

WORKING PAPER 1: HOW TO BEGIN SHIFTING ATTENTION TO EMPLOYMENT SECURITY*†

1. Key challenge & overview

People in precarious employment have less employment security.

Public discourse on employment often focuses on individuals' abilities to access jobs. At times, this discourse will include general references to job quality. However, one component of job quality – employment security – is infrequently discussed. Jobs with employment security are jobs with adequate and consistent income, access to benefits to supplement this income, and predictable hours, among other features. The lack of concern for employment security is problematic because job insecurity is growing in prevalence in the Canadian labour market and it is impacting people's wellbeing both inside and outside of work. **This paper considers different policy options that can begin shifting attention to employment security.** One area highlights actions that municipalities in Canada are taking through Community Benefit Agreements, which go beyond access to jobs and job quality to also encompass some areas of security outside of work. Another area highlights how other jurisdictions have addressed the issue of employment security. This area focuses on flexicurity policies, which are national policies used in parts of the European Union to address access to jobs, job quality, and employment security all together.

2. Evidence from PEPSO

PEPSO's *It's More than Poverty* report‡ found that secure employment opportunities have been declining in our labour market, while precarious employment has been rising. Precarious employment has increased by almost 50% in the last 20 years. In the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area (GTHA), almost 20% of workers, aged 25 to 64, were precariously employed in 2011. An additional 20% reported some degree of precarity in their job, such as uncertainty regarding future employment opportunities, an irregular schedule, or a lack of workplace benefits.¹

Job insecurity is also eroding security in other areas of people's work and home lives. For example, those in precarious employment are:

- **Less likely to be able to access government transfers:** those in precarious employment are often ineligible for government transfers such as Employment Insurance (EI) and the Canada Pension Plan (CPP), which help prevent people from falling through the cracks. These programs were designed to provide a base of retirement security for Canadians (CPP) and income support and training for workers when they change jobs (EI).

* Authors: Jasmin Kay, Charlene Cook, and Stephanie Procyk

† This Policy Options Working Paper is one in a series of 16 working papers that explore the range of policy options that have been proposed to reduce or mitigate the impacts of precarious employment. Each of these papers must be read in tandem with the paper titled "PEPSO Policy Options Working Papers: Introduction". The full reference list is contained in a separate bibliography document.

‡ PEPSO's *It's More than Poverty* report refers to the report that was published in February 2013 that was based on the main survey conducted by PEPSO. In these working papers this report will be called the PEPSO report or the PEPSO survey. This is only appropriate for these working papers as there are other PEPSO reports that will be published by the six case studies.

- More likely to report that **anxiety about their employment situation interferes** with their personal and home life.

Thus, the issue of employment security impacts not only employment, but wellbeing outside of employment as well.

3. Context/current situation

3.1 Employment security

The term ‘**employment security**’ is used to refer to a group of characteristics that are found in standard employment relationships (SER). These features typically include a permanent position, full-time hours, and benefits. After World War II, sectors of the labour market that were male-dominated offered this job security in the form of full-time, full-year jobs paying a wage and benefits that could support a family. Women and racialized workers, however, did not benefit from the SER to the same extent as men.²

3.2 Role of the employer

Employment security during this time was enabled by employers. Companies were highly integrated, performing a range of functions to complement their core operations. This organizational structure offered multiple entry points for workers, and opportunities to advance, or move laterally, within the same firm.³ This long-term employment relationship social contract offered both job security and skills development to workers and a loyal, willing workforce to employers.

Employment insecurity has grown for all groups. However, the employment insecurity that has long characterized employment for women and racialized workers is now increasingly characterizing sectors of the labour market dominated by men.⁴ New jobs for both men and women are increasingly likely to be temporary and to pay less than in the 1980s.⁵ In the face of heightened competition, slow economic growth, changes in business culture and technological change, employers have offered fewer “good jobs” with security comparable to the SER.⁵ Opportunities for companies to outsource and offshore have contributed to fewer entry level positions.⁶ At the same time, fewer mid-level jobs has also meant fewer opportunities for workers to advance in their careers.

Private sector actors have the biggest impact on economic growth and job creation.⁷ However, a range of stakeholders influence the number and quality of jobs in a given labour market. For example, collective agreements between labour unions and employers can have a regulating function in labour markets, particularly when they have sector-wide impact on employment conditions.⁸ Workers can also use other forms of collective representation and organization, such as action centres, workers’ associations, or community-based organizations, to push for improvements in job quality.

3.3 Role of the federal & provincial government

Government policies also play a role in job security. There are concerns that programs and policies developed in the context of the SER model are increasingly unable to meet the challenges posed by changing labour markets and are failing to meet the needs of those who are precariously employed.⁹ Federal and provincial governments have taken some steps to mitigate job insecurity. For example, the federal government extended EI Special Benefits to the self-employed and the provincial government extended more protections for temporary agency workers (“temp workers”)

⁵ A higher proportion of new hires were temporarily employed in 2004 than in 1989. (23% vs. 11% for women; 20% vs. 12% for men.) Median wages for most newly employed women (except those between 25 and 34) and all men decreased from 1981 to 2004. (Statistics Canada, 2005)

under the *Ontario Employment Standards Act*. However, the pace of these changes has been too slow to keep up with the changes in the labour market.

Both the federal government and Ontario government have placed job creation at the centre of their economic development plans, though employment security for individuals has not been emphasized.

- The **Government of Canada's 2013 throne speech** describe job creation and economic growth as the federal government's top priority. In 2013, the throne speech indicated the federal government would "continue to create the conditions for new and better jobs for Canadians across all sectors of the economy."¹⁰ It also announced plans for more de-regulation and tax relief for businesses, as well as a one-year extension of the Temporary Hiring Credit for Small Businesses to support job creation in small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).¹¹ Plans to stimulate job creation also included increasing access to international markets,^{**} reducing barriers to interprovincial trade, and investing \$70 billion over 10 years in infrastructure projects across the country.¹² The Economic Action Plan of 2014 emphasized training, matching workers with jobs, and supporting entrepreneurs through intensive mentoring.¹³
- The **Government of Ontario's 2013 speech from the throne** made a priority of responsible governance, the economy and employment. It aimed for an economy that "enables everyone to have a good job and a secure pay cheque,"¹⁴ but ideas that contribute specifically towards a "good jobs" agenda were not articulated. Proposed job creation measures included increasing the capacity of SMEs through venture capital investments¹⁵ and the removal of more than 80,000 regulatory requirements for business and other stakeholders through its Open for Business program.¹⁶ In 2013, the provincial government announced plans to enhance international trade and launched its Youth Jobs Strategy to help create work placements and internship for youth, aged 15 to 29.¹⁷

3.4 Role of the municipal government

At the municipal level, the cities of Toronto and Hamilton have economic development plans that focus on local level job creation initiatives.^{††} These local level initiatives have included attention to some elements of job quality:

- In 2013, the **City of Toronto** released a strategic plan to enhance job creation and economic growth. Some of the objectives included increasing employment and improving job quality. Improving job quality would entail a rise in positions offering an annual increase in the median wage, together with a higher ratio of jobs in high-value, export sectors, which are more likely to stimulate demand for goods or services in other sectors, thus creating more jobs.¹⁸ To achieve its objectives, the report suggests implementing regulatory and tax incentives to increase industrial/ commercial development, ensuring sufficient land and infrastructure to sustain employment growth, encouraging entrepreneurialism and development in SMEs, and increasing business in high-value sectors, such as manufacturing.
- The **City of Hamilton's** most recent economic development plan was released in 2010 and sets the direction until 2015. The City's economic and community development strategies include creating and retaining well-paying, high-quality jobs. The report identifies diversifying its economy, ensuring the availability of "employment-ready" land and improving and promoting the city's quality of life as elements of its job creation strategy.¹⁹

^{**} The federal government estimates that the agreement with the European Union may create 80,000 new jobs in Canada. (Governor General of Canada, 2013)

^{††} We recognize that other regional municipal governments are also undertaking work in this area. In the interests of space, we focused on examples from the cities of Toronto and Hamilton.

3.4.1 Community Benefit Agreements

Municipalities in Canada and outside of Canada have also addressed access to jobs, job quality, and some degree of security outside of work through **Community Benefit Agreements (CBAs)**. CBAs are legal agreements related to particular infrastructure projects. The agreements are intended to support social, environmental and economic development goals within the community affected by the project²⁰ and entail substantial community involvement at all stages. CBAs often focus on jobs and training and therefore have the potential to change labour market outcomes in local communities. With a focus on training for quality jobs and local job creation, CBAs may contribute to employment access and security and well-being outside of the workplace.

Notable CBAs in Canada include the Olympic Village in Vancouver and the Eglinton Crosstown Project in Toronto. An evaluation suggested the Olympic Village CBA was successful in exceeding targets for construction job placements for inner-city residents and investment in goods, services and equipment from inner-city businesses.²¹ The CBA for the Eglinton Crosstown Project is currently in development with Metrolinx, in collaboration with the Toronto Community Benefits Network. This agreement is likely to include:²²

- **Pre-apprentice and apprenticeship** programs.
- Enhancing **job awareness** for local residents.
- A focus on **workforce development** plans in collaboration with workforce agencies.
- Requiring contractors to use **qualified local resources** for products and services.
- **Measures** to track performance, enforce requirements, and measure the effectiveness of the program.

3.5 Flexicurity

National governments in other countries have taken steps to not only focus on access to employment and job quality, but to also focus on employment security and the wellbeing and security of workers in their lives outside of employment. Flexicurity policies are an example of how national governments can integrate the lens of employment security into their work.

Since 2006, the **European Commission** has actively promoted “flexicurity” to its member states as the preferred strategy to modernize labour market regulations. Flexicurity involves systems-level change with implications for government, employers and workers, as well as social services, education and training institutions. It seeks to make a standard employment relationship more flexible (without decreasing security) and a precarious relationship more secure (without decreasing flexibility). It seeks to create a win-win situation for employers and workers alike^{††} by enhancing employment security, offering smooth transitions between jobs and reducing labour market segmentation.²³ The European Commission²⁴ has identified four components to flexicurity systems:

- **Flexible contract and job arrangements** that allow employers to adjust their workforce to meet demand.
- **Lifelong learning opportunities** to ensure that workers have relevant skills and knowledge.
- **Active labour market policies** that help unemployed workers transition to a new job.
- **Income security measures** that provide adequate support to workers while unemployed.

Flexicurity was first developed in the Netherlands and Denmark, where there is a tradition of social dialogue^{§§} and a strong role for social partners^{***} in policymaking. In the EU, social partners are responsible for collaborating on

^{††} The European Expert Group on Flexicurity argues that workers need flexibility for work-life balance and employers need security in order to improve their productivity, market position, and ensure loyalty of their workforce. In this way, flexicurity is not simply a trade-off between flexibility and security but an integrated system where one is a precondition of the other. (EEGF, 2007)

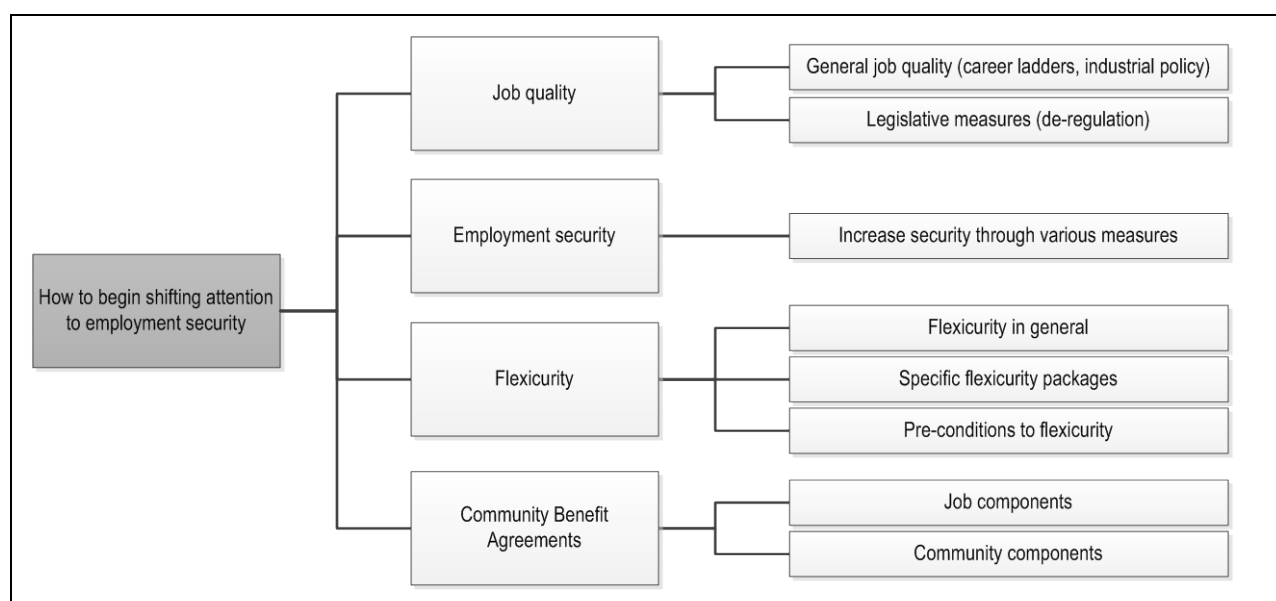
^{§§} Social dialogue is described as negotiations, consultations or actions that involve representatives from both sides of the labour market (employers and workers). It can be tri-partite, thereby also involving government. (Europa, 2014; International Labour Organization, 2014).

^{***} Social partners are representatives of management (employers' associations) and labour (unions). (Eurofound, 2014)

guidelines, recommendations, and opinions,²⁵ which means that compromise between actors is key. These pre-conditions make it challenging to implement in countries where trust, and/ or processes of active negotiation between labour, the private and public sectors are not well established.^{†††} In addition, these negotiations would require a commitment to widespread social system change and restructuring.

4. Policy options

The challenge of employment insecurity is a fairly broad challenge. Elements of this issue are taken up in other policy option papers, such as improving employment standards enforcement, and improving access to retirement benefits. However, the high level lens of viewing job creation and access to employment through the lens of employment security has been infrequently addressed in the policy options. Thus, **policy options focus on improving employment security by improving the quality of jobs, as well as exploring flexicurity and community benefits agreements.**



4.1 Job quality

Several proposals generally focus on **creating good jobs**.²⁶ Good jobs are variously framed as those that pay decent wages, offer security and opportunities for advancement, or integrate multi-barriered workers into the labour market. Proposals to **enhance job quality** include:

- Identifying **specific mechanisms** to help **employers** create good jobs, which could include: developing career ladders that facilitate career advancement,²⁷ collaboration between all levels of government, social partners and employers,²⁸ establishing business leadership forums to address labour market challenges,²⁹ providing tax credits or other incentives to reward employers,³⁰ or creating a job quality assessment tool.³¹
- **Targeting efforts to create good jobs** to segments of the population that are particularly affected by precarious employment: youth,³² immigrants,³³ persons with disabilities,³⁴ racialized persons,³⁵ and older workers,³⁶ or in economically depressed neighbourhoods, as is done in the U.S. and the U.K.³⁷ Expanding social enterprise entrepreneurialism is another option.³⁸

^{†††} The EEGF does note, however, that countries with weaker traditions of social dialogue, like Italy and Spain, have found ways to advance “win-win” policy solutions that include the perspectives of all sides. (European Expert Group on Flexicurity, 2007)

- Establishing a **long-term industrial** policy that targets **sectors of the economy**: the “green” economy,³⁹ small and medium-sized enterprises,⁴⁰ the manufacturing sector,⁴¹ the natural-resources sector,⁴² the knowledge sector,⁴³ and low-wage sectors.⁴⁴
- **Ensuring that unions, community organizations and social movements play a role in creating good jobs.**⁴⁵

A few policy options look at **legislative measures** to enhance job quality. These include:

- Ensuring that **foreign investment** leads to the creation of good jobs by strengthening the Investment Canada Act.⁴⁶
- **Reversing policies** that have contributed to the **de-regulation** of labour markets.⁴⁷

One proposal specifically addresses the **job quality needs of those in precarious employment**:

- Introducing measures to **discourage the overuse of temp workers.**⁴⁸

4.2 Employment security

Some proposals focus specifically on improving job quality and employment security for those in **precarious employment**. They include:

- Developing **public procurement** policies that ensure contractors offer a Living Wage and good jobs to workers on government contracts.⁴⁹ They also suggest using public procurement policies to ensure private sector employers comply with employment standards on public works projects,⁵⁰ as is done in municipalities like Toronto through the Fair Wage policy, and in Ireland and the U.S.⁵¹
- **Protecting workers throughout the supply chain** by assigning responsibility for procurement to senior staff, increasing transparency of contracting and procurement policies, developing monitoring and enforcement mechanisms, establishing grievance procedures for workers, aiming for a higher standard than the mandated minimum for working conditions and terms.^{+++ 52}
- **Limiting** the use of **temporary employment contracts** to exceptional circumstances.⁵³
- **Prohibiting** some forms of precarious work.⁵⁴
- Regulating **temp agencies** by ensuring they are only used for short-term, unanticipated work,⁵⁵ and intervening directly in wages and working conditions for these workers, (which is the case in Portugal).⁵⁶
- Providing workers with job security by addressing issues around **wrongful termination**, as some U.S. states have done,⁵⁷ or creating an agency that addresses job protection issues.⁵⁸
- **Regulating temp agencies**,⁵⁹ which could include governing the nature and duration of temp work, as is the case in Germany and France,⁶⁰ licensing temp work, as is the case in Ireland and the U.K.,⁶¹ or prohibiting employers from sourcing more than 25% of their workforce from temp agencies, as is the case in Slovenia.⁶²

4.2.1 Research & data

Other policy options suggest that **better information is required** to facilitate stakeholder engagement with labour market issues,⁶³ to help post secondary students choose their field of study, or unemployed people with their job search.⁶⁴ Another set of proposals suggests the need for **research on emerging issues**, such as the role of volunteerism in securing employment for immigrants.⁶⁵

+++ The commercial real estate and property-services industry has been incorporating labour considerations into their contracting and procurement, particularly as it relates to janitorial, maintenance and security services. (SHARE, 2012)

4.3 Flexicurity

4.3.1 General options

Increasing employment security can also occur on a large-scale level. Flexicurity is a key example of a set of policies that have effectively been applied to enhance employment security in several European countries. Instituting flexicurity in Canada would entail major policy shifts. However, there have still been calls to explore flexicurity in Canada.⁶⁶ General options for **beginning to explore flexicurity** include:

- **Loosening employment protection laws**, while simultaneously **increasing social supports**, such as daycare or paid leave for training/ education,⁶⁷ as well as increasing spending on income-security measures such as Employment Insurance, social assistance and the Working Income Tax Benefit.⁶⁸
- Expanding the **role of unions** in policy development,⁶⁹ or in delivering employer sponsored training.⁷⁰ Adding access to training to bargaining demands.⁷¹
- Developing a **comprehensive system of active labour market policies** that encompasses training, job creation and labour mobility components,⁷² and mandating participation in active labour market programming for EI recipients if an independent job search is unsuccessful.⁷³

4.3.2 Specific flexicurity packages

Different labour market challenges require different policy solutions, thus there are numerous pathways to flexicurity. The following all come from the European Expert Group on Flexicurity's (EEGF) 2007 report *Flexicurity Pathways: Turning Hurdles into Stepping Stones*.^{§§§} For the four bulleted options below to be a flexicurity package, one feature would have to be in place from each set of options. In addition, each policy option may be useful for enhancing employment security in Canada, though instituting one option at a time would not qualify as flexicurity.

Some policy options aim to **ensure flexible contract and job arrangements** and include:

- **Improving support for women** to ensure that they can meet the demands of work and family.
- Ensuring employment protection legislation offers employers the **option of dismissal for economic reasons**.
- **Integrating precarious employment relationships** into labour law or collective agreements.
- **Limiting the use of consecutive contracts**, or temporary workers.

A few policy solutions that **facilitate lifelong learning** include:

- **Encouraging employers to invest** in workforce training through tax measures, or through sector-wide funding.
- **Encouraging workers to invest** in training by creating links to employment contracts or bonuses, or allowing workers to accumulate training time in individual accounts. Employer and worker incentives should be introduced simultaneously.
- **Integrating business training** (entrepreneurial) in the education system, ensuring it is available to people of all ages.

§§§ This group of European academics was convened by the EU's Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities and the purpose of their report was to inform and guide the European Commission on the pre-conditions, starting points and potential pathways to flexicurity for member states. The report described four different policy combinations that countries could follow on their path to flexicurity. Each pathway described a prototypical labour market, and suggested policy options that could facilitate a transition to flexicurity. Member states were encouraged to draw from these pathways to develop an implementation strategy that would suit their particular labour markets. The options presented in this chapter are a mix drawn from the four pathways.

- **Targeting training initiatives** to older workers to allow them to remain in the workforce, or to lower-skilled workers to help them advance.
- **Formalizing skills recognition** to encourage participation in training programs.

Active labour market policies that help unemployed workers transition to a new job might include:

- Coordinating and integrating **active labour market programs** with workplace benefit entitlements.
- Offering transition income **to workers funded by employers, social partners and government.**
- **Focusing public employment services on** supporting job transitions or progressions.
- Targeting active labour market policies to segments of the population **that experience low labour-market attachment**, such as the long-term unemployed and the disabled.

Some of the policy options to ensure **income security measures** provide adequate support to workers while unemployed include:

- **Extending benefits** to workers in precarious jobs and possibly the self-employed.
- **Establishing portable** social security benefits.
- **Introducing “experience rating”** of employers’ EI contributions so they reflect the proportion of workers they send to EI.
- **Prohibiting pro-rating of pensions** because this disadvantages part-time workers.

4.3.3 Preconditions for flexicurity

The EEGF suggested a four-stage process to help EU members move towards implementing flexicurity. This could be used as a platform for exploring flexicurity in Canada. These options include:

- **Building the case** for flexicurity. Government should develop public awareness of the need for flexicurity and seek commitments from other stakeholders to move towards it.
- **Developing a national agenda** for change. This should be accomplished through a process of tri-partite social dialogue. Stakeholders should commit to champion this process within their own sectors.
- **Focusing the discussion** to analyse the challenges and opportunities. This stage should involve government, employers, workers and other engaged stakeholders. It should result in recommendations, or advice, to guide policy development.
- **Choosing the policy response** and developing a staged, multi-year workplan. This should be clearly communicated to all stakeholders.

4.4 Community Benefit Agreements

There are also a number of recommendations that could enhance employment access, quality, and security through the use of CBAs. These proposals relate to jobs, community services, housing, and other neighbourhood conditions and services. It is important to note that Community Benefit Agreements are packages that include jobs and other social measures such as housing and community services. Thus, the options below are taken from a variety of community benefit agreements already in place, but should be thought of as packages, and not stand-alone solutions. They are all options for components of CBAs.

4.4.1 Job components

The most frequent recommendations relate to the element of **improving jobs**, including:

- Sponsoring apprentice and pre-apprentice programs.⁷⁴

- Requiring that contractors use qualified local resources for products and services.⁷⁵
- Requiring job-awareness initiatives for local residents.⁷⁶
- Ensuring that local residents, and/ or residents of adjacent low-income neighbourhoods,⁷⁷ have access to recruitment, training and employment opportunities, including advance work and ancillary work.⁷⁸
- Ensuring that social procurement policies support social enterprises and smaller businesses.⁷⁹
- Implementing an inclusive training strategy within workplaces.⁸⁰
- Requiring workforce development plans in conjunction with other workforce agencies.⁸¹

4.4.2 Community components

4.4.2.1 Housing

There are a number of recommendations that aim to increase access to **affordable housing** through requirements on housing development for CBAs. Recommendations include:

- Requiring a proportion of housing for low-income residents (proportions recommended included 5%, 10%, 20%, and 32%).⁸²
- Exploring opportunities to build affordable housing.⁸³
- Providing housing-assistance funds targeted at local residents, including down-payment assistance.⁸⁴

4.4.2.2 Community services

Several recommendations focus on **space and resources for community services**. These include:

- Ensuring financial resources, including an initial contribution and/ or ongoing contributions, for a community needs fund or a neighbourhood improvement fund.⁸⁵
- Ensuring financial resources for community services, such as arts, youth and culture services,⁸⁶ a multi-purpose center for youth, families and seniors,⁸⁷ or dedicated space for a youth centre.⁸⁸
- Providing dedicated space for community-based health-care services (and funding for services).⁸⁹
- Providing dedicated space for a child-care centre with reserved spaces for low-income families.⁹⁰
- Ensuring developer and city resources for a local full-service grocery store.⁹¹

4.4.2.3 Community conditions

A few recommendations deal with **broader community conditions**. These include:

- Researching the impact of development on gentrification,⁹² or working with government to mitigate gentrification.⁹³
- Ensuring environmentally friendly design and building practices.⁹⁴

4.4.2.4 Accountability

Other policy options aim to include **compliance, accountability, monitoring and evaluation** in the CBA. They include:

- Financial penalties for non-compliance.⁹⁵
- Measures to track contractor performance, enforce requirements, and evaluate effectiveness.⁹⁶
- Monitoring the process.⁹⁷
- Targets and timetables for key aspects of the community benefits agreement.⁹⁸

5. Questions for discussion

1. Which policy options in this paper could have the most impact on the lives of those in precarious employment?
2. Which policy options in this paper can we realistically move forward on, given the current political, economic, and social climates?
3. Which policy options are missing from this paper, but require attention?

6. Endnotes

¹ PEPSO, 2013

² Lewchuk, Clarke, & De Wolff, 2011

³ Metcalf, 2011

⁴ PEPSO, 2013

⁵ Metcalf, 2011

⁶ Metcalf, 2011

⁷ Stanford, 2008; City of Toronto, 2013a; Governor General of Canada, 2013; Governor General of Ontario, 2013

⁸ Acemoglu, Aghion, & Violante, 2001 quoting Reynolds, 1967; DiNardo, Fortin, & Lemieux, 1996; Card, 1996; Fortin & Lemieux, 1997

⁹ PEPSO, 2013

¹⁰ Governor General of Canada, 2013, p.6

¹¹ Governor General of Canada, 2013

¹² Governor General of Canada, 2013

¹³ Governor General of Canada, 2014

¹⁴ Governor General of Ontario, 2013, p. 4

¹⁵ Governor General of Ontario, 2013

¹⁶ Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2013

¹⁷ Governor General of Ontario, 2013

¹⁸ City of Toronto, 2013a

¹⁹ City of Hamilton, 2010

²⁰ CommunityBenefits.ca, 2013

²¹ Peachy, 2009

²² Metrolinx, 2013

²³ ICF GHK, 2012

²⁴ European Expert Group on Flexicurity, 2007

²⁵ European Expert Group on Flexicurity, 2007

²⁶ Colour of Poverty, 2013; NDP 2013; Access Alliance, 2011, 2013; Ng et al, 2013; CCPA, 2013; Institute for Competitiveness and Prosperity & Martin Prosperity Institute, 2013; ILO, 2009; Association of Early Childhood Educators Ontario, 2013a

²⁷ Metcalf, 2011; Institute for Competitiveness and Prosperity & Martin Prosperity Institute, 2013

²⁸ Access Alliance, 2011

²⁹ CivicAction, 2011c

³⁰ PEPSO, 2013, NDP, 2013; National Poverty Center, 2012; Access Alliance, 2011

³¹ Wellesley Institute, 2013a

³² Access Alliance, 2011 endorsed by Jane and Finch Action Against Poverty, Black Creek West Community Capacity Building Initiative; Food Banks Canada, 2011; Institute for Competitiveness and Prosperity & Martin Prosperity Institute, 2013; Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2013

³³ Council of Agencies Serving South Asians, 2009; Wellesley Institute, 2011a; Access Alliance, 2013; Colour of Poverty, 2013; Access Alliance, 2011 endorsed by Jane and Finch Action Against Poverty, Black Creek West Community Capacity Building Initiative; Food Banks Canada, 2011

³⁴ Lankin & Sheikh, 2012; Colour of Poverty, 2013; Food Banks Canada, 2011

³⁵ Colour of Poverty, 2013; Access Alliance, 2011 endorsed by Jane and Finch Action Against Poverty, Black Creek West Community Capacity Building Initiative; Food Banks Canada, 2011

³⁶ Ng et al., 2013; Colour of Poverty, 2013; Food Banks Canada, 2011

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- 37 United Way Toronto & Canadian Council on Social Development, 2004
 - 38 Toronto Workforce Innovation Group, 2010
 - 39 Good Jobs for All, 2009
 - 40 Wellesley Institute, 2011a
 - 41 Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2013; Ng et al., 2013; NDP, 2013
 - 42 NDP, 2013
 - 43 PEPSO, 2013
 - 44 McCollum, 2011
 - 45 Benach, Muntaner, & Santana, 2007
 - 46 NDP, 2013
 - 47 ILO, 2009; Benach, Muntaner, & Santana, 2007; Thomas, 2009 in Lewchuk, Clarke, & De Wolff, 2011; Anderson, Beaton, & Laxter, 2006.
 - 48 Global Union Research Network, 2009; IndustriALL Global Union, 2013
 - 49 ILO, 2009, 2011; NDP, 2013; Wellesley Institute, 2013a; Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2012a, 2013; Vosko, Tucker, Thomas, & Gellatly, 2011
 - 50 Kalleberg, 2009
 - 51 Vosko, Tucker, Thomas, & Gellatly, 2011
 - 52 SHARE, 2012
 - 53 Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2013; ILO, 2011
 - 54 Global Union Research Network, 2009 citing ILO
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 - 56 Vosko, 2010
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 - 58 Lewchuk, Clarke, & De Wolff, 2011
 - 59 Vosko, 2010; Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2009
 - 60 Vosko, 2010
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 - 62 IndustriALL Global Union, 2013
 - 63 CivicAction, 2011c; Metcalf Foundation, 2011
 - 64 TD Economics, 2013b
 - 65 Access Alliance 2011
 - 66 Arthurs (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada), 2006; Lewchuk, Clarke, & De Wolff, 2011; Heery, 2009
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 - ⁹⁴ Partnership for Working Families, 2013
 - ⁹⁵ Partnership for Working Families, 2013
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