasons, for choosing

self-employment than male workers. Certainly small scale studies of women’s self-employment have noted a wide range of possible reasons for women’s entrance into such work – in particular, (i) the growing insecurity and marginality within much of women’s work; (ii) growing education, skills and autonomy on the part of women; (iii) attempts to escape gender barriers and segregation with the labour market; and (iv) a worker’s desire to balance family-work and paid work.<sup>17</sup> In Canada, the 1995 Survey of Work Arrangements suggests that work-family considerations are far more important for self-employed women than for self-employed men. Whereas just 2 percent of men cited working at home as a reason for self-employment, this was the case for 12.6 percent of women. Flexible schedules were also an important reason for 9.2 percent of women, compared to just 4.4 percent of men.<sup>18</sup> Not surprisingly, work-family considerations are most apparent for women in peak child rearing ages (25-34 years), with 20 percent citing the ability to work from home as their main reason for self-employment.<sup>19</sup>

## The Nature of Self-employment and Patterns of Gender Segregation

Beyond issues of prevalence, and the factors underlying self-employment, one of the most central questions concerns the nature and quality of work that self-employment provides. Because many studies have addressed gender differences in this regard, the following discussion reflects this emphasis. While some authors and policy makers believe that self-employment offers a potential strategy for increasing female economic autonomy, others challenge this view, arguing that self-employment, like paid employment, is deeply segregated by gender.

In the United States, several researchers have challenged the popular view that self-employment provides a route to economic opportunity for women.<sup>20</sup> As they note, strong links exist between women’s

previous employment field and area of self-employment, thus ensuring that traditional patterns of gender segregation are replicated. Women also face additional disadvantages such as lack of access to capital and contacts, and greater responsibilities for domestic work and child care. As a result, women often work in “peripheral economic niches,” such as retail and personal services. Typically these niches are expanding but highly competitive areas that are unattractive to men, being both “female” dominated and having much lower than average earnings than “male” sectors.<sup>21</sup>

British studies also suggest strong gender segregation within self-employment, with women largely concentrated within “female” areas, such as catering, retail, hospitality/hotels, and other services. Again, these areas are highly competitive, offering low profit margins and rates of return. Some studies also suggest that, even when women do work in the same industrial sectors as men, they tend to run smaller, and less profitable, enterprises.<sup>22</sup> In considering the possible reasons for the segregated nature of self-employment, several authors suggest that women are far more likely than men to pursue self-employment as a way to balance work and family demands, and that it is these types of considerations, rather than higher earnings or advancement opportunities, that lead them into specific areas.<sup>23</sup> Under these circumstances, some researchers question the potential of self-employment to offer “new choices or new forms of freedom” for women. Instead, self-employment may further entrench women’s labour market disadvantage, allowing them to cope with the competing demands of paid and family work, while continuing to accept responsibility for both.<sup>24</sup>

In Canada, labour force trends do suggest some important gender differences in self-employment, though we do not have extensive gender-based comparisons especially among different types of self-employed (e.g., *own account, employers*). Nor do we know how patterns have changed over time. Recent analysis by Statistics Canada has helped to identify gender differences at a very general level, pointing to a number of trends in the 1990s.<sup>25</sup> First,

self-employed men are far more likely to employ other workers than are self-employed women. Second, with respect to industry, men are more likely to work in the goods sector, with 4 of 10 self-employed men working there, compared to just 2 out of 10 women. Self-employed women are also more concentrated within a few areas than are men, with roughly three-quarters working within just four sectors (health and social services, retail trade, business and other services). Third, in terms of occupation, self-employed women tend towards services and sales jobs, and men towards construction, managerial and administrative, and sales positions. Finally, earning patterns suggest that the wage gap<sup>26</sup> is more pronounced within self-employment than paid employment. However, as these figures do not control for full-time or part-time hours, or type of self-employment, there is a need for more detailed exploration – an issue taken up in Section 4.

To sum up, existing evidence suggests that while self-employment is a rapidly growing form of work for both sexes, it is strongly segregated by gender, providing quite distinct economic opportunities and rewards for women and men. However, studies have not always examined in detail the gender differences between various types of self-employed workers (e.g., *own account, employers*), nor have they addressed the extent to which gender differences have changed over time, particularly the long term. Equally important, the tendency to focus on differences *between* women and men, means that less attention has been paid to examining the differences *among* self-employed women and *among* self-employed men. This is a crucial point in light of recent concerns over polarization and feminization in the labour force, and questions about growing similarities between male and female workers as they come to be concentrated at the “high” or “low” ends of the labour market. In Canada, much more detailed information of this type is needed, and the analysis in this paper works towards these ends. Before turning to discuss the data and analysis in greater detail, some final comments are warranted on the broader context in which self-employment is situated, and some of the policy issues raised by its growth.

## Self-employment in Canada – Government Support and Policy Issues

Understanding self-employment is important, not only for clarifying its implications for individual workers, but also for considering the appropriate role of government in regulating and supporting this form of work. In the 1980s and the 1990s, federal and provincial governments in Canada have turned away from past approaches of direct intervention and job creation in response to high unemployment, choosing instead to promote the merits of an enterprise culture. Arguing that small business and self-employment offer the greatest potential for regenerating the Canadian economy, governments have opted for a role as “facilitators,” rather than “creators,” of job growth. Accordingly, they have actively championed self-employment, placing heavy emphasis on policies and programs aimed at encouraging small scale enterprise.<sup>27</sup>

In the 1990s, federal policy documents such as Industry Canada (1994a), *Building a More Innovative Economy*, and (1994b), *Growing Small Businesses*, have reflected this emphasis, proposing numerous initiatives for building a more “dynamic” and “entrepreneurial” economy. Examples of some of the initiatives proposed or taken at the federal level include: increased lending ceilings under the *Small Business Loans Act*; expansion of Canada Business Service Centres to provide “single window” access to government information for entrepreneurs; changing government procurement policies to increase the value of purchases from small business; and new or revised financing programs to promote the growth of small business. To assist self-employed workers, the federal government also produces a *Guide to Government Services and Support for Small Business* outlining a range of programs. Self-employment initiatives have also been tied into existing programs such as Employment Insurance through Self-Employment Assistance (SEA) – a program that offers financial support, orientation, coaching to unemployed Canadians wishing to

pursue self-employment.<sup>28</sup> Additional programs aim at encouraging self-employment among women, youth, and Aboriginals. For example, Western Economic Diversification Canada provides federal funding for the Alberta Women’s Enterprise Initiative Association – an organization providing information, coaching, and mentoring to women entrepreneurs.

Given the active promotion of self-employment by both federal and provincial governments in the 1980s and 1990s, any discussion of self-employment must consider its success as a job creation strategy. While there is clear evidence that self-employment has generated significant numbers of jobs, the question is not purely one of numbers – as job quality remains a crucial consideration. In the United States, several commentators have questioned the value of government supported initiatives encouraging women into self-employment, which typically offers much lower paying, less secure, work than paid employment.<sup>29</sup> Similar questions need to be addressed in the Canadian context, both for women and men, in order to assess the relative merits and shortcomings of a self-employment strategy.

Indeed, in considering self-employment, a number of important policy issues arise. One of the most central concerns *job quality*, which includes not only the type of work (e.g., occupation, industry, full-time/part-time) but also the potential for adequate benefits and income. On this dimension, self-employment raises some unique considerations. In terms of income, for example, self-employment may offer excellent earning opportunities for some workers, but it also generates greater income extremes than does paid employment. In addition, many self-employed workers are not included in government programs<sup>30</sup> – such as Employment Insurance, disability, parental benefits/leave – leaving them vulnerable in cases of illness, pregnancy or business failure. Beyond issues of job quality and income security, are also questions concerning *training and education*, and whether the self-employed have adequate opportunities and resources for skill development. There are also implications for *equity policies* (e.g., pay

and employment equity) given that many self-employed workers and small-scale businesses fall outside the scope of existing initiatives. *Work-family* considerations are also central, given that many women appear to use self-employment as a way to combine paid work and child care.

In short, the recent expansion of self-employment raises a host of policy issues that need to be kept in mind in the following analysis. In Section 5, we return to consider these issues in greater detail, drawing out the implications in relation to the trends outlined in Section 4.



## Data and Definitions

The analysis of self-employment in the next section draws on published and unpublished labour force data from Statistics Canada. The published sources include: (i) time series obtained through CANSIM (Canadian Socio-Economic Information Management System)<sup>31</sup> and (ii) data from the *Labour Force Survey Historical Review 1976-97* on CD-ROM.<sup>32</sup> Tables using the CANSIM data indicate the matrix numbers where the data can be located. The unpublished data come from customized tabulations that have been prepared by Statistics Canada, and offer more detailed information than is available in published data (e.g., distinctions between *own account* and *employer*). The bulk of the unpublished data come from the *Labour Force Survey* and the *Survey of Consumer Finances*.

Because there is a great deal of variability in the terminology used to describe the self-employed, it is important to comment briefly on the definitions used within the analysis. “Small business owners,” “entrepreneurs,” “independent contractors,” and “self-employed workers” are terms that are often used interchangeably, even though they can mean quite different things. Technically speaking, there is no one correct definition of the “self-employed”; instead, a variety of definitions exist for legal, sociological, and statistical purposes.<sup>33</sup> In this analysis we draw on statistical definitions used within Statistics Canada’s *Labour Force Survey*. While this definition is best suited to our purposes, we recognize that there may be particular dimensions (e.g., independence of enterprise, control over work process) that it does not capture.

### Box 1 Definitions of Self-employed

In this analysis, we follow Statistics Canada’s *Labour Force Survey*, which defines the following groups as “self-employed”:

- i) Working owners of incorporated businesses with paid help
- ii) Working owners of incorporated businesses without paid help
- iii) Working owners of unincorporated businesses or other self-employed with paid help
- iv) Working owners of unincorporated businesses or other self-employed without paid help
- v) Unpaid family members

Because we are interested in those working for pay, we exclude unpaid family members, which are a relatively small group. “Self-employed workers” thus includes all those within categories i) to iv) above.

In our analysis, we combine these four categories into two main groups: “*employers*” (i.e., self-employed workers who had paid help in both incorporated and unincorporated businesses) and “*own account workers*” (i.e., self-employed workers without paid help in both incorporated and unincorporated business).

In the definition used by Statistics Canada, workers are asked to self-identify as “self-employed” – that is, as creating their own employment by selling goods or services to others, rather than working as a paid employee. In addition, they are also asked to indicate whether they work alone or employ others. While some analysts consider the “self-employed” to include only those working

alone, others include those with paid help. In this analysis we include both, but recognize that there are crucial distinctions between their work situations. We therefore distinguish between the two groups – referring to those working alone *as own account self-employed* (OA) and to those working with others as *employers* (Emp) (see Box 1 for further details).

## Assessing Trends in Canadian Men's and Women's Self-employment, 1976-97

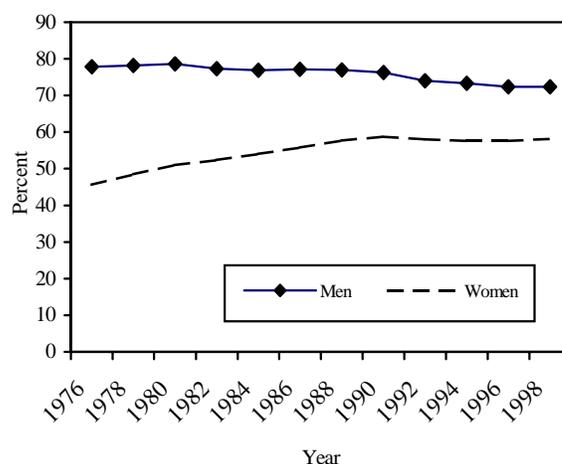
Given the significant changes in self-employment in Canada over the past two decades, our examination focuses on key trends from the mid-1970s to the present. We begin by placing these trends within a broader context, commenting on some of the general shifts within the labour market that are relevant for self-employment trends, and then turn to examine our central research questions.

### General Context of the Labour Market

Of the many significant changes in the Canadian labour market in recent decades,<sup>34</sup> two developments are of particular relevance to this analysis. First, since the 1960s, the gender composition of the labour force has changed dramatically as a result of the steady rise of women's labour force participation. As Chart 1 shows, between 1976 and 1998, female labour force participation increased from 45.6 to 58.1 percent, while rates for men declined slightly from 77.8 to 72.4 percent. By 1997, women made up a much larger share of paid workers, accounting for 47.3 percent of the labour force (5.4 of 11.4 million) compared to 36.9 percent in 1976 (3.3 of 8.6 million).<sup>35</sup>

Not only are more women now in the labour market, but many of them have much stronger educational credentials than in the past. Whereas women's levels of postsecondary education trailed those of men in the mid-1970s, the sexes are now

**Chart 1**  
**Labour Force Participation of Men and Women, 1976-98**

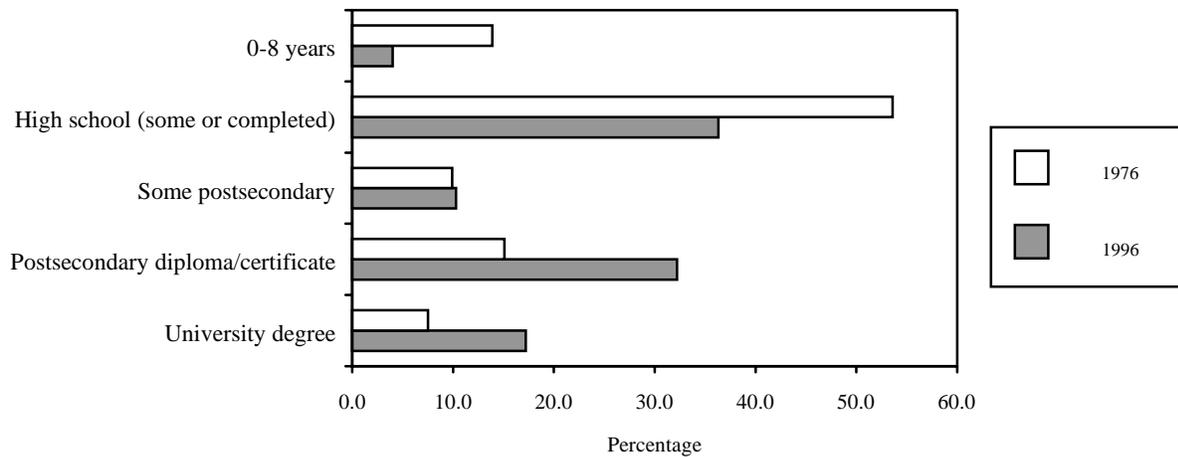


Source: Statistics Canada (1997b), *Labour Force Historical Review CD-ROM*.

roughly on par (see Charts 2a and 2b). Overall, the proportion of women with university degrees has risen from 7.5 percent in 1976 to 17.2 percent in 1996, while the proportion with postsecondary diplomas or certificates has increased from 15.1 to 32.2 percent. Equally significant, women with postsecondary education have also entered into many non-traditional educational areas. Since the mid-1970s, women have received a growing proportion of university degrees in veterinary medicine, zoology,

**Chart 2a**

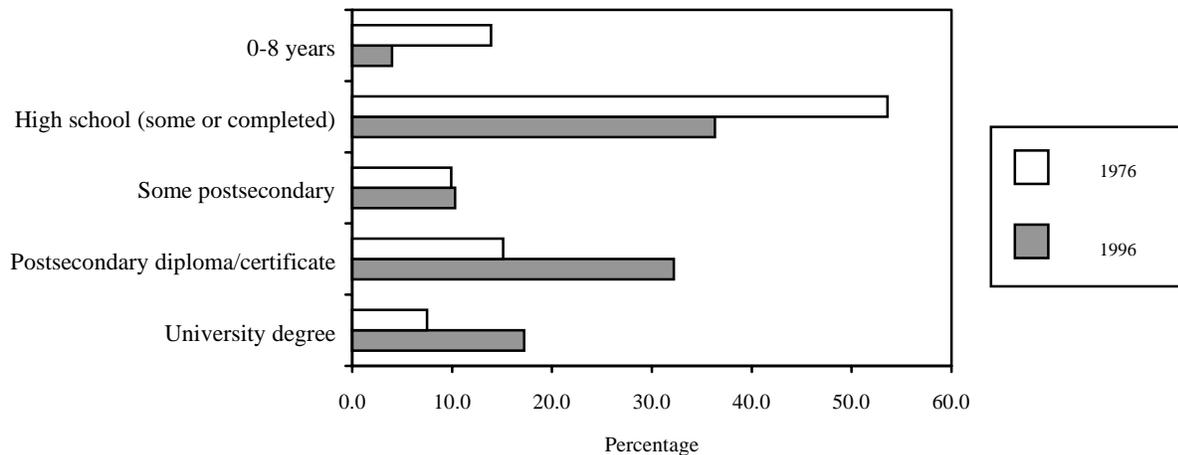
**Educational Attainment of Women, 1976 and 1996**



Source: Statistics Canada (1997b), *Labour Force Historical Review CD-ROM*.

**Chart 2b**

**Educational Attainment of Men, 1976 and 1996**



Source: Statistics Canada (1997b), *Labour Force Historical Review CD-ROM*.

law, medicine, business/commerce, political science, agriculture, and dentistry, among other areas. In community colleges, women's share of diplomas in non-traditional areas has also risen, particularly in business, natural resources, engineering, and transportation.<sup>36</sup> Importantly, many of these areas – such as law, medicine, and business – offer opportunities

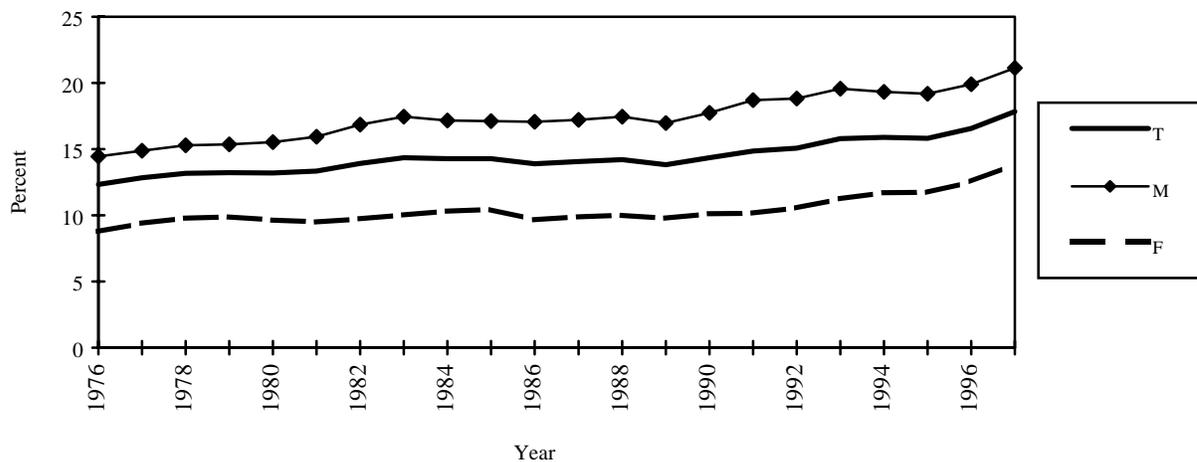
for self-employment, thus increasing the likelihood women will pursue this route.

### Prevalence of Self-employment

Within this broader context, how has women and men's self-employment changed? Chart 3a illustrates

Chart 3a

Self-employment as Share of Total Employment, Men and Women



Source: Statistics Canada (CANSIM Matrix 3472).

the rising levels of self-employment in Canada from the mid-1970s onwards. As we can see, self-employment has accounted for an increasing proportion of total employment, expanding from 12.3 percent in 1976 to 17.8 percent in 1997. Both sexes have been affected by this trend, though rates for women have continued to lag behind those of men. Whereas nearly 15 percent of men were in self-employment in 1976, this was the case for just 8.8 percent of women. By 1997, 21.1 percent of men were self-employed, while the figure for women was 13.9 percent. This accounts for roughly 1.6 million men and 870,000 women – a total of nearly 2.5 million Canadians.

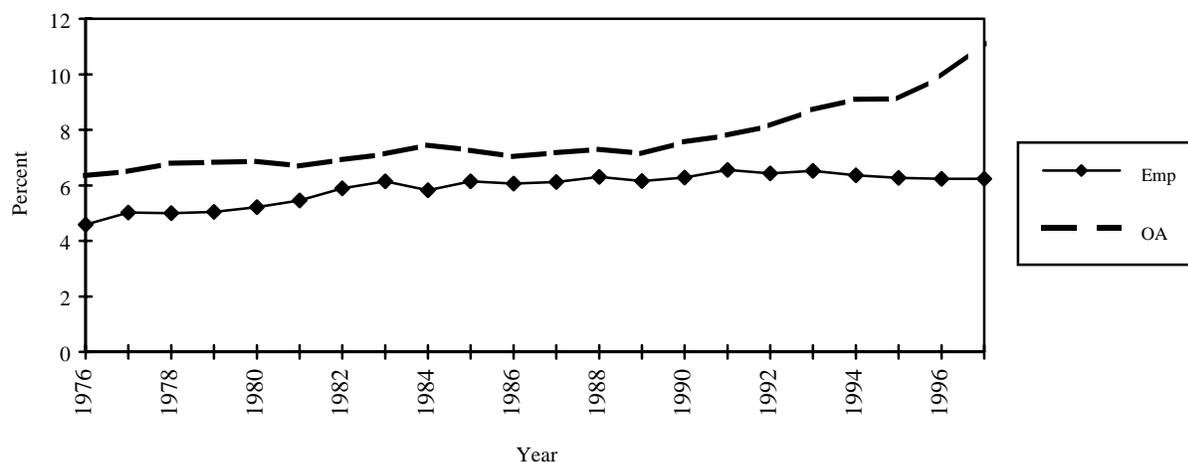
Given the distinction between *employer* (Emp) and *own account* (OA) self-employment, it is important to look at the differences within these aggregate trends. As Chart 3b shows, while there has been a constant upward trend for both groups, the patterns of growth also diverge, most notably in the 1990s. As we can see, *own account* workers have grown from 6.4 to 11.2 percent of total employment from 1976-97, with their numbers rising sharply in the 1990s. No doubt this surge reflects both a growing interest in self-employment, as well as cyclical and structural changes in the economy

– e.g., the prolonged “jobless recovery” following the recession of the early 1990s, government downsizing in many federal and provincial jurisdictions, and increased sub-contracting aimed at creating more “flexible firms.” In contrast, the proportion of *employers* has grown more modestly from 4.6 percent of total employment in 1976 to a peak of 6.6 percent in 1991, then falling slightly to 6.3 percent in 1997.

In terms of gender, to what extent have women and men participated differently within these two types of self-employment? Chart 3c shows that *own account* work has risen dramatically for both sexes over the long term – from 4.4 to 9.7 percent of total female employment, and from 7.5 to 12.3 percent of total male employment, between 1976 and 1997. Significantly, in the short term, both women and men have been affected by the sharp upward trend in *own account* work in the 1990s. Gender differences are apparent, however, within trends for *employers*. For women, the proportion of *employers* has grown steadily over the long term (from 1.4 percent in 1976 to 3.4 percent in 1997). In contrast, the proportion of male *employers* rose from 6.5 percent in 1976 to 9.4 percent in the early 1990s, then falling to 8.6 percent in 1997.

**Chart 3b**

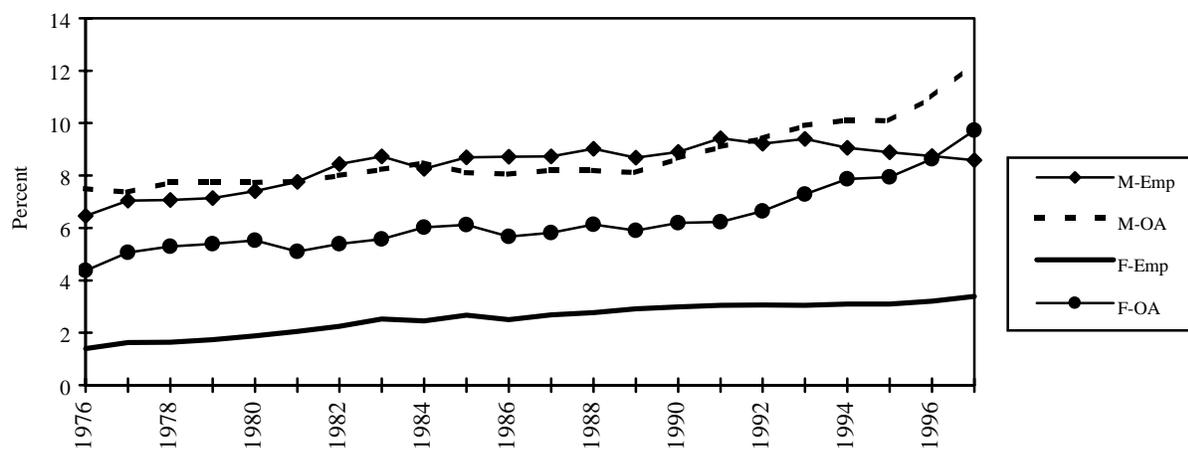
**Self-employment as Share of Total Employment, Own Account and Employers**



Source: Statistics Canada (1997b), *Labour Force Historical Review CD-ROM*.

**Chart 3c**

**Men's and Women's Self-employment as a Share of Total Employment, Own Account and Employers**



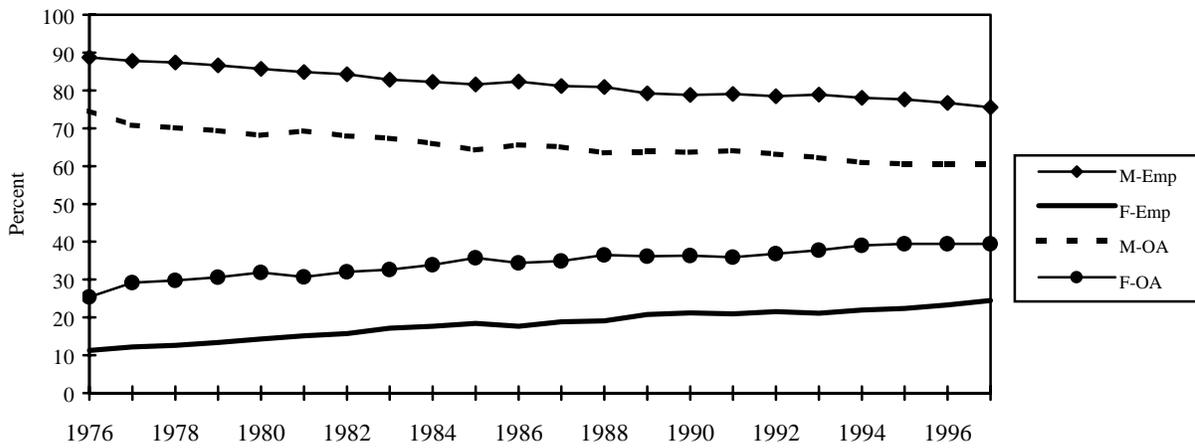
Source: Statistics Canada (1997b), *Labour Force Historical Review CD-ROM*.

While both men and women have been affected by growing levels of self-employment, it should be pointed out that in absolute terms, women's numbers have grown more rapidly than men's. Overall, the number of self-employed women quadrupled from 1976 to 1997, whereas the number of men did not quite double. As a result, the gender composition

within *own account* and *employer* self-employment shifted in important ways. As Chart 4a shows, whereas women accounted for just one-quarter of *own account* workers in 1976, they made up nearly 40 percent by 1997. As *employers*, women still comprise a much smaller part of this workforce, but have increased their number significantly, from

**Chart 4a**

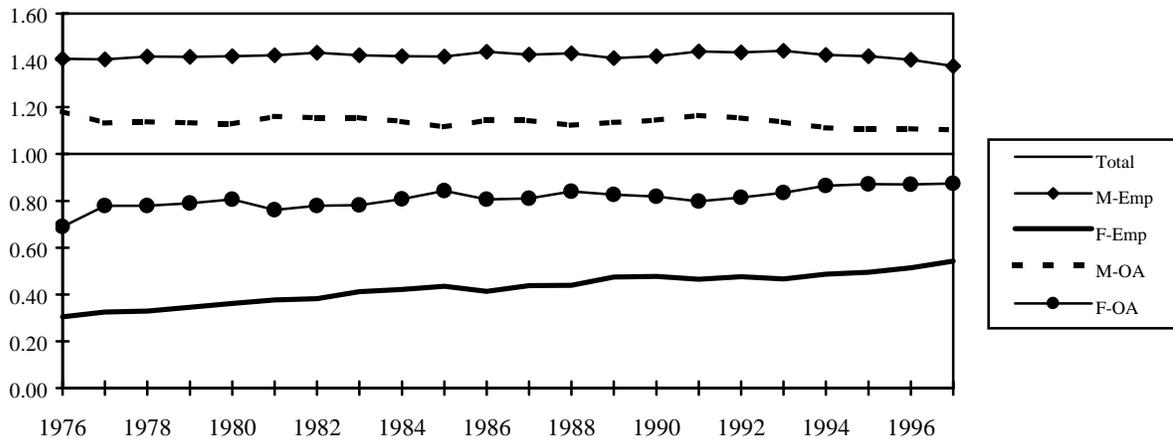
**Proportion of Own Account and Employer Self-employment Accounted for by Men and Women**



Source: Statistics Canada (1997b), *Labour Force Historical Review CD-ROM*.

**Chart 4b**

**Men's and Women's Share of Self-employment Relative to Their Share of Total Employment, Own Account and Employers**



Source: Statistics Canada (1997b), *Labour Force Historical Review CD-ROM*.

11.3 percent in 1976 to nearly one-quarter of such workers in 1997.

While many commentators have heralded these trends, suggesting that women are entering self-employment far more rapidly than men, such argu-

ments fail to consider women's growing presence in the labour force overall, which in part underlies this trend. Chart 4b examines this issue, controlling for women and men's changing share of total employment over time (see Box 2 for a discussion of this measure). Doing so reveals that women have

## Box 2 Measuring Absolute and Relative Trends in Self-employment

In addition to looking at *absolute* trends in women and men's self-employment, it is important to look at these trends *relative* to women and men's changing presence in the labour force. This is because absolute trends are affected both by an increase (or decrease) in women's and men's presence within self-employment, but also any increase (or decrease) in their numbers within the labour force overall. Given that increasing numbers of women have entered the labour force from 1976-97, we would expect to see greater numbers in self-employment. By using a relative measure we can thus control for changes in women's and men's labour force participation, and thus determine whether either group experienced a disproportionate shift in or out of self-employment.

Chart 4b shows the *relative* rates of self-employment, which is simply the percentage of females (*pfi*) [or males (*pmi*)] in self-employment divided by the percentage of females (*PF*) [or males (*PM*)] in total employment overall. A ratio below 1.00 means that women or men are under-represented in self-employment relative to the labour force, whereas a ratio above 1.00 indicates overrepresentation.

increased their share of *own account* and *employer* self-employment but that the degree of change is not as great as first appears in Chart 4a. Women have made disproportionate gains but their growing presence in the labour force over time also exaggerates the extent of these advances. As *own account* workers, women's representation (0.87 in 1997) is nearing their representation within the labour force overall. As *employers*, women have made important gains, but their share of the *employer* category remains just half of their share of total employment (0.54 in 1997).

Overall, these long-term trends confirm the growing importance of self-employment both for women and men. They also indicate that while women have made important inroads into self-employment, the change is not quite as dramatic as is commonly assumed. Moreover, even though women have increased their share of such work, they continue to be under-represented relative to men. Finally, the aggregate trends for the self-employed also mask important gender differences within the *employer* and *own account* groups. Among *employers*, men continue to be vastly over-represented, despite gains by women. In contrast, there is much greater gender equity among *own account* workers – a form of self-employment that has become increasingly important for both sexes in recent years.

In terms of the current profile of self-employment, then, the majority of both women and men are in

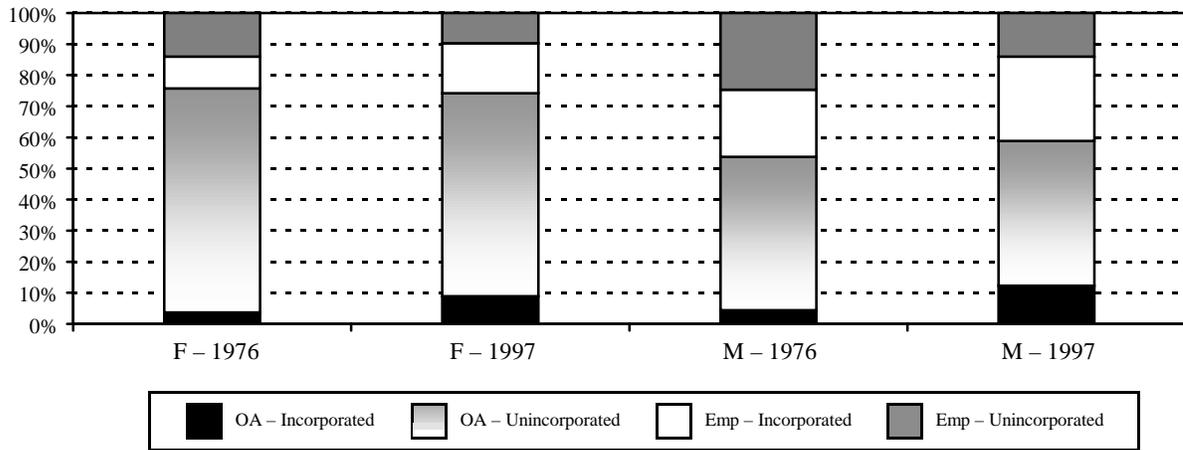
*own account* self-employment, though women are more concentrated within this realm. As Chart 5 shows, in 1997, three-quarters of self-employed women, and 59 percent of self-employed men, were *own account* self-employed. In contrast, only one-quarter of self-employed women were *employers*, compared to 41 percent of men. Within these two types of self-employment, there has been a notable shift towards incorporation, for both women and men. Among self-employed women, 25 percent were incorporated in 1997 – 8.9 percent as *own account*, and 16.1 percent as *employers*. For men, the share was much higher at 39.4 percent – with 27.1 percent of *employers* and 12.3 percent of *own account* being incorporated. Several factors may lie behind the increased rate of incorporation, including tax considerations and the desire to protect personal assets in the case of business failure. Finally, in terms of the size of enterprises, those employing others have relatively small firms. In 1995, two-thirds employed less than 5 workers and one quarter employed 5-14 workers, with the remainder employing 15 workers or more.<sup>37</sup>

## Nature of Women's and Men's Self-employment

In order to understand what rising rates of self-employment mean in economic and social terms, it is important to explore the nature of work done by the self-employed in greater detail. In the following sections we focus on four key dimensions of men

**Chart 5**

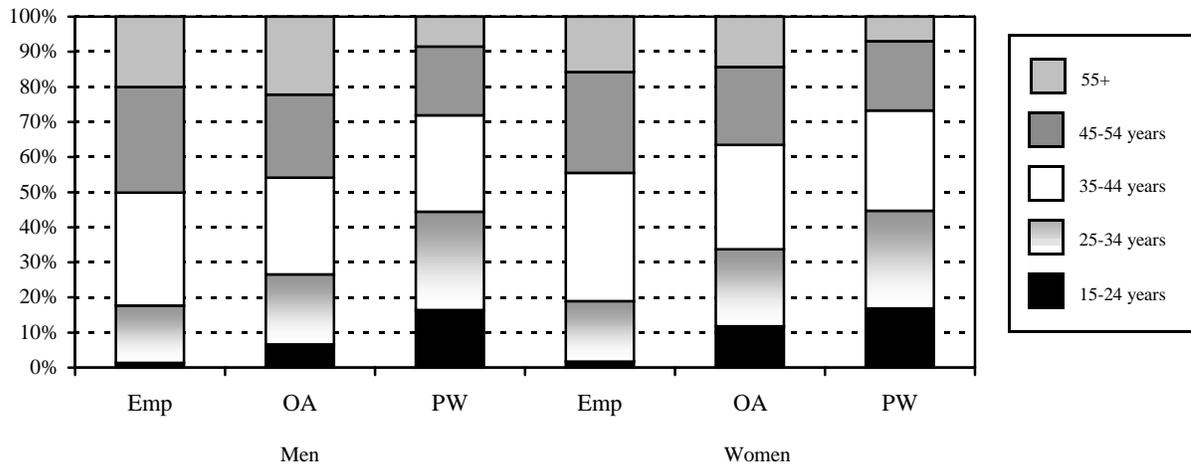
**Proportion of Men's and Women's Self-employment by Own Account and Employer**



Source: Statistics Canada (1997b), *Labour Force Historical Review CD-ROM*.

**Chart 6**

**Age Distribution of Self-Employed (Own Account and Employers) and Paid Workers (PW), 1996**



Source: Customized tabulation from *Labour Force survey, 1996*.

and women's self-employment – industrial sector, occupational location, hours of work, and earnings. Before discussing these, it is worth commenting briefly on the demographic profile of self-employed men and women, as this may assist in explaining later findings.

In terms of age, both self-employed women and men have an older age profile than paid workers. As can be seen in Chart 6, compared to paid workers, a much greater proportion of employers and own account self-employed are 55 and over, and far fewer are aged 15-24, especially in the employer

group. In terms of education, Table 1 shows that self-employed workers are somewhat more concentrated at the lower and higher levels of educational attainment. Compared to paid workers, own account self-employed women and men are more likely to have low educational attainment (e.g., less than grade 10), whereas male and female employers are more likely to have graduate degrees (Master's or Ph.D.).

### a) Industry

In terms of the industrial location of self-employed workers, U.S. and British studies suggest that women are far more likely than men to work in retail trade and personal services. Recent Canadian trends also indicate the greater importance of the service sector for women, accounting for 8 out of 10 self-employed women, compared with just 6 out of 10 self-employed men. An important question is whether these gender patterns vary for different types of self-employed workers, and if they have changed to any significant degree. Table 2 provides some indication of this, noting the industrial location of self-employed women and men (*own account* and *employers*) at two different points in time – 1977 and 1997. It also provides information on

*paid workers* in 1997, to facilitate comparisons between this group and the self-employed.

Overall, we can see several significant patterns across gender, type of self-employment, and time. Looking first at *employers*, we see that historically Canadian women have been much more concentrated within a small number of industrial sectors than men. In 1977, for example, over 85 percent of all female employers were located in just three service industries – trade (50.2 percent), accommodation and food services (21.4 percent), and other services (15.1 percent). Male employers, in contrast, had a much stronger foothold in the goods sector, and were also spread across a broader range of industries overall. Roughly one-third of male employers were located in the goods sectors – construction (20.8 percent), manufacturing (8.6 percent), and primary industries (2.5 percent) – and another third were in trade (30.2 percent). The rest were in small but significant groupings within service areas.

During the past 20 years, these patterns have changed in important ways. Significantly, while male patterns reflect the broader shift towards a service economy, the patterns for female employers have been in the opposite direction. Overall, female

**Table 1**  
**Educational Background of Self-employed and Paid Workers (PW), 1996**

Educational attainment	Men			Women		
	Emp	OA	PW	Emp	OA	PW
Grade 10 or less	15.9	22.4	14.4	10.9	16.8	9.8
Grade 11-13 non graduate	4.8	6.0	6.8	4.9	6.1	5.8
Grade 11-13 graduate	17.7	17.9	21.3	24.3	19.7	23.0
Some postsecondary	6.1	7.4	9.5	7.7	7.8	10.6
Trades certificate or diploma	15.2	14.5	14.2	10.2	11.9	8.3
Community college	11.5	11.6	13.7	18.3	16.9	21.5
University certificate	2.9	2.8	2.4	2.6	2.9	3.1
Bachelor's degree	13.2	11.0	11.6	12.7	12.3	13.2
Graduate degree (Master's/Ph.D.)	12.7	6.4	6.2	8.3	5.4	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Customized tabulation from *Labour Force Survey*, 1996.

**Table 2****Men's and Women's Employment by Industry, Self-employed (Own Account and Employers) and Paid Workers (PW)**

Industry <sup>1</sup>	Men (percent)					Women (percent)				
	1977		1997			1977		1997		
	Emp	OA	Emp	OA	PW	Emp	OA	Emp	OA	PW
Primary	2.5	4.4	3.1	3.7	3.4	--	--	0.9	0.7	0.6
Manufacturing	8.6	3.1	8.4	4.0	24.7	3.4	1.0	5.8	2.8	10.8
Construction	20.8	25.3	15.4	20.1	6.9	--	--	6.6	1.6	1.0
Utilities	-- <sup>2</sup>	--	--	--	1.8	--	--	--	--	0.6
Transportation, storage and communication	4.6	10.6	4.9	10.3	9.3	--	--	3.2	1.4	4.1
Trade	30.2	28.7	26.1	17.9	17.4	50.2	20.0	30.8	13.7	16.8
FIRE <sup>3</sup>	4.4	4.7	4.4	7.4	3.8	--	1.0	3.4	5.9	8.3
Business services	9.0	4.8	14.3	18.3	5.7	6.7	3.8	9.4	17.6	5.9
Education Services	--	0.6	--	0.9	5.9	--	3.6	0.9	3.3	10.8
Health and social services	6.3	2.5	8.1	2.3	4.0	3.2	1.9	9.9	12.2	19.2
Accommodation/food services	6.3	2.6	7.8	1.3	5.2	21.4	4.6	13.2	2.1	9.1
Other services	7.3	12.8	7.5	13.9	4.5	15.1	64.1	15.9	38.7	6.3
Public administration	--	--	--	--	7.5	--	--	--	--	6.4
Total (percent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (number in 000s)	438.4	455.7	654.2	937.7	6,033.5	52.8	183.1	211.9	610.9	5,419.3

1 All industries, excluding agriculture.

2 Dashes indicate estimates of less than 1,500, which Statistics Canada does not publish.

3 Finance, Insurance and Real Estate.

Source: Statistics Canada (1997b), *Labour Force Historical Review CD-ROM* (calculated from Table 12).

employers are now located in a broader range of industries, and their concentration within the services has actually declined. Important inroads into manufacturing (5.8 percent) and construction (6.6 percent) are evident, so that over one in eight (13.3 percent) female employers are now located within the goods sector, compared to just 3.4 percent in 1977. Equally significant, the heavy concentration of female employers within trade has fallen, accounting for less than a third (30.8 percent) of women in 1997 (down from 50.2 percent in 1977). While trade, accommodation/food services, and other services continue to be critical sectors, accounting for well over half of all female employers, other

areas such as health and social services (9.9 percent), business service (9.4 percent), finance/insurance/real estate (FIRE) (3.4 percent) have also grown in importance. For men, many of the changes of the past 20 years have been in the opposite direction, leading to a slightly reduced presence in the goods sector (26.9 percent in 1997 compared to 31.9 percent in 1977). Within the service sector, trade remains an important industry, continuing to account for roughly one-quarter of all male employers. Important gains have also occurred in other areas – particularly, business services (14.3 percent) and, to a smaller extent, health and social services (8.1 percent) and accommodation/food services (7.8 percent).

With respect to *own account* workers, we again see some distinct gender differences, with the same kind of intense concentration of female workers in the mid-1970s. Over four-fifths of women worked in just two key sectors – 64.1 percent in other services and 20.0 percent within trade – and only 1.0 percent of women were employed in some type of goods sector. In contrast, Canadian men’s own account work was spread across a wider range of industries. Important areas included trade (28.7 percent) and construction (25.3 percent), and, to a far lesser degree, other services (12.8 percent) and transportation/storage/communication (10.6 percent).

Looking over the 20 year period, from 1977 to 1997, we again see a similar pattern of male own account work shifting towards the services, and female own account work becoming somewhat more diversified, with a slightly increasing share in the goods sector. For female own account workers, however, this shift into the goods sector was less significant than it was for female employers, with 5.1 percent of such workers located there in 1997, up from just 1.0 percent in 1977. Important shifts occurred among the various service sectors, with a decreasing proportion of women working in the traditional mainstays of female own account work – other services and trade (just over half in 1997, compared to 84.1 percent in 1977). By 1997, women’s share of own account work had risen significantly in several other service areas, most notably FIRE (1.0 in 1977 to 5.9 percent in 1997), business services (3.8 to 17.6 percent), and health and social services (1.9 to 12.2 percent). For men, there were slight increases or decreases in the share of male own account workers in several industries, but the greatest increases occurred in service areas, most notably business services (4.8 percent in 1977 versus 18.3 percent in 1997).

Overall, these trends confirm the ongoing importance of gender differences in industrial location, though this varies for *employers* and *own account* workers. Significantly, while the long-term trend for men has been in keeping with the broader movement towards a service economy, for women – especially female employers – the trend has been

towards the goods sector, as well as somewhat increased diversity within the services.

## **b) Occupation**

Like industry, occupation is another significant dimension of self-employment. As noted earlier, studies from other national contexts suggest that occupational sex segregation is often replicated within self-employment, thus raising questions about the current patterns that exist in Canada and the extent to which these have changed over time. Table 3 provides occupational information by gender and type of self-employment for two different points of time – 1984 and 1997.<sup>38</sup> As with industry, we can see important gender differences, as well as changes over time. Looking first at *employers*,<sup>39</sup> we can see that in the past female employers have been concentrated within sales (35.6 percent) and service (24.0 percent) occupations, much as we would expect given their industrial location. Yet, they have also had some presence within managerial (12.0 percent) and clerical (10.3 percent) jobs as well. In contrast, male employers have had somewhat greater occupational diversity. While sales occupations have been important, accounting for more than one in five male employers, so too have managerial (19.1 percent) and construction (13.0 percent) jobs. Service (9.2 percent), medicine/health (8.0 percent), and manufacturing (7.4 percent) occupations have also been significant. In terms of broad occupational groupings, there are clearly distinct gender patterns, with women clustered into the “pink collar” jobs within clerical, sales, and service, and men more likely to be spread across the occupational spectrum, within managerial and professional jobs, sales or manual areas (e.g., manufacturing, construction).

Between the mid-1980s and 1997, there has been both change and stability in these patterns. While female employers have remained heavily concentrated in sales, service, and clerical, the importance of sales occupations has fallen, so that they now account for only about one in five as opposed to over a third of female employers. Currently a much greater share of women are in managerial occupations

**Table 3****Men's and Women's Employment by Occupation, Self-employed (Own Account and Employers) and Paid Workers (PW)**

Occupation <sup>1</sup>	Men (percent)					Women (percent)				
	1984		1997			1984		1997		
	Emp	OA	Emp	OA	PW	Emp	OA	Emp	OA	PW
Managerial/ administrative	19.1	3.6	22.0	7.2	14.8	12.0	1.8	18.5	6.6	14.6
Natural sciences	2.6	4.2	3.7	8.2	6.8	--	--	1.0	2.6	2.1
Social sciences	4.0	1.2	3.6	1.6	1.3	2.0	0.9	2.9	2.8	3.3
Religion	-- <sup>2</sup>	--	--	--	0.5	--	--	--	--	0.2
Teaching	--	0.7	--	1.1	3.8	1.6	4.5	1.5	4.1	7.4
Medicine/health	8.0	1.9	8.3	1.9	1.5	5.4	1.7	7.2	4.1	10.3
Artistic/recreational	2.3	7.1	2.2	8.0	1.8	3.4	6.5	2.9	9.6	1.7
Clerical	0.7	0.9	1.0	0.9	6.5	10.3	4.0	12.3	5.6	26.9
Sales	23.5	24.8	19.4	20.9	8.0	35.6	21.1	23.7	19.0	9.3
Service	9.2	8.2	9.9	6.8	11.5	24.0	55.3	22.4	38.5	15.1
Primary <sup>3</sup>	5.4	7.4	5.5	5.2	9.7	1.6	--	--	0.6	1.7
Manufacturing <sup>4</sup>	7.4	9.1	7.3	7.8	13.5	2.6	3.8	4.0	3.8	3.9
Construction	13.0	18.9	12.3	18.8	7.8	--	--	2.6	1.1	0.2
Transportation	3.5	11.4	4.0	10.5	6.4	1.5	0.6	1.1	1.0	0.8
Materials handling/ other crafts	1.2	0.5	0.7	1.1	6.1	--	--	--	0.6	1.8
Total (percent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (number in 000s)	545.9	559.5	654.9	939.8	6,033.4	113.5	283.5	208.9	609.5	5,417.6

1 All industries excluding agriculture.

2 Dashes indicate estimates of less than 1,500, which Statistics Canada does not publish.

3 Includes fishing, hunting, trapping, forestry and logging, mining and quarrying.

4 Includes processing, machining, and fabricating.

Source: Customized tabulation from *Labour Force Survey*, 1984 and 1997.

(18.5 percent in 1997, up from 12.0 percent in 1984). Small, but important, inroads have also been made within areas such as construction (2.6 percent in 1997, up from 0.0 percent in 1984). In contrast, for male employers, there have only been small shifts in the occupational structure. Managerial jobs now employ a slightly greater share of male employers, whereas sales employ slightly less. Other areas have remained relatively stable. With respect to broader gender patterns there continue to be important differences – with clerical and service

being more important for women, and construction more important for men. But beyond this the occupational location of male and female employers has become more similar over time, largely as a result of women making inroads into previously male occupations.

With respect to *own account* workers, the historical patterns are familiar, with women being highly concentrated into a small range of areas. In 1984, over half of women in own account work had

service jobs, with another sizable group in sales (21.1 percent). Together these two groups accounted for over three-quarters of female own account workers, with the remainder grouped within smaller pockets in artistic/recreational (6.5 percent) and teaching (4.5 percent) jobs. It needs to be emphasized, however, that male own account workers have also been somewhat concentrated in their occupational location, though not to the same extent, nor in the same areas. In 1984, over half worked in three areas – sales (24.8 percent), construction (18.9 percent), and transportation (11.4 percent), with the remainder spread across a variety of occupations, such as manufacturing (9.1 percent), service (8.2 percent), primary (7.4 percent) and artistic/recreational (7.1 percent). For both women and men, there were very few own account workers who held managerial jobs.

Between 1984 and 1997, these patterns changed to some extent, though more so in some occupations than in others. Women continued to be highly

concentrated in sales and service jobs, with these still accounting for nearly 60 percent in 1997. Though service jobs have become less important for women, they still employed more than one-third of female own account workers. Small but significant increases occurred in managerial (6.6 percent), professions in the natural (2.6 percent) and social sciences (2.8 percent), medicine and health (4.1 percent), and artistic and recreational (9.6 percent) – with these occupations employing one quarter of female own account workers, up from only 10.9 percent in 1984. Very little change, however, occurred in any of the manual occupations, with women’s share of such jobs either remaining stable or increasing only very slightly. For male own account workers, there was relative stability in many occupations, with some significant changes occurring in managerial and various professional/technical areas. Whereas in 1984 only 9.0 percent of own account men worked within managerial jobs, or professions in natural or social sciences, by 1997 this was the case for 17.0 percent of such workers.

**Table 4**  
**Self-employment, Men and Women by Full-time and Part-time Status, 1977, 1987 and 1997**

	Men			Women		
	Percent full-time	Percent part-time	Average hours	Percent full-time	Percent part-time	Average hours
<b>1977</b>						
Self-employed – employers	97.3	2.7	51.3	81.0	19.0	43.2
Self-employed – own account	89.8	10.2	50.0	52.7	47.3	30.2
Paid employees	94.0	6.0	39.9	77.5	22.5	33.5
<b>1987</b>						
Self-employed – employers	96.1	3.9	51.7	80.1	19.9	42.7
Self-employed – own account	82.7	17.3	44.3	51.3	48.7	29.2
Paid employees	91.9	8.1	39.6	74.3	25.7	33.1
<b>1997</b>						
Self-employed – employers	96.1	3.9	51.9	80.8	19.2	42.0
Self-employed – own account	82.6	17.4	43.3	54.3	45.7	30.5
Paid employees	90.0	10.0	38.6	72.3	27.7	32.4

Source: Customized tabulation from *Labour Force Survey*, 1977, 1987 and 1997.

Overall, then, both female and male own account workers appear to have been affected by the move towards sub-contracting in managerial, administrative, and professional work that occurred in the 1990s, with increasing proportions engaged in these occupations. Yet, traditional mainstays also continued to be important both for men (e.g., construction and sales) and women (e.g., sales and service). Thus, while occupational patterns grew more alike in some areas, gender segregation also persisted.

### **c) Part-time and Full-time Status**

Beyond industrial and occupational location, a critical aspect of self-employment is the extent to which it is pursued on a full-time or part-time basis. As noted previously, many studies suggest that women pursue self-employment as a strategy to balance work and family responsibilities, and thus have a much greater propensity than men to work on a part-time basis. Table 4 explores this further, tracing the average weekly hours and the frequency of part-time and full-time work for women and men at three different points of time (1977, 1987, and 1997). With this information, we can compare trends for *employers* and *own account*, as well as for *paid employees* in the labour force overall, from the late 1970s onwards.

Table 4 reveals several significant differences among various types of self-employed workers. First, *employers* are more likely to work full-time than own account workers, as well as paid employees. Among employers, however, women have been far more likely to work part-time than have men, though the level of part-time among female employers is much lower than it is for women who are own account workers or paid employees. This is the case across the three time periods – in fact, one of the most striking trends is the stability of part-time/full-time status, and hours, for the self-employed across this 20-year period, with the exception of own account men. Across time, roughly 19 percent of female employers have worked part-time, compared to between 2.7 and 3.9 percent of male employers. Despite this gender gap, female employers were far more likely to work full-time than were

female paid employees, with 27.7 percent of the latter group working part-time in 1997, up from 22.5 percent in 1977.

For *own account* workers, the story is much different. For women, rates of part-time work are dramatically higher, both in comparison to male own account workers and to female paid employees overall. In 1977, nearly half (47.3 percent) of female own account workers were part-time, compared to 10.2 percent of own account men. By 1997, this gap had closed somewhat, though there were still significant gender differences, with 45.7 percent of female own account workers being part-time, compared to 17.4 percent of own account men. The high rates, and relative stability, of own account women's part-time work are of concern, given the disadvantages often associated with such work. The same can be said for own account men. At all three points in time, men in own account self-employment had higher rates of part-time than male employers and paid employees, with important rises occurring in the late 1980s and continuing on into the 1990s.

Overall, then, these trends appear to be consistent with other findings suggesting much higher rates of part-time work for self-employed women. It is critical to note, however, that this is only the case for female own account workers, and that female employers have much lower rates of part-time work in comparison to other self-employed women and female paid employees. Moreover, while there are still clear gender differences in the rates of part-time work across various groups of self-employed, the higher rate of part-time among own account males since the late 1980s is also a significant development – one that deserves ongoing monitoring and attention.

### **d) Earnings**

In assessing the economic consequences of self-employment for women and men, earnings are obviously a critical factor. While we do not have data on earnings trends over time, we can examine recent earnings patterns for the self-employed and

paid workers in the mid-1990s. It should be noted that debate exists over the reliability of earnings data for self-employed workers, with some researchers arguing that there is significant underreporting (e.g., due to cash payments or business deductions),<sup>40</sup> and others finding little discrepancy between actual and reported earnings. Given the lack of conclusive evidence, and the inability to make reliable adjustments, however, we rely on reported figures in the analysis that follows.

By way of background, it is important to note that the earnings of the self-employed are far more polarized than those of paid employees. According to Statistics Canada, for example, 25.5 percent of paid employees in 1995 made under \$20,000, and just 2.7 percent made over \$80,000. In contrast, self-employed workers were more likely to be concentrated at the high and low ends of the earnings distribution, with 45.1 percent making under \$20,000, and 6.4 percent earning over \$80,000. As we would

expect, *own account* self-employed are disproportionately concentrated at the low end of the earnings distribution, and *employers* at the high end. For example, in 1995, over half (55.7 percent) of own account workers made less than \$20,000 (compared to 31.4 percent of employers), whereas 8.6 percent of employers made over \$80,000 (compared to just 2.2 percent of own account self-employed).<sup>41</sup>

With respect to gendered patterns of earnings for the self-employed, Table 5 provides earnings information by gender and type of self-employment for 1996. As we can see, while there are important variations by gender, there are also key differences that hold regardless of gender. As we would expect, both male and female employers earned far more than own account workers in all cases. Employers also slightly out earned paid employees overall.

Given some of the differences in self-employed women and men's rates of full-time/part-time work,

**Table 5**  
**Average Earnings for Self-Employed Men and Women, 1996<sup>1</sup>**

	Total (\$)	Employees (\$)	Self-employed (\$)			Self-employed (percent of employees)		
			Total	OA	Emp	Total	OA	Emp
<b>All Workers</b>								
Men	39,274	40,740	29,816	25,346	43,891	73.1	62.2	107.7
Women	26,091	27,111	16,814	15,070	27,642	62.0	55.6	102.0
Women as percent of men	66.4	66.5	56.4	59.5	63.0			
<b>Full-time, full-year</b>								
Men	42,647	44,077	32,800	28,067	45,522	74.4	63.7	103.3
Women	31,297	32,109	21,415	18,893	31,488	66.7	58.8	98.1
Women as percent of men	73.4	72.8	65.3	67.3	69.2			
<b>Other</b>								
Men	17,661	17,929	16,452	15,414	25,209	91.8	86.0	140.6
Women	14,110	14,573	11,536	11,306	14,687	79.2	77.6	100.8
Women as percent of men	79.9	81.3	70.1	73.3	58.3			

<sup>1</sup> Earnings data are for those who were self-employed in their main job. Positive and negative earnings are included.  
Source: *Survey of Consumer Finances* (special tabulations).

it is important that we compare their earnings taking into account this work status. Looking first at full-time, full-year self-employed workers, we can see that male and female employers averaged \$45,522 and \$31,488, respectively, in 1996 or 103.3 and 98.1 percent of paid employees. In comparison, male and female own account workers made \$28,067 and \$18,893, respectively, or just 63.7 and 58.8 percent that of paid employees. For those self-employed outside of full-time, full-year work, we see that male and female employers averaged \$25,209 and \$14,687, respectively, in 1996 or 140.6 and 100.8 percent of paid employees. In comparison, male and female own account workers made \$15,414 and \$11,306, respectively, or just 86.0 and 77.6 percent that of paid employees.

While these patterns suggest that certain avenues of self-employment – namely, employer status – may enhance earning potential, it is also evident that self-employment does little to reduce gender-based earning disparities, even among employers. Comparing women and men who worked full-time, full-year, we can see that while the earnings gap for paid employees was 72.8 percent in 1996, it was greater within both types of self-employment. Female employers made 69.2 percent of their male peers’

earnings, whereas the earnings gap between male and female own account workers was 67.3 percent. Interestingly, among those not working full-year, full-time, the gender gap in earning was much narrower for paid employees (81.3 percent). Among the self-employed, female own-account workers made 73.3 percent of their male peers, while female employers made just 58.3 percent of male employers.

Overall, then, while earnings trends suggest the possibility of above average earnings in some types of self-employment – this is only the case for *employers*, and even here this does not include female employers who made 98.1 percent of their female peers in paid employment. Moreover, both male and female *own account* workers are clearly disadvantaged across the board, earning from a low of 58.8 percent to a high of 86.0 percent of those in paid employment. With respect to gender differences, the data suggest that the wage gap remains a significant problem, regardless of type of self-employment, though not always in the expected direction. Whereas we could reasonably expect the wage gap between women and men to be narrower for full-time, full-year self-employed, this is only the case for employers, whereas the reverse is true for own account workers.



## Summary and Policy Implications

In this final section, we turn from our detailed analysis in order to consider two final questions raised in our introduction. The first concerns the extent of gender segregation within self-employment, and the potential for such work to reduce economic disparities between women and men. The second concerns the policy implications arising from growing numbers of self-employed workers within the Canadian economy, in relation to issues of job quality and income, training and education, and equity.

### Self-employment and Gender Inequalities

In terms of the potential for self-employment to reduce economic inequalities between men and women, a number of points are clear. First, while women's gains within self-employment have not been as dramatic as is commonly assumed, significant changes have taken place. Currently a much larger share of self-employed women work as employers – an important shift given the relatively higher wages associated with this work. Yet, the vast majority of self-employed women – fully three-quarters – remain in own account work, where levels of pay and the quality of many jobs is generally much poorer. Significantly, the 1990s have also seen growing numbers of men join women in this area – with 59 percent of self-employed men located within such work.

Second, with respect to *employers*, it is clear that critical shifts have occurred in patterns of gender segregation. In the past 20 years, women have entered more diverse industries, such as goods and upper tier services, and have increased their presence as managers/administrators. More men now work in upper tier services as well, particularly in business services. Where there has been little change, however, is in the rate of part-time or full-time work for either male or female employers. Since the mid-1970s, female employers have been far more likely to work part-time than their male peers – though they remain far less likely to work part-time than women in own account work or paid employment. In terms of earnings, both male and female employers earn far better incomes than those in own account work; however, there is a significant wage gap between male and female employers. On average, full-time female employers made roughly 69 percent of their male peers in 1996 – a slightly wider gap than exists for paid employees (73 percent).<sup>42</sup>

Finally, within *own account* work, which employs the bulk of self-employed women and men, gender segregation has been, and continues to be, extensive. Historically, women have been clustered overwhelmingly into low paying sales and service jobs in trade and other services sectors. In contrast, men's work has been more diversified, although construction and sales have been important areas. Today, more women and men are in upper tier

services (e.g., business services, FIRE, health and social services), and in managerial and professional/technical jobs. This presumably reflects layoffs, early retirements, and increased subcontracting in both the public and private sectors in the 1990s.<sup>43</sup> Jobs at the lower end of the occupational structure remain important, however, particularly for women. Gender segregation is also striking with respect to full-time/part-time status. Nearly half of female own account workers are part-time, as has been the case since the mid-1970s. Significantly, part-time rates for men, though much lower, have risen throughout the 1980s and 1990s, so that 17 percent of own account men are now in part-time work. Gender inequalities are also evident in terms of earnings. However, it needs to be noted that own account work is poorly remunerated regardless of gender, with both women and men making far less than employers and those in regular paid work.

Given these trends, we should be careful about viewing self-employment as a purely “emancipatory route” through which women can achieve greater gender equity within the labour market. While it has certainly allowed some women to improve their economic situation, for many other women the opportunities it offers are quite limited. Despite some gains, there continue to be extensive segregation by industry, occupation, and part-time/full-time status, as well as a gender wage gap that is consistently greater than in paid work.

## Policy Implications

Concerning policy implications, it is clear that growing levels of self-employment raise many important issues for consideration. Here we briefly discuss three key areas of concern – job quality and income, training and education, and issues of equity.

### *i) Job Quality and Income*

Although self-employment clearly has the potential to create good job opportunities for many Canadians, a considerable portion of self-employment is located in the lower end of the labour market and offers

relatively poor wages and insecure work. For every success, then, there will also be those facing financial difficulty. Governments, in encouraging the growth of self-employment, need to be aware of the tendency towards polarization – particularly as the gulf between “good” and “bad” jobs appears to be more extreme in self-employment than for paid employees.

This is perhaps clearest in terms of earnings and income. Whereas 25 percent of paid workers in Canada earned less than \$20,000 a year in 1995, this was the case for over 45 percent of the self-employed. For own account self-employed the figure rises higher, to 55 percent. But even for employers there are roughly 30 percent who earn less than \$20,000 a year.<sup>44</sup> Significantly, these figures do not include “negative earnings” (e.g., earnings below \$0) – and thus likely overestimate average earnings levels. This latter point also highlights issues of risk and income insecurity within self-employment, given the potential to lose money, to face unpredictable and volatile earning flows, or to risk the loss of personal assets in the case of unincorporated business failure. Additional considerations also exist around long-term income security, given that many self-employed workers may lack a structured pension plan and/or be unable to make regular contributions to a self-managed RRSP.<sup>45</sup>

Beyond earnings and income are other important concerns, particularly in terms of the lack of benefits and protection available to self-employed workers. Given that the majority fall outside of the standard employment contract, most are ineligible for benefits received by paid employees through government or company sponsored programs. For example, most self-employed workers do not participate in government benefits programs such as Employment Insurance, disability coverage, and parental benefits/leave – though this may vary by jurisdiction.<sup>46</sup> This may not be a problem for self-employed workers at the high end of the labour market, or employers who have established their own benefits programs for their employees and themselves. But for those working independently in low paying or highly competitive sectors, it is a significant concern. It is

also of particular concern for independent contractors who may be only “nominally self-employed”<sup>47</sup> – that is, selling their services to a single buyer who has significant control over their work, much like an employer. In this case, they may remain significantly disadvantaged relative to paid employees who they work alongside. Finally, because there are special inclusions for some self-employed workers in various government programs – for example, barbers/hairdressers, taxi drivers, fishers, and some employment agency workers are eligible for Employment Insurance<sup>48</sup> – there is also unequal access to benefits among the self-employed.

### **ii) Training and Education**

Growing rates of self-employment also raise critical issues around training and education. As the Canadian economy continues to restructure, it is widely agreed that knowledge acquisition, skills development, and lifelong learning are becoming increasingly critical for those wishing to enter and remain within “good jobs.” Moreover, just as growing polarization within the labour market is affecting job quality and income, it is also creating growing inequalities in terms of access to necessary training and education. Given this, self-employed workers may face particular challenges in gaining the skills and training they require.

A recent CPRN report, *Training for the New Economy*, notes that self-employed workers face numerous barriers to training. Among these are: “limited access to financing, potentially serious opportunity costs (associated with training downtime), and financial uncertainty, which makes it difficult to estimate expected returns from investing in human capital.”<sup>49</sup> While poor access to training may be most problematic for own account workers, it is clear that employers within small firms face many barriers as well. Again, limited finances and downtime are significant issues, as is the inability to achieve economies of scale in training efforts. These barriers, while understandable, remain a significant problem, given that the inability to access necessary training has the potential to further entrench and intensify existing polarization within self-employment.

### **iii) Equity Initiatives**

Rising levels of self-employment also raise significant equity issues. In this respect, it is not simply a matter of the gender disparities that operate within self-employment, but also the broader implications of growing self-employment for various equity initiatives that have developed in the Canadian labour market in recent decades. Most prominent here would be legislation and policies concerning pay equity and employment equity, which seek to ameliorate existing gender disparities within earnings and occupations. While such initiatives affect the female labour force in Canada very unevenly, and have not always been realized as intended, they have nevertheless offered some assistance to women who come under their purview. Growing levels of self-employment and small business pose a significant challenge to these types of initiatives, as they place an increasing share of the labour force outside the scope of existing legislation.<sup>50</sup> In the context of rising self-employment, then, these types of equity initiatives may lose their relevance for increasing numbers of women.

Self-employment also raises a further equity issue – that concerning work-family balance. This issue is of great interest to Canadians, as a recent CPRN report on child care makes clear.<sup>51</sup> In Canada, women continue to assume the bulk of the responsibility for child care, despite change on the part of some men. Generally speaking, women spend more time on child care and household work than do men in similar family circumstances. Women with younger children are also far more likely to report feeling stressed and “time crunched.”<sup>52</sup> Existing evidence in Canada suggests that self-employment is being used by women as an employment strategy that allows them to cope with their paid and domestic work responsibilities. While this arrangement may work well for some women, for others it may simply be the best of a poor set of options – a choice made in an economic and social context that increasingly requires paid employment, but provides few alternatives in terms of flexible working arrangements or adequate provision to accessible, affordable daycare.<sup>53</sup> Given the

very low pay levels of many self-employed women working part-time, self-employment may be a less than optimal strategy for balancing work and family responsibilities. This issue is one that deserves attention as Canadian policy makers continue to grapple with child care and work-family issues.

## Concluding Comments

Rising levels of self-employment mark a significant change in the structure of the Canadian labour market and the employment relationships within it. As such, the policy issues this raises are wide-ranging and complex, and require careful thinking in terms of appropriate responses. To the extent that self-employment is part of a growing trend towards non-standard work (e.g., part-time, temporary work), and the polarization of good and bad jobs, some of the concerns identified here can be addressed through broad strategies aimed at this growing segment of the labour market. However, self-employment also entails unique considerations that require innovative thinking on the part of policy makers, governments, and workers themselves.

In particular, the diverse labour market situations among self-employed workers make uniform treatment difficult, thus necessitating a more flexible approach to policy making. For example, priorities for own account workers may include addressing benefits coverage in order to improve the security and long-term attractiveness of such work, and facilitate transitions between self-employment and paid work. Policies on training may also be important for moving own account workers into more lucrative sectors. In contrast, priorities for employers may focus less on issues of benefits and job quality and more on facilitating access to capital and training in order to encourage small firm expansion. In developing policies, it is critical to attend to gender issues as well. Self-employed women and men may benefit differently from policies, whether

on work-family balance, training or job quality. In this respect, the intersection of gender and self-employment status (*employer, own account*) creates a complex set of considerations, given persistent gender differences but also growing similarities between some male and female workers, as they come to be concentrated at the “high” and “low” ends of the labour market.

Further research on several key issues can also aid the development of effective policy. Currently we need a much better understanding of the legal status of self-employed workers and their relationship to existing government programs and employment legislation. This is especially the case for own account workers who are “nominally” self-employed (i.e., selling their services to a single buyer who has significant control over their work, much like an employer). In addition, we need a much deeper understanding of how, and why, people enter and exit self-employment. Given the significant turnover within this sector, a dynamic view is critical for understanding the viability of different paths into self-employment (e.g., push, pull) and the types of policy initiatives that may aid success (e.g., training, education, capital, contacts, support). Finally, we would greatly benefit from knowing more about the daily working conditions and experiences of self-employed workers, and the long-term implications of growing numbers of self-employed. How do those in marginal areas cope with insecure or low income? How do they deal with retirement planning, illness or disability? How do self-employed workers acquire the skills and contacts needed for success? How important is the support they receive from family, self-employment organizations, and government sponsored programs? Examining these questions along the lines of age, education, as well as gender, is important, given the demographic profile of the self-employed. Research on these issues will be valuable in developing effective policy options as more Canadians enter into “the enterprise culture.”

# Notes

- 1 The term “self-employment” is used here to refer both to self-employed workers who work alone (*own account workers*) and those who employ others (*employers*). See Section 3 for a fuller discussion of definitions.
- 2 See Cohen (1996) and Statistics Canada (1997*a*) for statistical trends.
- 3 For some examples of these differing views, see Burrows (1991), MacDonald, (1996), Allen and Truman (1993*a*), Du Gay and Salaman (1992: 627-631).
- 4 In Canada, see Cohen (1996) and Industry Canada (1998). In the United States, see Carr (1996), Clark and James (1992), Loscocco and Robinson (1991). In Britain, see Carter and Cannon (1992) and Green and Cohen (1995).
- 5 In Canada, see Statistics Canada (1997*a*), Gauthier and Roy (1997), Lin et al. (1999*a*; 1999*b*); in the United States, see Dennis (1996); in Britain, see Burrows (1991).
- 6 Carr (1996); Moore and Buttner (1997).
- 7 Devine (1994).
- 8 Clark and James (1992).
- 9 Burrows (1991); Green and Cohen (1995).
- 10 Green and Cohen (1995: 297).
- 11 Carter and Cannon (1992: 2).
- 12 These countries are identified in Table 4.5 (OECD, 1994: 126). While the data provide a general indication of change, they should be read cautiously. Allen and Truman (1993*a*) note problems with drawing comparisons across countries given the definitional problems surrounding self-employment (2-3).
- 13 Clark and James (1992) is one of the few studies to address this. Their analysis of women-owned businesses, in the U.S. context, suggests that increases in women’s business ownership “is largely a correlate of rising labor force participation by women...[and]... not the result of increasing rates of self-employment among women” (30).
- 14 Economic Council of Canada (1991: 82-83); Krahn (1991: 35); Statistics Canada (1997*a*: 35-36); Lin et al. (1999*b*).
- 15 Dennis (1996) cites: (i) a survey of 3,000 small business owners in the mid to late 1980s that found just 8 percent were self-employed due to a lack of alternatives; (ii) a 1995 survey of independent contractors by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), which found that 82.5 percent preferred their existing work arrangements, and only 9.8 percent preferred a more traditional one (648-649; 654-55).
- 16 Statistics Canada (1997*a*: 35).
- 17 See McManus (1994); Green and Cohen (1995); Jurik (1998); Carr (1996); Clark and James (1992).
- 18 Statistics Canada, (1997*a*: 35).
- 19 Statistics Canada (1998*b*: 108-109).
- 20 Clark and James (1992); Loscocco and Robinson (1991); Carr (1996).

- 21 See Loscocco and Robinson (1991); Boyd-Davis (1996); Clark and James (1992).
- 22 Marlow and Strange (1996: 181); Johnson and Storey (1993: 72).
- 23 Green and Cohen (1995); Marlow and Strange (1996).
- 24 Marlow and Strange (1996: 181); Green and Cohen (1995).
- 25 Statistics Canada (1997a); Cohen (1996).
- 26 In 1995, full-time, full-year self-employed women earned 64 percent of their male peers, compared to 73 percent for paid employees (Statistics Canada, 1997a: 26). Underlying lower earnings are a variety of factors – the tendency for more self-employed women to work part-time, to be concentrated in “low return” industries, and to be own account workers rather than employers (Cohen, 1996: 26-27).
- 27 Arai (1997: 367); Fudge (1996: 59).
- 28 This program was established in 1987. For details, see Industry Canada (1994a; 1997). For an overview, see Wong et al. (1998).
- 29 Clark and James (1992); Ehlers and Main (1998). For an alternative view in the U.S. context, see Raheim and Bolden (1995).
- 30 See Haynes (1998); McGilly (1998); Osberg et al. (1995). Fishers are the one group of self-employed covered by Employment Insurance (McGilly, 1998: 57).
- 31 This database provides access to current and historical time series data collected on a wide variety of subjects by Statistics Canada as well as other government agencies, such as the Bank of Canada. The database consists of approximately 550,000 series, many containing more detail than is published in print form.
- 32 Statistics Canada (1997b).
- 33 See Dale (1991); Cohen (1996: Note 2); and Haynes (1998: 1-19) for discussions on definitional issues.
- 34 For valuable overviews, see Armstrong (1996; 1997); Betcherman and Lowe (1997); Fudge (1996); and Luxton and Reiter (1997).
- 35 Statistics Canada, CANSIM Matrix 3472.
- 36 Stout (1992); Bellamy and Guppy (1991); Statistics Canada (1998a: 138-141).
- 37 Statistics Canada (1997a: 31).
- 38 Historical data on occupation do not extend as far back as data for industry (1977), with 1984 being the earliest date available.
- 39 While we might expect the bulk of *employers* to hold managerial/administrative jobs, given that they employ others, they are classified as such *only* if they spend the bulk of their time managing others. Otherwise, their occupation reflects the primary activities in which they are engaged. For example, they may work as a bookkeeper or electrician employing others, but also spending the bulk of their time carrying out similar work.
- 40 Aronson (1991: 141-142).
- 41 Statistics Canada (1997a: 28).
- 42 Many factors may explain this gap – e.g., industrial and occupational location, hours of work, and differing age and education profiles for self-employed women and men.
- 43 See Peters (1999) on changes within the public sector.
- 44 Statistics Canada (1997a: 28).
- 45 Gardner (1995: 27).
- 46 Haynes (1998); McGilly (1998); Osberg et al. (1995).
- 47 Osberg et al. (1995: 7).
- 48 Revenue Canada (1998a; 1998b).
- 49 Betcherman et al. (1998).
- 50 Fudge (1996).
- 51 Michalski (1999).
- 52 Krahn and Lowe (1998: 159-165).
- 53 Beach et al. (1998).

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