

RESTRUCTURING, GENDER AND EMPLOYMENT:

**A Geography of Regional Change and
Community Adjustment in
Cornwall, Ontario**

by

Megan K. L. McKenna

*A thesis presented to the University of Ottawa
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Geography.*

© Megan K. L. McKenna, Ottawa, Canada, March 1996



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-612-15427-6

Canada



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS & DEDICATION

I extend many thanks to Dr. Roger Roberge, my thesis supervisor, who provided thorough and patient support throughout my PhD. programme.

I cannot think of anything I have ever accomplished in life where I have not thanked my parents, whose love and encouragement in all things has always meant so much to me.

Instrumental in seeing this project to an end were many residents of Cornwall who helped me with my field research and various adventures. Their kindness and generosity was wonderful. Also to be thanked is the Institute for Research on Environment and Economy (IREE) at the University of Ottawa for providing intellectual and financial assistance throughout my research.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to Michael, who is braving the demands of his own university education in Liverpool. In the spirit of Nellie McClung, the Member of Parliament who fought to get women legally declared 'persons' using the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms:

"Never retreat, never apologize - get the thing done and let them howl."

ABSTRACT

For the past two decades, uneven development in general and the changing structure of the labour market in particular, have figured prominently in Canadian economic, social and political agendas. Indeed, one of the most dramatic trends in Canadian society has been the growth of labour force participation by women - this despite a seemingly unstable economic picture. While numerous studies exploring the national dimensions of a feminised work force have provided insight into the complex nature of female paid employment, less work has been done on the uneven, regional nature of restructuring and processes contributing to gendered employment patterns. Through a comparative spatial analysis of employment and occupational trends and regional functional specialisation, this research shows that: (a) regional space-economies exercise an important influence on the creation and reproduction of gendered divisions of labour, and; (b) integrative studies connecting 'global processes' to 'local experience' offer unique insight into the restructuring experience. In examining these themes, Cornwall in Eastern Ontario is used as an example of an 'old order' manufacturing centre undergoing profound industrial and community restructuring. Research focuses on the time period between 1986 (a time of relative prosperity) and 1991 (a recessionary time, immediately following the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement with the United States). Central to this study is the notion that including gender as a 'necessary' analytical category in deconstructing the social relations of production will help inform more comprehensive explanations of regional economic and social change. The design and implementation of the research programme follows the feminist principles of reflexivity, responsibility to participants, and shared knowledge.

Keywords: Restructuring; Gender; Feminist Geography; Employment Patterns; Division of Labour; Functional Specialisation; Uneven Development; Spatial Processes; Social Relations of Production; Global-Local; Reflexivity

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments
Abstract
Table of Contents
List of Tables
List of Figures

CHAPTER ONE - Introduction: Setting the Scene

1.0	Introduction	p.1
2.0	Empirical Arguments - Global Restructuring, Regional Change and Employment Trends: Canada's Changing Position	p.2
2.1	Theoretical Arguments - Restructuring and Gendered Geographies of Employment	p.6
3.0	Feminist Geography - Perspectives on Restructuring	p.9
4.0	Thesis Organisation	p.11

CHAPTER TWO - Literature and Theory

2.0	Introduction	p.13
2.1	Restructuring - Identifying Key Dimensions of Regional Change	p.16
2.1.1	Restructuring and Deindustrialisation - A Critical Review of the Problem and Processes	p.18
2.2	Restructuring and Spatial Divisions of Labour - The Social Nature of Economic Production	p.24
2.2.1	Linking the Social, the Spatial, and the Economic - Towards A More Comprehensive View of Restructuring	p.24

2.2.2	Locating 'the Social' in Spatial Divisions of Labour	p.28
2.2.3	Gender as Part of the Restructuring Agenda - A Revised Geography of Employment	p.33
2.3	The Feminisation of Labour - Concept and Contradictions	p.38
2.3.1	Feminisation in a post-Fordist Labour Market	p.42
2.4	Gender, Restructuring and Regional Labour Markets - The Case of an 'Old Order' Community	p.45
2.5	Summary and Revised Framework	p.47

CHAPTER THREE - Methods and Research Design: Defining an Approach

3.0	Introduction	p.52
3.1	The Politics of Method - Feminism, Criticism and Geographic Explanation	p.52
3.1.1	Should Women Count? - A Methodological Balancing Act	p.53
3.1.2	Research Reflexivity - Importance and Implications	p.58
3.2	Research Questions and Assumptions	p.63
3.3	Research Design - Objectives, Tasks and Data	p.66
3.3.1	<i>Phase 1: Macro-Structural Overview - Situating Cornwall Within the Restructuring Process</i>	p.66
3.3.2	<i>Phase 2: Micro-Structural Study of Restructuring - Gender, Employment and Economic Change in Cornwall</i>	p.67
3.3.3	<i>Phase 3: Analysis and Interpretation</i>	p.71
3.4	Conclusion - Research Responsibility and Relevance	p.73

CHAPTER FOUR - Restructuring the 'Old Order': Regional Specialisation, Gender and Employment Trends

4.0	Introduction	p.75
4.1	Towards a 'New' Order - Restructuring, Regional Specialisation and New Work Relations	p.76
4.1.1	The Importance of 'Region' in the Analysis of 'Restructuring' - Some Key Issues for Canada and Labour Force Change	p.78
4.1.2	Uneven Development in a post-Fordist Economy - The Significance of New Work Relations on the Old Economic Order	p.85
4.1.3	New Work Relations and Labour Market Restructuring - Some Implications	p.89
4.2	Crisis in Cornwall - A Canadian Restructuring Experience	p.91
4.2.1	Deindustrialisation - Symptoms of Economic and Social Restructuring	p.91
4.2.2	An Analysis of Regionalised and Gendered Labour Markets - Locating Cornwall in the Restructuring Process	p.96
4.2.3	The Nature of Regional Employment - Gender and Occupation	p.113
4.3	Summary	p.123

CHAPTER FIVE - Deindustrialisation and Personal Work Histories: Gendered Dimensions of Continuity and Change

5.0	Introduction	p.126
5.1	Revisiting Some Points of Method - Looking for Models and Explanations	p.127
5.1.1	Work History Analysis - Challenges and Research Questions	p.129
5.2	The 'How' and 'Who' of Interviewing - Interview Guide and Participant Selection Process	p.132
5.2.1	Constructing the Interview Guide - Rationale and Procedure	p.132
5.2.2	Identifying Participants	p.133

5.2.3	Introducing the Participants - A 'Snap Shot' View	p.134
5.3	Restructuring and the Individual - Adjusting to a New Socio-Economic Reality	p.136
5.3.1	Deindustrialisation, Feminisation and the Gendered Divisions of Labour	p.137
5.3.2	Industrial Change and Labour Market Restructuring - 'Job' or 'Gender' Models?	p.152
5.3.3	Employment, Gender and 'the Future' - Perceptions of Change in Cornwall	p.161
5.4	Conclusions	p.166

CHAPTER SIX - Discussion and Conclusions: Reflections on Method, Findings and Policy

6.0	Introduction	p.171
6.1	Reflections on Method: Gender and a Geography of Regional Change	p.171
6.2	Reflections on Empirical Research: Restructuring, Gender and Employment in Cornwall	p.176
6.3	Reflections on Policy: Implications for Community (re-)Development	p.178
6.3.1	The Implications of Empirical Evidence for Regional Development Policy and Future Research	p.179
6.3.2	Towards and Alternative View of 'Development'	p.181

Appendix References

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Relative Shares of Changes in Employment to Changes in Labour Force Participation for Men and Women in Seven Major OECD Countries, 1965-1986	p.3
Table 2	Unemployment Rates by Industry in Canada, 1981-1993	p.14
Table 3	Average Annual Earnings by Occupation and Sex, Canada 1992	p.39
Table 4	Distribution of Employment by Industry and Sex, Canada 1975-1993	p.77
Table 5	Provincial Minimum Wages as a Percentage of the Average Industrial Wage, 1975 - 1985	p.88
Table 6a	Development Trends in Cornwall and Region: Plant Openings, Closures and Layoffs, 1989 - 1992	p.93
Table 6b	Employment Trends in Selected Cornwall and Area Manufacturing Companies - May 1990 to February 1996	p.94
Table 7	Industries by Employment for Both Sexes and by Floor Area - Cornwall, 1991	p.100
Table 8	Male Unemployment Rate as a Predictor of Female Unemployment, 1986 and 1991	p.101
Table 9	Selected Occupational Location Quotients by Sex and Level of Statistical Aggregation, 1986 and 1991	p.107
Table 10	Female and Male Participation and Unemployment Rates at Various Levels of Aggregation (1986, 1991)	p.110
Table 11	Occupational Comparisons in Five Test Categories by Sex, 1986 and 1991	p.115
Table 12a	Spearman's Rank Correlation Tests - Spatial Comparisons of Male Occupations Between Canada and the Tri-Counties, and, Eastern Ontario and Cornwall, 1986 and 1991	p.121
Table 12b	Spearman's Rank Correlation Tests - Spatial Comparisons of Female Occupations Between Canada and the Tri-Counties, and, Eastern Ontario and Cornwall, 1986 and 1991	p.123

Table 13	An Overview of the Research Participants - Life Cycle and Employment Characteristics	p.135
Table 14	Respondent's Principle Work History	p.138
Table 15	General Occupational Groupings in Mill Operations	p.141
Table 16	Average Wage Rates for Selected Occupations in the Secondary and Tertiary Sectors, Cornwall 1995	p.144
Table 17	Top Five Occupational Categories for Women and Men in Cornwall, 1986 and 1991	p.147
Table 18	Employment Income by Sex and Work Activity, Cornwall 1986 and 1991 (expressed in \$1991)	p.147
Table 19	Income Characteristics by Sex & Income Group, Cornwall 1986 and 1991(expressed in \$1991)	p.149

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Cornwall in its Regional Context	p.8
Figure 2	Gender, Restructuring and Regional Change: A Revised 'Global-Local' Framework	p.49
Figure 3	Research Process and Design	p.72
Figure 4	The Historical Distribution of Regions and Localities Vulnerable to Competition From Developing Countries	p.82
Figure 5	Restructuring in Cornwall - Linking Economic, Social and Community Change	p.96
Figure 6	Distribution of Employment by Industrial Sector for Both Sexes - Cornwall, 1981, 1986 and 1991	p.97
Figure 7a	Female Occupational Representation in Cornwall, 1986 and 1991	p.98
Figure 7b	Male Occupational Representation in Cornwall, 1986 and 1991	p.99
Figure 8a	Coefficient of Determination (R^2) Between Male and Female Unemployment Rates for Canadian CDs and Eastern Ontario CSDs, 1986	p.102
Figure 8b	Coefficient of Determination (R^2) Between Male and Female Unemployment Rates for Canadian CDs and Eastern Ontario CSDs, 1991	p.103

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction - Setting the Scene

1.0 Introduction

For the past two decades, job loss has remained high on the Canadian political agenda. Structural changes to the economies of Canada and other Western industrialised nations have led to the combined phenomena of high unemployment, new productive relations and economic uncertainty. These 'restructuring events' are symptomatic of processes which occur during a 'crisis' or, 'phase of adaptation and change' in a whole system of production. Further, given the spatially uneven dynamics of development, the impacts of restructuring are unevenly played out at various levels of spatial aggregation including local, regional, national and international contexts. Here, we see the interaction between 'global-local' processes and conditions of change.

Given geographic concern with understanding the changing relationships between people and the environment, geographers have sought to reformulate their explanations of a seemingly more fluid and complex socio-economic reality characterised by the 'hypermobility' of capital, '**post-Fordist**' productive relations and a '**feminised**' **work force**. As a part of identifying and evaluating new relations and processes, the **importance of gender as a central analytical construct** has come to the fore in geographic explanation - not only because it offers an alternative view on evaluating social relations, but because it provides a new perspective on science, knowledge and political action.

This research explores the dynamics of industrial restructuring by **linking ‘macro’ events of employment and occupational change within Canada to the ‘micro’ processes of deindustrialisation in Cornwall, Ontario**. Through spatial comparisons of gendered occupational patterns, the overall aims of the research are to: (1) integrate the notion of regional functional specialisation into analyses of restructuring and gendered divisions of labour, and; (2) critically evaluate the concept of ‘feminisation’ by highlighting the importance of micro-diversity in studying the gendered impacts of deindustrialisation.

The purpose of this introductory chapter is threefold. First, key themes in restructuring studies are briefly highlighted as a means of establishing a context for the research. Second, the importance of this study as contributing to feminist geographic explanation is touched upon in the course of outlining the principal methods of evaluation and approach to data analysis. And third, the organisation of the thesis is discussed.

2.0 Empirical Arguments - Global Restructuring, Regional Change and Employment Trends: Canada’s Changing Position

We live in the midst of a major structural crisis. The crisis is multidimensional, cultural, and political as well as economic. Spatial forms and urban issues are simultaneously being reshaped by this crisis and becoming powerful instruments for the policies aimed at managing the crisis from different viewpoints according to the pattern of contradictory social interests (Castells, 1983 p. 3).

Global shifts in industrial investment, new technologies and trading patterns, and changing labour and manufacturing practices have had profound effects on the ways in which women, men and government perceive their place in the ‘post-Fordist age’. The impacts of these events are reflected in the types and incidence of employment, and relative labour force participation of women and men in industrialised countries.

In a comparative study of labour force participation in the 'G7' countries (Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, West Germany, Italy and France), between 1965 and 1986, two major structural changes were shown to be common to most of these economies (with the exceptions of Japan and West Germany) including: (1) the marked increase of female labour participation, and; (2) rapid employment growth in the service sector (Chawla, 1990). As highlighted in Table 1, Canada showed the largest increase in labour force participation rates for women compared to the other G7 countries over the study period.

Table 1 **Relative Shares of Changes in Employment to Changes in Labour Force Participation for Men and Women in Seven Major OECD Countries, 1965-1986**

Country	Labour force participation rate*		Employment/ population ratio**		Percentage point change in the		
					Participation rate	Employment/ population ratio	Unemployment/ population ratio
	1965	1987	1965	1987			
	%						
Men							
Canada†	77.0	75.3	74.5	68.9	-1.7	-5.6	3.9
United States	73.7	71.8	70.8	67.4	-1.9	-3.4	1.5
United Kingdom	82.7	73.1	81.6	64.0	-9.6	-17.6	8.0
France††	72.2	62.8	71.1	57.4	-9.4	-13.7	4.3
West Germany	79.6	67.2	79.1	54.2	-12.4	-24.9	12.5
Italy	77.1	64.6	73.7	59.2	-12.5	-14.5	2.0
Japan	81.8	77.4	80.9	75.2	-4.4	-5.7	1.3
Women							
Canada†	34.8	55.1	33.6	49.9	20.3	16.3	4.0
United States	37.6	54.0	35.6	50.7	16.4	15.1	1.3
United Kingdom	39.7	48.6	39.4	45.0	8.9	5.6	3.3
France††	37.9	44.5	36.4	38.4	6.6	2.0	4.6
West Germany	40.4	40.3	40.2	36.6	-0.1	-3.6	3.5
Italy	29.9	35.3	27.5	28.7	5.4	1.2	4.2
Japan	50.7	48.6	50.0	47.3	-2.1	-2.7	0.6
Total							
Canada†	55.8	64.9	54.0	59.2	9.1	5.2	3.9
United States	55.1	62.6	52.6	58.7	7.5	6.1	1.4
United Kingdom	60.2	60.4	59.5	54.1	0.2	-5.4	5.6
France††	54.4	53.3	53.1	47.5	-1.1	-5.6	4.5
West Germany	58.5	53.0	58.2	48.8	-5.5	-9.4	3.9
Italy	52.5	49.4	49.7	43.4	-3.1	-6.3	3.2
Japan	65.8	62.6	65.0	60.8	-3.2	-4.2	1.0

source: Labour Force Statistics OECD (Paris, 1990), cited in: Chawla (1990)

Note that Canadian women showed a 20% increase in participation compared to 16% for the United States, 9% for the United Kingdom, 7% for France and 5% for Italy. Although men constituted the majority of the labour force in each country of the G7 group,

their participation rates fell during the study period. While some of the differences in participation rates between countries may be related to discrepancies in collecting, editing and processing data, it is clear that employment opportunities for North American women expanded significantly.

Looking at the type of employment change experienced by the G7, the proportion of people employed in primary industries (eg. agricultural, mining and forestry), and secondary industries (eg. manufacturing and construction) declined between 1965 and 1987. In contrast, employment in the tertiary sector (service related industries) increased. In Canada and the United States, about 58% of all employed people worked in the tertiary sector in the mid-1960s, compared to about 70% in the late 1980s. This trend is most strongly reflected in women's employment patterns, although male labour in the tertiary sector has also increased among G7 nations (Chawla, 1990).

Like other G7 countries, the restructuring of production and trade has had a significant impact on the Canadian labour market in the last three decades. Numerous studies in the Canadian context¹ have shown that, although the relative participation rates of women and men have undergone rapid change, economic disparity between women and men (measured in terms of income and job status) remains pronounced and persistent. In terms of occupational representation, the majority of women employed outside the home continue to work in occupations where they have been traditionally concentrated. In 1993 for example, 71% of all Canadian working women were employed in teaching, nursing and health-related occupations; clerical work; or sales and service occupations (Statistics Canada, 1994 Cat. No. 75-507E).

Despite rising participation in paid work, women generally appear to be making limited gains in terms of occupational variability and more equitable income distribution. Thus, while at one level there seems to be some statistical evidence supporting the idea of 'work force feminisation' (in the sense that more women are working combined with

¹ Hughes, 1990; Rashid, 1991; Devereaux and Lindsay, 1993; Statistics Canada, 1994

declining male rates of labour participation) important questions remain as to *reasons why* marked sexual divisions of labour persist.

Added to this, is the issue of how *spatially uneven social processes of production* are linked to gendered patterns of participation within different industries and regions in Canada. Since Confederation, and Sir John A. MacDonald's National Policy, arguments have been made that 'core' regions (for example, Central Canada) developed at the expense of 'periphery' regions (for example, the Maritimes and the Prairie Provinces). Historically, and particularly since the Second World War, protectionist federal policy and trade barriers have been a significant factor in the location of secondary industries along the Quebec - Windsor corridor. Communities like Cornwall in Eastern Ontario for example, prospered with the location of branch plant manufacturing firms inside the tariff wall (marked by the Canadian-American border) capable of serving Canadian and international markets. However, with the advent of the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 1988 and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993, the tariff wall - and with it, significant locational advantage - disappeared. This, in addition to global forces of economic change has led to rapid deindustrialisation and profound socio-economic restructuring in many 'traditional' core manufacturing areas in Central Canada. The combination therefore, of historical regional functional specialisation, global forces of capital and industrial restructuring, and the decreasing role of the federal state in national economic policy, has strongly influenced regional patterns of development and employment in Canada in the past decade.

Employment change and job loss are among the most visible aspects of the restructuring process. For instance, certain types of jobs - those linked to 'Fordist' production regimes - seem to be more vulnerable to cutbacks than other jobs in producer and consumer services. Furthermore, new relations of work are emerging in the manufacturing (and also the service) sector as a part of flexible and specialised post-Fordist production processes. These jobs are often characterised by lower pay, lower skill and lower stability than the traditional 'good' union jobs associated with Fordist production.

Evidence from the Canadian case (Mahon, 1993; Drache, 1993; Myles, 1993); the United Kingdom (Duncan, 1991; McDowell, 1991; Massey, 1994) and the United States (Storper and Scott, 1989; Storper and Walker, 1989) suggests that these new work relations attract and exacerbate the position of 'marginal' - female, youth, immigrant - workers in the economy. Returning to the notion of persistent gendered divisions of labour in Canada and elsewhere, it follows that the dynamics of industrial restructuring, which we know to be *spatially specific*, will also have *differential impacts* on people based on gender, race, class and age. Here, we see the links between the spatially uneven processes of development, gender and employment which form the focus of this research.

Building on this last point, the next section introduces key theoretical themes that will be discussed as part of developing a revised and gendered understanding of economic restructuring in Canada.

2.1 Theoretical Arguments - Restructuring and Gendered Geographies of Employment

Using as a starting point the ideas that: (1) the activities of 'economic' production (including location decisions) are fundamentally social in nature, and; (2) gender is central to understanding these social processes, arguments linking gender, employment and the importance of 'space' in feminist geographic analysis will be made. This task combines a critical overview of several strands of geographic thought - including industrial and socio-economic geography, feminist geography and critical social theory - in proposing a framework for studying the implications of a feminised work force.

Part of the geographic challenge to explain our current period of socio-economic restructuring relates to the need to re-conceptualise notions of 'necessary' analytical relations and the nature of interconnectedness between global-local processes. Understanding change demands a plausible and realistic explanation of where we have

been, where we are, and where we may be going. Most importantly, the present climate of accelerated social, economic and political change demands a renewed focus on *process dynamics* (Harvey, 1990) which move beyond spatial fetishism and class analysis.

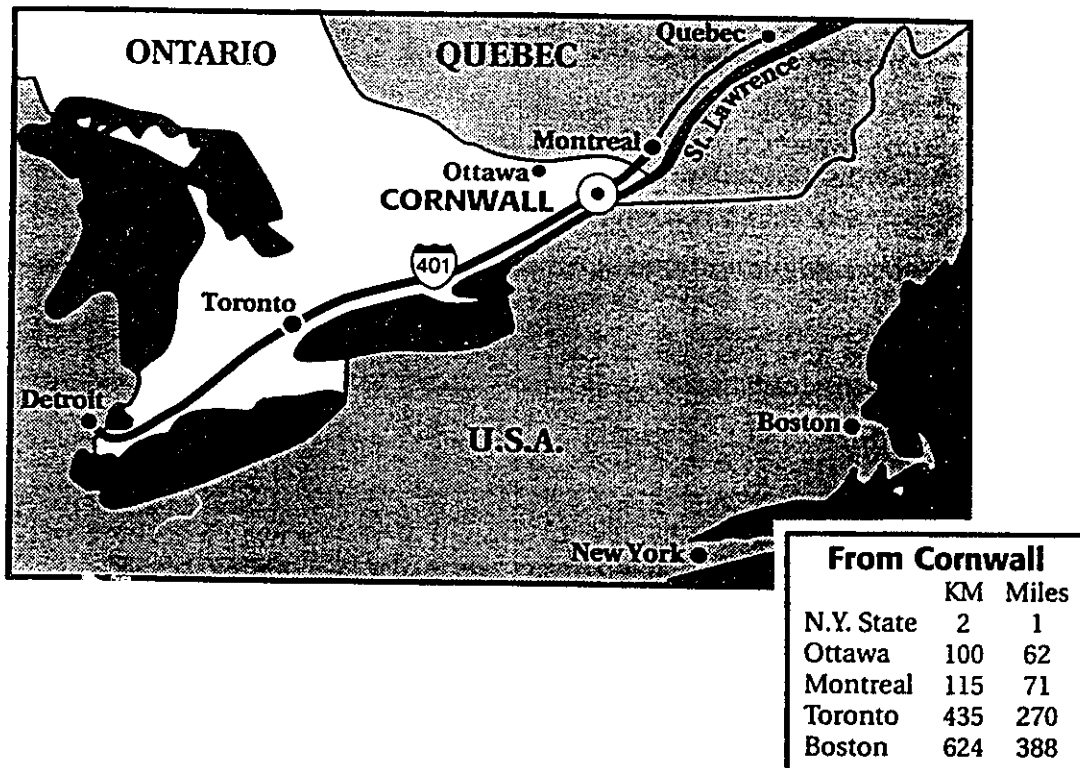
This research deals with 'process dynamics' by arguing that spatially uneven development is socially constituted and grounded in environments of human activity within which social practice takes place. That these dynamics are fundamentally gendered must be explicitly incorporated into any description of observed patterns *and* be implicated in explanations of regional change. In other words, *'space' as a socially experienced phenomenon allows us to analyse and describe the distribution of key relations of production which contribute to patterns of uneven development and employment. Recognising this facilitates the exploration of gender (which itself is a social construct and spatio-temporally specific) as a key analytical variable in regional studies, and moves social critique beyond the role of 'economic classes' to the role of gender in creating and recreating our social reality.*

To date, most macro-level analyses of restructuring in Canada have tended either to subsume the importance of 'the social' in different economic 'models', or, to cling to variants of class analysis in discussing women's participation in the labour force. A shortcoming of 'traditional' regional and industrial geographic explanations of restructuring has been the singular concentration on 'productive employment' as representative of the social processes of production in a capitalist economy. However, gendered divisions of labour exist that transect 'productive employment' and class analysis, as gender is intrinsically linked with the way society, production and reproduction is organised and experienced. That gender constructs change over time, and *permeate all aspects of social life* highlights their importance as a 'necessary social relation' in studies of regional change. As the productive basis of community life changes, so too do the social and gendered relations which characterise that social system. Herein lies the central contribution of this research - to show the theoretical and practical importance of understanding better the processes of restructuring in terms of gendered spatial divisions of

labour.

Admittedly, this is a complex assignment. For instance, 'causal connections' between industrial and social change are not unidirectional and are therefore difficult to 'isolate'. Further, 'gender roles and relations' are multi-layered (through class, race, ethnicity etc.) and individually constructed, presenting interesting challenges related to 'measurement' and interpretation of data. In addressing these challenges, and weaving together a revised interpretation of restructuring, employment and gender this research concentrates on: (a) the theoretical problems of constructing an analytical framework which incorporates gender as a central component in studies of restructuring, by; (b) using Cornwall (Figure 1) as a case study to critically evaluate social and economic change in a 'traditional' manufacturing area between 1986 and 1991.

Figure 1 Cornwall in Its Regional Context



source: City of Cornwall, Economic Development Office (1995)

The next section discusses how a feminist geographic approach is particularly useful in developing theoretical and empirical insights into restructuring, gender and employment.

3.0 Feminist Geography - Perspectives on Restructuring

By opening feminist meanings to geographers and geographic meanings to feminists, each stands to gain, for the two occupy much the same ground but have been standing with their backs to each other. (Susan Hanson's 1992 *Presidential Address to the American Association of Geographers*)

...it is not exactly alternative methods that are responsible for what is significant about this [feminist] research. Instead, we can see in this work alternative origins of problematics, explanatory hypotheses and evidence, alternative purposes of inquiry, and a new prescription for the appropriate relationship between the inquirer and her/his subject of inquiry. One can think of these as part of the "method of feminist inquiry," but to do so conflates research methods, methodologies, and epistemologies (Harding, 1987 p. vii).

Geographers are concerned with the processes, patterns and conditions of human-environment interaction. That there is a specific concern with the spatial distribution and patterns of these phenomena has also been a central tenet of geographic research. What is significant about *feminist geography* is that it argues for a gendered and incorporative understanding of human agency, and brings to the fore the notion that knowledge and identities are politically constructed and contested in every sphere of human activity.

Drawing on this approach to science are feminist analyses of economic restructuring, which contend that: (i) gender is a central analytical category for the explanation of productive and reproductive processes; (ii) the knowledge constructed is intended to empower both the researcher and the 'researched' and (iii) the overall research

framework should bring together theories of reproductive relations, remunerated and unremunerated waged and unwaged domestic labour, and spatio-temporal development processes. Thus, "gender imbues the foundation of feminist analysis" (Moss, 1994 p.33).

Given this predominant set of concerns (rather loosely defined given a diverse and varied literature on feminist analysis in geography) it follows that feminist research design, choice and application of methods and interpretation of data is fundamentally reflexive and critical based on the explicit recognition of a particular set of values.² This research effort is feminist not only because of its overall concern with contributing to gendered geographies of restructuring, but also because of its aims to challenge the ways we conceptualise, and engage in, the practice of geography. Data analysis should not be a rigid linear process of stating, testing and rejecting hypotheses, but a more fluid process of data exploration, constant questioning and revision of ideas (McLafferty, 1995). The research design described in this study combines macro-statistical and micro-interview data as a means of identifying data and discourse gaps in each phase of the study. The aims of this approach are: (i) to facilitate reflection on the content of analytical categories used to describe key processes and constructs in restructuring studies; and (ii) help inform future research and public policy on the specific opportunities and obstacles faced by women in the context of economic restructuring.

Considerable literature exists in feminist geography on how the choice of method influences the type and use of knowledge produced. Dualisms between quantitative and qualitative methods have received much attention given concerns that the supposed neutrality of objective scientific methods has perpetuated traditional academic research practices which tend to exclude women from the 'counting', and make invisible the very processes and existences that have been left out of mainstream academy. While these issues are important and are discussed in reviewing methods and research design (Chapter Three), this study contends that a *combination* of quantitative (statistical) and qualitative

² These issues are only introduced here, and discussed in more detail in Chapter Three which covers research design and methods.

(experiential) data is the best approach to understand how gender is both structured by, and shapes, the changing processes of production and employment. In other words, quantitative methods situate qualitative research in a wider world view. Indeed, the approach taken here seeks to address the current emphasis in geography on context and scale (McLafferty, 1995) which demands comparative spatial analysis of the dimensions of difference between women's and men's lives. It does this by exploring the connections between gendered divisions of labour, domestic responsibilities, community involvement and employment experiences in the context of rapid deindustrialisation.

4.0 Thesis Organisation

Following this introductory chapter is a critical review of relevant literature and theory dealing with the central themes of restructuring, gender, regional change and socio-spatial processes of production. **Chapter Two** highlights significant theoretical developments in building a revised understanding of a gendered geography of restructuring - in part drawing extensively on Massey's (1984) notion of 'spatial divisions of labour'. Arguments are made for a more explicit and detailed understanding of how changing productive processes may influence the construction and reproduction of gendered divisions of labour in the context regional functional specialisation. **Chapter Three** reflects on some of the issues introduced above concerning feminist geographies and methodologies in the course of outlining the research design, key questions and assumptions. **Chapter Four**, which represents the first phase of the research design, concentrates on a macro-statistical study of employment and occupational patterns at different levels of aggregation in Canada. Spatial comparisons are used to situate Cornwall's restructuring experience in the context of national trends, and to critically evaluate the meaning and reality of a feminised work force. Building on the results of the statistical analyses, **Chapter Five** seeks to extend our understanding of the possible links between 'feminisation' and 'regional functional specialisation' through an analysis of personal work histories. Intensive interviews of women and men displaced from manufacturing enterprises in Cornwall reveal data that helps contextualise statistical trends

and provides insight into how work, life and deindustrialisation intersect to create and recreate gendered identities and occupational patterns. The findings from Chapter Four and Five help develop an integrated view of restructuring - showing the relationship between global processes and local structures in the course of developing a more comprehensive view of restructuring. Finally, **Chapter Six** critically reflects on the important theoretical, methodological and empirical findings of the research. Drawing on these conclusions, some options for policy development - within the community of Cornwall and in the context of national economic priorities - are presented.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature and Theory

2.0 Introduction

Patterns of industrial decline, growth and issues surrounding labour force change in Canada have been the topic of much social scientific research in the past few decades. In particular, numerous studies during the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the United States in the early 1980s, ongoing concerns with North American Free Trade (NAFTA), and the pressure to compete in a 'globalising' economy have stimulated debate about the links between Canada's internal geography and its changing position within the international division of labour.

As a predominantly branch-plant economy, Canada is subject to a high degree of external control and influence over its investment decisions, production technology, the type and quality of jobs and the location of industry. In the past fifteen years, rising numbers of permanent job losses, growing inter- and intra-regional inequality and the erosion of Canada's international market share of various traditional industries - mining, pulp and paper, fishing - have shaped public concern and policy over our national economic future (Porter, 1991; Myles, 1993; Coffey and Polèse, 1987). We are told that the forces of 'restructuring' are changing *where*, *how* and *how much* we work in this 'post industrial era'.

From the era of 'hewers of wood' and 'drawers of water', the Canadian economy has come to be dominated, in the past three decades, by service industries (Economic

Council of Canada, 1990; Mahon, 1993). The working population in Canada has shifted dramatically from 60 per cent of employed people working in the goods sector in the late 1940s, to over 70 per cent now working in service industries. And, while the service sector is far from 'recession proof', it had the lowest rates of female and male unemployment during the economic downturn of the late 1980s and early 1990s (Statistics Canada, 1994). The sector hardest hit by job loss between 1989 and 1994 was that of goods-producing. Referring to the unemployment trends by industry in Table 2 (1981 to 1993), in 1993 female and male unemployment rates in goods producing were 12.7% and 14.0% respectively, compared to about 9% for both sexes in the service sector (Statistics Canada, 1994). In fact, throughout the 1980s, nearly all of the net job creation took place in the service sector (Economic Council of Canada, 1990).

Table 2 Unemployment Rates by Industry in Canada, 1981-1993

	Service industries			Goods-producing industries		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
	%					
1981	6.8	5.6	6.2	9.7	8.0	8.4
1982	9.0	8.2	8.6	14.1	13.8	13.9
1983	9.8	9.3	9.5	13.4	14.7	14.4
1984	9.7	9.0	9.3	12.5	13.0	12.9
1985	9.0	8.5	8.8	12.2	11.6	11.3
1986	8.4	7.7	8.1	10.7	10.6	10.6
1987	7.9	7.0	7.5	10.7	9.5	9.8
1988	7.1	6.0	6.6	9.7	8.3	8.7
1989	6.8	6.0	6.4	9.1	8.3	8.5
1990	6.9	6.2	6.6	10.5	10.0	10.1
1991	8.2	8.3	8.2	13.0	13.6	13.5
1992	8.8	9.5	9.2	13.3	14.5	14.2
1993	9.1	9.2	9.2	12.7	14.0	13.7

source: Statistics Canada, 1994 p. 27

A significant part of this growth has been caused by increasing female participation in the labour force. National statistics indicate that in the past twenty years alone, female participation rates³ have increased from 44 per cent in 1975 to 58 per cent in 1994

³ statistics for women aged 15 years to 64 years

(Statistics Canada, 1994). In addition, unemployment has risen less among women in recent years than it has for men. Between 1989 and 1993, the number of unemployed women rose 42% compared with 64% among men (Statistics Canada, 1994). This pattern is markedly different from the late 1970s and the economic growth period between 1983 and 1988 where the unemployment rate of women was consistently above that for men.

With the growth of services has also come marked changes to the *nature* of work, of employment forms, job-creation patterns and job location.

The empirics of Canada's service economy with respect to wages and job skills are now fairly well understood. There is indeed evidence of growing dualization in the Canadian labour market, but this is not a result of the shift to services as such. Rather it is an economy-wide trend that represents one of several 'branching points' in the transition to a post industrial economy (Myles, 1993 p.351).

What is 'new' about the conditions of production and competition that are causing greater numbers of people to take lower-paying and less stable work; that creates job ghettos, deepens gendered divisions of labour and contributes to growing wage disparities between different segments of the labour force? And, why is it that some regions in Canada seem to suffer more acutely than other regions, or indeed, benefit from changes wrought by restructuring?

The purpose of this chapter is to address these questions - to critically explore the meaning and implications of restructuring, with particular emphasis on the differential implications of changing employment patterns based on gender and the spatially uneven dynamics of regional development.

2.1 Restructuring - Identifying Key Dimensions of Regional Change

There are numerous definitions and interpretations of 'restructuring' in geographic and other social scientific literature. What these definitions share is a general agreement on the fact that the relationship between changes in production, the conditions of competition and the structures of consumption are flexibility, specialisation and internationalisation. The terms, 'post-Fordist' and 'post-industrial' are those most often used in restructuring literature to describe trends that are inconsistent with 'industrialisation theory' - explanatory models built around comparisons with non-industrial economies (Myles, 1993). Drawing on the work of Drache (1993) Myles (1993) and Bluestone and Harrison (1982; 1988), 'restructuring' is broadly defined here to refer to widespread and systematic changes in investment in a nation's basic productive capacity.⁴ It involves both a transformation of the way goods are produced (changes in the mix and share of labour), and, changes in the amount and composition of labour used to produce a fixed level of goods and services.

In terms of Canadian production and labour force trends, what we have seen in the latter half of this century is a fundamental restructuring of work relations. A shrinking middle class and polarisation of the wage and skills structure of labour (along divisions of gender, age and race) is also characteristic of our 'post-industrial' era. However, the shift to a service-based economy is not necessarily a 'bad' thing, as is often proclaimed (Economic Council of Canada, 1990). While the nature of manufacturing is in transition, it is still (and will continue to be) vital to national economic well-being. What is of key importance in the 'service-based economy' is the type and direction of investment in various industries, and the concomitant type and quality of labour demanded, in addition to

⁴ A Russian economist, Kondratiev, theorised that the growth and decline in economic productivity occurred in a more or less regular pattern of peaks and troughs - each full 'up-and-down' cycle lasting 30 to 40 years. The argument that each major international 'Kondratiev trough' is associated with significant changes in the workplace has been well-established (Haughton, 1989, inter alia). To combat the combined processes of capital shifts and changing labour patterns, 'older industrial areas' in particular are forced to undergo major social transformations to accommodate new rounds of investment (Haughton, 1989).

the salaries paid to workers. The emphasis of this research is on the latter set of concerns - those dealing with labour force impacts, employment trends and the daily lives of women and men who are affected by structural economic change. Of particular concern here is the theorisation of restructuring, linking the central concepts of global change, spatially uneven development, the social relations of production and gender.

The aim of this chapter is to develop a critical theoretical framework to guide empirical research into the impacts of restructuring in Eastern Ontario - specifically, Cornwall. With its legacy of 'traditional' manufacturing enterprises including textiles and apparel, pulp and paper and machine assembly and fabrication, Cornwall has experienced profound economic and social change as these industries re-invest in more 'favourable' (ie. cheaper) regions of the Southern United States, Mexico and off-shore destinations⁵. While Cornwall may in some ways be 'typical' of older manufacturing regions (similar to the north east United States), its functional specialisation as a manufacturing centre implies that it has its own set of constraints and opportunities within the wider context of the Canadian space-economy. It follows, that the specific characteristics of its labour force, social relations of production and 'adjustment' process, need to be understood as an integral part of a more complex whole - both in terms of reacting to, and shaping, these broader forces of change. In other words, the dynamics of restructuring are both spatially specific, and, mutually recursive between different levels of organisation. In light of rising female participation rates, a theoretical concern with gender and the social relations of production is central to the aims of this research and to developing more comprehensive geographies of regional change.

⁵ Research in the Australian context (Haughton, 1989; O'Neil, 1989) and the British context (Imrie, 1989) suggests that older industrial communities in particular, experience most profoundly the effects of capital transformation and the organic decomposition of production in their community social and economic structure.

2.1.1 Restructuring and Deindustrialisation - A Critical Review of the Problem and Processes

In their comprehensive analyses of the patterns and processes of deindustrialisation in the United States, Bluestone and Harrison (1982, 1988) make the claim that the essential problem with the American economy is not the fact that investment patterns are changing, but rather it is the *way* they are changing that is at the root of high unemployment, sluggish productivity and plant shut-downs. Their research centres on how capital “has been diverted from productive investment in our basic national industries into unproductive speculation, merges and acquisitions, and foreign investment. Left behind are the shuttered factories, displaced workers, and a newly emerging group of ghost towns” (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982 p.6). This ‘diversion of capital’ occurs unevenly between different regions and is argued to be the outcome of a worldwide crisis in the economic system. Processes of restructuring range from the virtually invisible to the sudden and dramatic, but are always rooted in the conscious decisions of corporate managers to move a factory from one location to another.

The dynamics of their ‘restructuring’ arguments are market driven and based on changes in several key macro-economic indicators from the 1930s onward. First among these are profits. From the mid-1940s to the 1970s, American industry generated huge profits through rapid expansion, at home and abroad, of productive capacity. American industrial supremacy was not seriously challenged until the 1970s when, Japan and several European nations began to compete effectively in steel, automobiles, shipbuilding and other basic industries (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982). Rather than search for new markets and step up research and development in more efficient production technology, American corporate managers effectively ‘backed down’ from competition in some areas (electronics for example) and reduced their investments and labour inputs in other areas (such as steel) in order to save money. Then, they began to rapidly shift capital from one activity and one region (nation) to another in order to maintain profit rates. Hence the spatially uneven nature of restructuring (like the decline of the ‘Frostbelt’ and the growth of the ‘Sunbelt’), and fears that America’s industrial base was ‘coming apart at the seams’ (Bluestone and

Harrison, 1982). These processes of deindustrialisation also involved social and human costs ranging from job loss and underemployment to community decline and decreased social expenditures.

While it is true that there are some 'winners' in this scenario - the 'boomtown' areas of new and explosive industrialisation, a small proportion of the work force and corporate managers - there appear to be more 'losers'. Particularly hard hit in the 'first wave' of deindustrialisation were older industrial regions - like New England in the north east U.S. - characterised by established, relatively 'well paid' work forces involved in traditional enterprises like textiles, apparel, shoes and machine fabrication. Dated production facilities in these areas were often treated as 'cash cows' and milked for profits. Managers of multi-plant or multi-holding corporations allowed factories to run down over time (not replacing obsolete machinery) until it was no longer profitable to keep them open, whereupon they were closed, and activities were moved to (or concentrated in) more profitable areas (like the Southern United States, Mexico or offshore).

Despite the above, highly simplified version of some central points in Bluestone and Harrison's explanation of restructuring and deindustrialisation, the underlying and recurring theme of their work involves a fundamental contradiction between the needs of capital, and the needs of communities and people.

The primary effects [of plant closure] are, of course, visited on those closest to the production unit that ceases operations. The unit's own employees lose salaries and wages, pensions and other fringe benefits; supplier firms lose contract; and the various levels of government lose corporate income and commercial property tax revenue. These in turn result in a series of secondary shocks including decreased retail purchases in the community, a reduction in earnings at supplier plants and increased unemployment in other sectors. Finally, these events produce tertiary effects in the form of increased demand for public assistance and social services, reduced personal tax receipts, and eventually layoffs in other industries, including the public sector (Bluestone and Harrison 1982 p. 67).

Market forces seem almost immutable as they invade and fragment individuals lives. The theoretical assumption of this sectoral explanation is that 'life space' - bounded and identifiable at a number of different scales - is diametrically opposed to 'economic space' - abstract and spatially continuous. In the worst case, people's lives are reduced to strictly economic entities (as producers or consumers) and in the best case, people can improve their 'life space' (community) by way of a 'democratic socialist programme' (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982) aimed at taking greater control of industrial management processes.

In the case of Canada, job loss and unemployment in the late 1970s and early 1980s was as dramatic as in the United States and other areas of the Western industrialised world. By the end of 1982, Canada's unemployment rate reached a post-Great Depression high of 12.7 per cent. The country had lost 359,000 jobs in manufacturing that would never return, and its economic performance was ranked by the U.S conference board as last among the major industrial countries (Grayson, 1985). Despite some short-run prosperity in the mid-to late-1980s, in the last 15 years the Canadian economy has been characterised by a declining competitive advantage in our traditional resource-based industries, relatively high rates of unemployment, growing public debt, a roll-back of the welfare state and slow rates of investment in high technology, growth industries. The signing of two continental trade agreements (FTA in 1985 and NAFTA in 1993) promoting market liberalisation has, many would argue, exacerbated these trends and heightened economic insecurity. No matter how academics, citizens and politicians define the problems and solutions, all would agree that Canadian industry and labour are undergoing significant structural changes in composition.

An extensive study by Porter (1991)⁶, on the current state and future of the economy, concluded that:

Canada today is at an economic crossroads...Canadian industry is currently undergoing a rapid structural change. Signs are already accumulating that Canadian industry is encountering difficulties as it confronts this

⁶ commissioned by the National Business Conference, an economic lobby group.

changed, and more competitive environment. (Porter, 1981 p. 3).

A sectoral overview of Canada's economy, Porter argues, shows that the 'old economic order' upon which Canada based its prosperity is disintegrating. In many ways similar to the plight of the American frost-belt in the 1970s, nowhere are these forces played out more intensely than in resource-dependent and manufacturing communities like Cornwall.

Canada's 'old economic order' was both dependent on, and different from American Fordism. Mahon (1993), uses the term 'permeable' to characterise Canada's Fordist order, in the sense that much of its resource and manufacturing sector has been infiltrated by American capital and thus is strongly influenced by policies of the American state and multinationals⁷. Although mass consumption was important to Canada's postwar economic expansion, "...the accelerator was not so much investment in the consumer durables industries but the inflow of foreign capital related to the extraction and export of Canada's staple resources" destined mainly to American markets (Mahon, 1993 p. 325). Canada's mass production industries were therefore, dependent on primarily foreign (American) investment, imported technology and tended to be assembly operations. In addition, protective government institutions and social welfare programmes are a key component of the old order, and among those elements which distinguish Canadian from American industrialism.

The transition from an old to a 'new' economic order lies in conscious policy decisions aimed at maximising the potential of Canada's competitive industries. Porter's focus on sectoral competitive advantage suggests a view of the world where: (a) it is possible to generate an 'improved' state of spatial equilibrium through economic policy, and (b) freer market forces will ultimately enhance national economic competitiveness. To

⁷ This term was developed by Jane Jenson (1989) to describe how Canada's post war economic development history differed from other advanced industrial societies. She argued that the crisis of Fordism in Canada (traced to the 1970s) is a crisis of the political arrangements of federalism (as it shaped economic policy after 1945) more than it is a crisis of the party system.

this end, a dynamic industrial development strategy is proposed dependent upon maximising the efficiency of:

1. ***Factor Conditions*** - land, labour, natural resources, infrastructure and skilled labour;
2. ***Demand Conditions*** - the nature of domestic market demand;
3. ***Related and Support Industry*** - supportive and competing industries stimulating innovation, specialisation and efficiency, and;
4. ***Firm Strategy, Structure and Rivalry*** - regional conditions affecting the creation, organisation and management of competitiveness between industries (includes conditions of domestic rivalry).

This four-point model (referred to as an 'investment diamond') is intended to present a holistic, explanatory framework at the level of clusters of industries within a nation. Similar to the work of Bluestone and Harrison (1982, 1988), Porter uses macro-economic techniques and measures to identify significant economic barriers to upgrading Canadian industry in the areas of science, namely technology and education training, and improved investment conditions. Nation states are assumed to have the type of control over their economy that allows them to compete with other countries in areas where they might develop an advantage. However, given the 'permeable' nature of many of Canada's key resource industries, this scenario seems unlikely.

There are at least three fundamental shortcomings with these 'type' of traditional, neoclassical approaches to explanations of the processes of industrial restructuring. First, there is a tendency to resort to what Harvey (1990) calls 'data chasing'. In other words, the focus of research and explanation often concerns trend identification to the exclusion of asking important and probing theoretical and epistemological questions about how and why certain trends are identified and the nature of the processes underlying those trends. Second, macro-sectoral analyses tend to ignore the strong, historical dynamics (both economic *and* social) contributing to the *spatially uneven processes* of development. And third, the central importance of the *social* processes of production are either ignored, or

(more frequently) reduced to 'side effects' of the dominant economic processes. Without re-examining the role of 'social processes' in production, analysis tends to remain gender-neutral. From this follows the (wrong) assumption that 'social effects' (however they are defined) have the same impact on women and men. Therefore, it is necessary to explicitly incorporate the construct 'gender' into explanations of production, spatially uneven development and regional change.

To address the first point, there is nothing inherently wrong with 'trend identification'. Indeed, geographers in particular, and social scientists in general are well positioned to make valuable contributions to public policy research through ever more sophisticated techniques of looking for, and mapping, the underlying processes of social and economic change. Of importance here is the fact that, although there is general agreement over the fact that new forms of capitalism are in some fundamental way changing our society - in how we work and live - there is considerably less agreement among geographers over how to conceptualise these changes. The issue is not that there *are* differences of theory and opinion, but rather, over the ways in which arguments are framed. Adherence to neoclassical development philosophy (however 'dynamic' and 'comprehensive' the model) has a restrictive effect on how we see the world, define problems and propose solutions. The act of theorising and explaining, particularly in this era of widespread socio-economic change, demands that we re-think 'essential' relations within, and 'ways of knowing', our social reality. The concentration on sectoral analyses, investment dynamics, industrial performance indicators and 'social effects' of restructuring does not encourage this need for a more critical and challenging type of scientific explanation. The tendency to separate, and assume a cause-effect relationship, between things economic and things social is perhaps the most significant limitation to explanations based on neoclassical development principles. Following Harvey (1990):

To the degree that we are witnessing a historical transition, still far from complete and in any case, like Fordism, bound to be partial in certain important respects, so we have encountered a series of theoretical dilemmas. Can we grasp theoretically the logic, if

not the necessity, of the transition?...In the face of such [theoretical] difficulties, many commentators have abandoned any pretence of theory, and simply resorted to data-chasing to keep pace with the rapid shifts. But here too there are problems - what data are key indicators rather than contingent series? (p. 173).

Stemming from Harvey's concern with geographic theory are two more specific sets of criticisms - dealing with 'space' and socio-economic processes of production, and gender and the social division of labour - which form the focus of discussion for the rest of this chapter. To that end, the following sections provide a more detailed review of these issues in the course of defining the theoretical framework guiding empirical investigation.

2.2 Restructuring and Spatial Divisions of Labour - The Social Nature of Economic Production

Not only do traditional approaches to restructuring studies tend to be reductionist in identifying problems and offering solutions to economic change, often, there is a failure to clearly account for: (a) the interdependent relationship between social and economic phenomena; (b) the fact that conditions of entry into the work force and the dynamics of economic change are differentiated by gender, and; (c) the complexity of spatial scale in theorising about the processes of uneven development. All of these points touch on different aspects of 'who pays' for the costs of industrial restructuring and unemployment - an issue which is fundamentally social and economic in nature. This section identifies the central theoretical concepts guiding empirical work, and seeks to explore points of contact between the social, spatial and economic processes shaping restructuring events.

2.2.1 Linking the Social, the Spatial, and the Economic - Towards A More Comprehensive View of Restructuring

To address the first issue concerning the interdependent nature of social and economic phenomena in restructuring literature, let us return for a moment to Canada's

'new economic order' (Porter, 1991). At a very general level, it could be argued that the contrast of 'old' and 'new' economic orders in Porter's analysis includes an (unstated) awareness of an underlying social fabric providing a backdrop for economic structures. However, this generous interpretation does not in any way include the fact that this vague 'social fabric' (which seems to revolve around 'institutions' and 'consumers') is in any way comprised of gendered individuals. Indeed, the reader is left wondering at how the 'new order' will arise (assuming that we have not yet achieved it), exactly what will constitute it, and how it will 'reproduce' itself.

It is at this point that the notion of 'class' is introduced into restructuring studies to account for the social and economic imperatives of regional industrial change. The primary difference between sectoral- and class-based explanations of restructuring is that the latter framework concentrates on the potential significance of social relations as forming the basis of production. Therefore, *changes* in production do not create 'social side-effects' but rather, are fundamentally social in nature. In other words, changing the social relations of production is but one of the processes of class formation (Massey, 1984; O'Neill, 1989). Old and new orders of production are 'social' in the sense that they involve different dynamics between workers, capitalists and the state. The concentration of capital, and technological change, impose upon regional social formations a certain structure and hierarchy directly dependent upon the nature of the production process. Given 'spatial concentrations' of capital and production processes, there is an important spatial dimension to social structure and function, which, according to 'class logic' will adjust in the course of industrial restructuring. Further, Bradbury (1989), argues that the social and economic relations of production, and patterns of investment and disinvestment are 'geographic' in the sense that they seek to understand how the arena of production has become increasingly internationalised - operating within and between regions and across national boundaries.

The appeal of class analysis lies in its ability to incorporate social structure and function into the basis of its arguments about economic changes stemming from the "...internal complexities (concretely and regionally) of ...capital, workers and the state"

(Bradbury, 1989 p.22). Examples of conflict in the social arena of production would include things like: employing non-union workers in the place of unionised workers; increasing profits by increasing labour exploitation; and manipulating the labour market through 'threats' to move to other areas which have lower wages or more docile work forces. Clearly, these concerns recognise that the processes of restructuring are fundamentally *social* in nature, and that there is a certain regional/organisational hierarchy in economic decision making. However, analyses of 'social process' in class critique tend not to move beyond *stating* that restructuring involves conflictual and contradictory relationships between the 'work force' (a more or less homogeneous group of proletariat) and the social and technical division of labour.

Although there is some mention in Bradbury's work of "...increasing numbers of women and youths in the labour market who are exploited by restructuring strategies aimed at lowering wages and 'proletarianising' the work force" (p. 35), the specific conditions of incorporation of these marginal groups into the labour market are not explored. Indeed, they almost appear to be a 'natural' part of the production process, fundamental to the exploitation of labour. While it is true that lower-wage, non-unionised female, youth and immigrant workers are perceived as more 'compliant' and 'flexible' in their work arrangements, there is no explanation *why* this might be the case. 'Women' are simply incorporated as a labour category into his analysis of class. The implication here is that only 'working class' women are exploited by capital - there is no mention of gender constructs in the social relations of production beyond the further 'proletarianisation' of labour.

There are several conceptual shortcomings of traditional class analysis which, while explicitly linking social and economic relations, have a limiting effect on exploring more fully the connections between work, gender and the social relations of production. First, 'women' and 'class' are not equivalent categories for social analysis. While 'woman' refers to biological characteristics, 'class' refers to a compilation of social, economic, cultural and political processes. Although this seems obvious, improved geographic

analysis of restructuring events depends upon clearly defined categories. Second, understanding the economic exploitation of women, particularly their continued placement in 'job ghettos', depends upon conceptualising the formulation and reproduction of 'gender' which cuts *across* traditional class boundaries. Following this logic, 'gender' can stand alone as a 'necessary relation' in geographic analysis, thereby advancing research 'on women' (ie. counting them) to research 'for' women (i.e. gender research). Third, increasing numbers of women in the work force must be seen as having an impact not only on the (paid) labour force, but also on the wider relations which encompass the reproduction of that labour force and the community which gives it a 'context'. These 'wider relations' include the dynamics of family and home life and individual/group social integration within the community. And finally, given its concentration on the economic relations between different social and productive groups, class analysis tends to ignore, or generalise about the impacts of these relations over space.

Building on the relationship between economic class and the social relations of production, a revised analytical framework is needed capable of explaining how major industrial changes have been both facilitated and necessitated by the changing structures and relationships of communities, their regional labour markets and capital. Following Haughton (1989), this is particularly important in debates over old industrial areas (like Cornwall) which have been stigmatised by some observers as 'outmoded' given the traditional attitudes of established industrial labour.

Others have gone further than this in imposing a reductive unilinear determinism, based on preconceived notions of industrial and gender relations, to see subsequent phases of capitalist development as shunning established industrial work forces in favour of 'green labour' (usually non unionised women). This form of stereotyping is ultimately disabling to meaningful analysis (Haughton, 1989 p.234).

In terms of developing a framework for this study therefore, the deterministic assumptions about the nature and behaviour of economic classes should be examined. The

importance of locality, as the context for industrial and labour market change, needs also to be explored from the point of view of how people experience and adapt to change at the community level. The impacts of, and responses to, fluctuating investment patterns and industrial restructuring can vary substantially between areas dependent on any combination of factors including: the legacy of previous forms of industrial production; the ability of existing local work forces to remould themselves to achieve change given the prospect of capital flight; community and government activity and policy; and 'chance'.

2.2.2 Locating 'the Social' in Spatial Divisions of Labour

In response to these, and other theoretical challenges facing a 'revised' geography of regional change, there has been a marked growth in the past decade and a half of literature aimed at re-thinking the key processes and relations involved in economic change. Given the central concern in this thesis with developing the creative and analytical potential of gender in restructuring studies, it is necessary to develop some links between the uneven dynamics of industrial restructuring, gender and the social relations of production. The work of Massey (1984, 1985, 1995) and Massey and Meegan (1979, 1982, 1985) has been instrumental in encouraging debate in this area, and therefore deserves special attention in this critical review.

Massey's principal contributions to developing a 'gendered geography of restructuring' stem from her notions of 'spatial divisions of labour' and the fundamentally gendered nature of the 'social processes of production'. She argues that new frameworks in economic geography are necessary to address rapidly changing development dynamics in an increasingly globalised production and investment environment. Drawing on Massey (1984, 1994) and O'Neill (1989), some key characteristics of these restructuring dynamics include:

1. the rate of concentration of capital at all geographical scales (nations, regions, localities, global trading blocs);

2. the rate at which organisations re-organise their production facilities, and the nature of these corporate restructuring strategies (mergers, acquisitions, concentrations);
3. the application of new technologies to production, facilitating the rise of international branch-plant economies and divisions of labour. Increasingly, there are 'core' areas which influence the 'peripheries' both in terms of investment decisions and creating regionalised labour markets;
4. the patterns of these changes are linked to the historically-specific nature of economic cycles in each region, nation or locality;
5. the environments in which corporations operate simultaneously shape, and are shaped by the historical forces of political, economic, social and cultural characteristics of that environment; and,
6. the processes of restructuring are directly responsible for the modern crisis of capitalism and the related fiscal crises of national and local states.

From this overview, the historical and spatial links underlying the concentration and restructuring of capital can be seen. In further developing these themes, Massey and Massey and Meegan have argued that the impact of national economic processes on local areas depends on their interaction with preexisting investment and production patterns. Although this structuralist approach has been criticised as a form of 'top down' analysis which ignores *specific* local experience, it does allow Massey to evaluate 'types' of local structures in the context of change initiated at more aggregated economic levels. Furthermore, in connecting economic, social and spatial processes, a convincing case is made for the fact that neither space nor distance is a crucial independent variable affecting human behaviour given that the social relations of production are not aspatial. In other words, **the labour process under capitalism is not the same everywhere, but differs between 'regimes' in ways that reflect their particular histories and influence their futures** (Johnston, Hauer and Hoekveld, 1990). Uneven 'layers of development' (Massey, 1984) are part of the restructuring process which reflects the interaction of general (socio-economic) conditions of development in the context of local production regimes. Thus, adjustments to the nature and level of employment within in industry may mean plant closures for some localities, and prosperity for others. What is at

issue therefore, is the *reproduction over space of the social relations of production* and how they are 'played out' in various regions or cities.

The concept of uneven development, if it is to have any purchase on the structure and dynamics of economy and society more widely, must refer to more than the fact that there are more jobs in some places than others. Such measures...do not in themselves link that inequality to its causes in the deeper structures of the organisation of society. In order to do this, uneven development must be conceptualised in terms of the basic building blocks of (in this case) capitalist society (Massey, 1984 p. 86).

The conceptual appeal of Massey's spatial divisions of labour lies in its movement away from positivistic and predictive assumptions of economic behaviour concerning, for example, investment decisions and class relations by arguing that changes in industrial structure are but one aspect of the construction of local class characteristics and the social relations of production. Also important in understanding local variance in restructuring experience are: the wider social structures of the community; alterations in the nature of consumption; changes to the spatial organisation of production; national ideology and political climate; and the restructuring of state finances. The key to understanding new spatial divisions of labour emerging both sectorally and organisationally lies therefore in the complex social relations between capital, labour and the state.

Although the conceptualisation of spatial divisions of labour introduces a 'social element' into restructuring analysis, it offers few alternatives (especially from a policy point of view) to the **primacy of capital** in initiating change in the location of economic activity. Examinations of the potential of the state as a policy maker influencing the behaviour of capital - particularly over important social concerns like unemployment, labour dislocation, wage levels, the exploitation of marginal groups including women, youth and immigrants, working conditions and community development - are not adequately developed in Massey's analysis. Rather than focus on the obvious fact that

capital rarely has a social conscience in its location behaviour, this analysis seeks to elevate and expand the 'social element' in restructuring theory by: (a) developing a more comprehensive understanding of 'social processes' in production to include gender in its basic formulation, and; (b) suggesting that policy aimed at both mitigating the negative 'social effects' of capital relocation, and influencing the behaviour of capital to include a greater social conscience, would be facilitated by this more comprehensive understanding.

There are several limitations in Massey's analysis of restructuring that need to be addressed in developing a broader understanding of the social impacts of restructuring. First, Massey's 'building blocks' of society draw heavily on class analysis, and the dynamics of British social formation. This framework therefore cannot be wholly parachuted on to other industrial landscapes because the historical, cultural and social conditions of economic development will differ, for example, between Central Canada and Southeastern England. Concerns of this nature have been raised in particular by Fagan (1989) in work on the Australian steel industry and through Fincher's (1989) research into labour markets in specific areas of Melbourne, Australia. Massey's emphasis on class relations tends to reduce the social practices of other spheres of daily life to reflections of workplace activities (Fincher, 1989). Not only does this assume that workplace activities are always more important to individuals than 'other' spheres of involvement, but it tends to: (a) impose the dichotomy of 'public and private' activities and spaces on Massey's economic landscapes, and (b) obscure the importance of *gender constructs* in shaping individual behaviour in *either* sets of these activities. Furthermore, the notion of society as comprised of building blocks is not entirely consistent with the project of 're-thinking' the role of social processes in a geography of restructuring. As part of developing a greater theoretical and empirical awareness of gender, it is more useful to think of society as made up of *relations between individuals*, rather than limiting social analysis to relations between 'blocks' of people. Without this individual focus there is a temptation to look at the uneven layers of development without seeing the kinds of relationships between people which shape and reproduce these uneven layers.

Moreover, the *mechanisms of change* which shape the social relations of production, and that are a fundamental part of industrial restructuring to the extent that they affect a region's (or community's) social and spatial organisation, are not clearly identified in Massey's work. Left at the level of conjecture is *how* industrial decline and changing employment conditions will inevitably produce social and spatial 'effects'. In terms of labour market dynamics, the vagueness about mechanisms may in part be owing to an unstated acceptance of the new international division of labour (NIDL) which does not capture the complexity of changes in employment or investment patterns in advanced capitalist countries.

Following Fagan (1989), adherence to the NIDL as an explanatory framework overstates the role of technological change as that of simply mobilising productive capital from one location to another, an approach that does not facilitate analysis of regional labour markets or socio-spatial processes. Using examples from the restructuring of Australia's steel industry throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Fagan *starts* with the local scale in understanding the firm and its environment and the various restructuring processes which determine how investment occurs within localities. In other words, he attempts to contextualise the abstract laws concerning the behaviour of capital, labour market dynamics and the role of the state in explaining how the benefits and costs of industrial change are shared unequally from region to region.

In developing the framework through which social and spatial relations are to be investigated (in both the local and the more global contexts), both Fagan's and Massey's interpretations of class draw directly on Marxist theory which has been criticised by feminist geographers as fundamentally patriarchal (Fincher, 1989; Johnson, 1989). The significance of this position for women, in Massey's work, is to consider them as a reserve army of labour with universal characteristics (immobility, inexperience, conservatism) which determine the options for women and men in paid work (Johnson, 1989). Fagan (1989) on the other hand, does not develop a gender component in his analysis and limits his social critique to striving for community empowerment by identifying and overcoming

working class injustice. While this is an important social goal, it fails to include the specific struggles of women whose changing patterns of employment are structured by gender roles as well as class divisions in the social relations of the home, the community and the workplace (Fincher, 1989).

The point to be made here is that the inclusion of gender in restructuring studies demands greater attention in understanding the processes of production and labour market formation than can be afforded by 'tacking it on' to class analysis. Gender does not complicate theories of class (as is implied by Massey's approach), rather it transects, structures and permeates all aspects of human agency. A crucial component of the theoretical framework developed here is that gender *structures* inequality in the work force through the reproduction of sexual divisions of labour. The following section explores in more detail the role of gender in the social processes of production and spatial divisions of labour.

2.2.3 Gender as Part of the Restructuring Agenda - A Revised Geography of Employment

Using as a starting point discussions of the geography of employment, Massey (1984, 1994) places gender firmly in the restructuring literature by claiming that without an understanding of the gender roles which underlie the workings of society and formation of economic classes, we cannot hope to present a reasonable analysis of the spatial behaviour of women and men, nor of the institutions both dependent on and influencing that behaviour. Theorising about spatial divisions of labour and 'place', she states that the "...geography of gender relations has been an important element in British industry's attempts to reorganise geographically; to restructure itself out of crisis" (Massey, 1994 p. 82).

Several significant empirical trends, particularly evident since the late 1940s, underlie her concern with gender. First, there have been dramatic increases in the numbers

of women going out to work. Second, there remains a significant separation between the types of work done by women and that done by men. Third, and representing a focal point of this research, there are intra- and inter-regional distributions of 'women's work' in industries and industrial sectors (this has become more evident since the 1960s). In relation to this last point, gendered divisions of labour in waged work are not only visible *between* industries, but also *within* them. It is often the case that women occupy the lowest skilled jobs which require little official training and lower pay (Women and Geography Study Group of the IBG, 1984). Changes in the patterns of women's employment have taken place alongside increased state intervention into the economy and most recently in the context of a 'rolled-back' welfare state and the rapid international redeployment of capital. In the past two decades, considerable empirical research on industrial location and regional inequality in the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States has pointed to the links between women's changing employment patterns and the wider processes of economic change.

[there is a] whole complex of social causes through which different parts of the population are allocated to different kinds of jobs within society as a whole. [W]ithout some grasp of the gendered construction of the...labour market it is quite impossible to understand the recent locational contortions of...capital as it has tried to restructure, and relocate itself out of crisis. A feminist perspective, has a lot to contribute to better explanation within geography (Massey, 1984 p.12).

Particularly useful in linking the processes of restructuring (including technological and production change) to employment, gender and the uneven layers of development are Massey's insights into job skill and gender differentiation. The classification of jobs as 'unskilled', 'semi-skilled' or 'skilled' often shows a gender bias that can determine who gets laid off in the case of employment cutbacks, or, creates an emerging technical elite within the production regime. Here we see the crucial intersection of employment, gender and the social processes of production. Women's perceived status as secondary income

earners (working for 'pin money') and assumed role as primary reproductive workers can shape behaviours in the 'productive' sphere. Indeed, the main contributions of Massey's theoretical work lie in showing that the processes of production fundamentally are *social* and display *gendered patterns of participation* which suggests that the impacts of economic change are not only unevenly distributed between regions, but also between women and men.

However, there are some weaknesses in Massey's theorising which need to be addressed in furthering our understanding of some of the important issues she raises. First, Massey's discussion of gender relations often takes second place to her discussion of class relations. There are times when it appears that gender relations only 'happen' in the context of economic classes and productive activity, which is clearly not the case. Second, in an otherwise detailed anatomy of industrial restructuring, the analytical value of 'gender relations' in making concrete connections between productive life and social life in restructuring communities is not explored. There is no sense that gender and social process are dynamic, and that both respond to, and shape, the economic and social processes of regional change. Gender is presented as a monolithic social category which somehow represents social relations but is isolated from the *economic* imperatives of restructuring.

Assuming that different localities may be characterised by a certain industrial mix and labour market, it is logical to suppose that gender relations and roles will in some way be shaped by these (among other historical) conditions. The importance of a locality in reproducing the social relations of production is not aligned to its location per se, as much as its existence as a setting for capitalist development. Therefore, when linking gender, employment and production in discussions of differential reproduction over space greater attention needs to be given to the role of locality in the articulation, juxtaposition and intersection of multiple and gendered social relations. That these relations will be charged with internal tensions and contradictions is part of the uneven nature and dynamics of development. Therefore, we need to **clarify our understanding of gender constructs not as 'things' so much as processes wrapped up in the**

dynamics of regional change.

Considerable feminist geographic literature exists (Mackenzie, 1989; McDowell, 1991a, 1991b; Women and the Geography Study Group of the IBG, 1984; Massey, 1994; Rose, 1985; Roos, 1985; Saunderson, 1989; McDowell and Pringle, 1992, inter alia) that investigates the ways gender relations are reproduced in the daily activities of people's lives - both in the productive and reproductive spheres. Work by Mackenzie (1989), Mackenzie and Rose (1983), Mackenzie and Kobayashi (1989) and Milroy and Wisner (1994) inter alia, has demonstrated that the manner in which women use their time, resources and functional environments at individual levels plays an integral role in shaping and reproducing the social relations of production and organisation at more aggregate levels:

Seeing the articulation of gender relations with environmental relations means focusing on the activities involved in the production of goods and services, with reference to or simultaneously with those involved in the biological and social reproduction of people (Mackenzie, 1989 p. 55).

Therefore, further to clarifying *how* to view gender as a dynamic and fundamental construct in the processes of industrial restructuring, we define gender as an analytical category which regulates and structures identity around sexuality and the socially defined differences between women and men. **That gender constructs change over time, and permeate all aspects of social life highlights their importance as a necessary social relation in studies of regional change.** Capitalism as a productive and social system therefore contributes to gendered identities and divisions of labour which form the underlying basis of the social relations of production.

This revised theoretical understanding of regional industrial geography is important for a couple of reasons. First, it broadens our view of the labour process. It facilitates research into the arena of production and the work force as inclusive of the domestic

economy and unpaid labour that contributes to capital and social formation. A more comprehensive understanding of 'work' is integral to challenging notions of separate and static 'spheres' or 'spaces' (ie. private vs. public) in much of the restructuring literature. It also helps us move beyond the confines of class-based analysis in reformulating the connections between the necessary social and economic relations of a geography of restructuring. The focus of empirical study is therefore concentrated on understanding *processes* instead of simply explaining trends and identifying patterns. Building on this first point is a second issue concerning the conditions under which women and men enter the labour market. That there is a *gendered division of labour* relates to women's and men's roles in other areas of life. Much has been written about the fact that women end up in 'job ghettos' because their dual productive/reproductive roles often restrict them in the type of waged labour they can realistically perform. Given their dual role, women's labour has certain attractions and disadvantages for employers. The attractions revolve around women's ability (willing or otherwise) to accommodate part-time work, shift schedules and 'routine' suburban office jobs. The disadvantages however stem from women's work having to 'fit in' with their domestic responsibilities (Mackenzie and Rose, 1983).

Concerning the issue of 'willingness', *do* women participate in part-time work, in the sense that it is *preferred* to full-time labour? What is the connection between women's continued (and growing) participation in service-oriented, low skill 'job ghettos', more flexible production regimes and the internationalisation of capital? Although informative in exposing the complexities of women's daily lives, and challenging out-dated notions of separated spheres of activity, explanations of female employment patterns based almost exclusively on the dual role argument only provide part of the picture. Discussions of the social processes of production pointed to the fact that gender, as a social construct, is differentially reproduced over space, and, is linked to regionally specific divisions of labour. It follows for example, that the gendered geography of employment may differ in some respects between old industrial areas (like Cornwall in Eastern Ontario) and tertiary-based economies specialising in government and 'high-tech' industries (like Ottawa, also in

Eastern Ontario). Insights into the implications of regional labour markets, gender and restructuring require an integrated understanding of women's dual roles in terms of how they are articulated with the wider processes of a changing labour market. In addressing these issues, the following section explores the notion of a feminised labour force using some Canadian data and examples. The aim is to 'set the stage' for defining specific research questions and a context for empirical work.

2.3 The Feminisation of Labour - Concept and Contradictions

An overview of Canadian labour market trends provides an entry point to understanding the complexities of our changing labour market. Census data suggest that the increased participation of women in the labour force over the past two and a half decades has not necessarily led to their increased representation in all sectors of the economy. In 1971, 85.7% of women in Canada were employed in 131 of 484 occupations recorded by labour force survey data (Hughes, 1990). In other words, approximately four-fifths of women worked in about one quarter of the types of jobs available to Canadian workers. Further, two thirds of these jobs fell into five categories: clerical, machining, services, processing and health. The 353 occupations dominated by men were much more diversified and employed just over 80% of the work force. A comparison with data from 1986 shows surprising stability in the number of traditional and non-traditional occupations for women and men. According to the *1991 Survey of Work Arrangements*, work patterns and employment opportunities for women continue to be strongly influenced by the presence and age of children (Statistics Canada, 1991). The *Survey* also showed that the location (for example, 'home-based' or 'external' workplace), and quality (part-time, full-time) of employment are strongly influenced by gender and family status.

Numerous studies on the women in the Canadian work force (Marshall, 1994; Hughes, 1990; Chawla, 1990; Devereaux and Lindsay, 1993; Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey Data, 1961 - 1991) discovered the patterns characterising women's

employment since the early 1970s: (1) women earn less money than men in the same or similar occupations (although the gap is decreasing - see Table 3); (2) more women than men are employed in part-time, service sector jobs; (3) in family situations with two earners, women's income is becoming proportionately more important to family income; and, (4) women with young children continue to have the lowest labour participation rates.

A critical interpretation of these trends suggests that the Canadian labour force is

**Table 3 Average Annual Earnings by Occupation and Sex,
Canada 1992**

	Full-time, full-year workers			All workers		
	Women	Men	Earnings ratio ¹	Women	Men	Earnings ratio ¹
	\$		%	\$		%
Managerial/administrative	33,548	51,794	64.8	29,761	48,303	61.6
Natural sciences	35,375	48,034	73.6	31,200	43,309	72.0
Social sciences/religion	37,050	61,764	60.0	29,508	51,737	57.0
Teaching	40,931	51,923	78.8	31,225	44,620	70.0
Medicine/health	33,787	57,107	59.2	28,179	50,971	55.3
Artistic/recreational	28,426	34,946	81.3	17,503	25,975	67.4
Clerical	25,208	33,009	76.4	19,125	26,335	72.6
Sales	24,109	35,240	68.4	16,387	27,086	60.4
Service	18,783	30,787	61.0	11,263	21,691	51.9
Agriculture	13,461	18,530	72.6	10,991	15,772	69.7
Processing	25,731	35,978	71.5	18,355	29,755	61.7
Product assembly/fabrication/repair	21,386	34,791	61.4	18,028	29,832	60.4
Transport equipment operation	26,515	36,012	73.6	18,871	29,728	63.4
Material handling	22,144	29,953	73.9	15,457	19,456	79.4
Total	28,350	39,468	71.8	13,923	29,652	63.8

¹ Represents women's earnings as a percentage of those of men.

source: Statistics Canada, *Women in the Workforce*, 1994 p. 34

not experiencing feminisation in the sense that women are improving their labour position by expanding their involvement in more full-time and varied activities. Rather, the term is a misnomer stemming from generalisations about the effects of macro-economic policy on the labour force.

Feminist economists argue that Canada's renewed commitment to trade liberalisation and export-led growth involve several 'gendered assumptions' which have the effect of deepening, rather than reducing, gendered divisions of labour (Armstrong, 1993; Brodie, 1994; Skrypnek and Fast, 1993; McFarland, 1993; Cohen, 1991; MacDonald, 1994). Since the early 1980s, and through the establishment of the FTA (1984), NAFTA (1993) and the continuing General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) Canada's macro-economic policy has encouraged a type of "shock treatment" aimed at improving efficiency and competitiveness. As a part of this drive for efficiency, government supply management schemes (marketing boards, protective tariffs, subsidy programmes) and social welfare spending have been reduced in deference to the logic that they 'distort' market functions in this global era of competitiveness. The inference is that market distortions are the root cause of problematic economic performance relating to productivity, competitiveness and employment. In terms of labour market adjustment, and the effects of economic liberalisation on women, the following assumptions are made: (1) that the demand for female labour will increase through competition with low-wage countries; (2) as low wage employment spreads throughout the economy, the labour force will be 'feminised' as women are substituted for higher-wage males; and (3) men's jobs will be 'de-skilled' and converted into the kinds of jobs traditionally done by women (Cohen, 1991; Armstrong, 1993; MacDonald, 1994).

The reality of the labour market however, does not support these assumptions. In 1993, the median total income of women and men in Canada fell 3.2% to \$18,000 from the previous year (Statistics Canada, 1995). The decline for women was 3.5%, compared to 2.4% for men. Between 1989 and 1993 (adjusting for inflation), median employment income for both sexes dropped 6.1% - men's income dropping slightly more than women's income⁸. Analyses of the wage and skill structure of Canada's labour market in the past

⁸ In a bulletin released by Statistics Canada in December 1995, the government organisation indicated that for the first time since 1967, the 'wage gap' separating men and women **increased** in 1994 (cited in the *Ottawa Citizen*, Wednesday December 20, 1995, A4). For every dollar earned by men in 1994, women earned only 70 cents which was down from 72 cents in 1993. The wider earnings gap was thought to be a result of the largest annual advance in men's earnings in almost two decades, as opposed to a decrease in women's earnings.

decade indicates it is becoming increasingly polarised in terms of gender and income divisions (Drache, 1993; Mahon, 1993; Myles, 1993). One explanation for this is the process called 'harmonising down' (Armstrong, 1993) which accounts for, among other things, greater statistical regularity between male and female participation rates, and declining male incomes. In the face of a shrinking labour market, and fewer full-time 'good' jobs, men are moving into areas where women have traditionally been employed (lower skill, part time, service sector). While most of the 'good' (full-time, well-paid) jobs are still held by men, increasing numbers of male labourers are adjusting down in terms of their status and pay to take traditionally female-dominated work. The implication is that restructuring and globalisation has created more 'women's work' in the labour market for which women and men are competing.

While there is a certain descriptive utility associated with the concept of harmonising down, advocates of this argument fall into the same macro-statistical trap as those orthodox economists with whom they find fault. Feminist economists have done some important work in terms of providing an alternative, gender-sensitive critique of macro-economic policy - particularly in the area of government and corporate responses to the social and economic needs of working women who also have gendered responsibilities as wives and/or mothers. However, these arguments show little analytical concern with the importance of regional variation in the uneven processes of restructuring. Furthermore, the connection between the changing dynamics of production and the labour process is not adequately explored. In neglecting the centrality of spatial variation in commenting on the social processes of production, feminist economists assume a certain homogeneity of women's experience that may not exist. At times, the powerful analytical concept of gender (and how it is linked to productive and reproductive processes) is ignored in a very generalised critique of macro-economic adjustment strategies. The key to making these links between gender, labour polarisation and regional differentiation starts with a re-examination of the *nature* of restructuring and post-Fordist production regimes.

2.3.1 Feminisation in a post-Fordist Labour Market

Numerous variants of post-Fordist theory exist (the most influential being the French regulationist school and the flexible specialisation approach) which share assumptions about women's secondary position in the labour market (McDowell, 1991a, 1991b, 1992; Duncan, 1992; Myles 1993; Mahon, 1993; Drache, 1993). It is beyond the scope of this section to provide an extensive review of this literature, however it is important to highlight some of the more fundamental and common opinions about post-Fordism and its exploitation of gendered divisions of labour. It is here that we begin to see how new production regimes reproduce and exacerbate existing rigidities in wage and skill structures, and contribute to a growing polarisation between employed individuals.

Based on mass production, mass markets and stable demand, the Fordist regime - a term applied notably to the goods producing sector - lasted roughly from the end of World War Two until 1970. Women were drawn into the labour market during this period for a number of reasons relating largely to: widespread social change aimed at greater equality among 'marginal' social groups (women, racial minorities); and in part to facilitate costs and consumption patterns of mass production. Extensive feminist literature exists on: (1) how women's entry into the labour force was not on equal terms with that of men owing to 'traditional' ideas about gender roles, and; (2) how women's paid labour is neither properly valued, or recognised in terms of its contribution to social and economic structures.

Following McDowell (1992):

Even in the newly expanding public sector, women were concentrated at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy, trapped in the ghettos of 'female' jobs where caring and servicing were seen as desirable but poorly rewarded attributes. In the manufacturing sector women were also concentrated in less skilled and low-paid jobs...[P]art time employment with less security and fewer occupational rights and benefits was a key strategy in expanding female employment. Thus traditional ideas about gender roles combined with labour market regulation created a labour force that was highly segmented by gender (p. 181).

In contrast, the post-Fordist regime is characterised by new types of industrial organisation as capital reorganises itself to take advantage of international markets and more profitable production locations. The development of 'just-in-time' production and delivery systems, greater industrial decentralisation and job 'de-skilling' (Massey, 1982, 1984) has created an entirely new labour market demand and dynamic. With greater capital mobility and production flexibility, comes the demand for new 'forms' of labour including temporary work, discontinuous patterns of employment, part-time contracts and fewer fringe benefits (Mackenzie, 1989; McDowell, 1991a, 1992). Given their unequal conditions of entry into the labour force during the Fordist regime, there is a certain continuity in women's labour position in the current period of economic transformation. In exploring the implications of post-Fordism for women, McDowell (1992) suggests that the changing labour requirements seem to be creating a 'core' of skilled, permanent workers and a 'periphery' of less-skilled, temporary workers. The minority of women in the 'core' are becoming increasingly polarised from the much larger numbers of women in the 'periphery'. The argument concludes that post-Fordism has reinforced, not restructured, women's exploitation by creating a more complex and divisive employment structure. This insight is important for a number of reasons. First, it exposes the lack of debate in the post-Fordist thesis over the continuity of women's labour patterns (McDowell, 1992). Second, it lays to rest once and for all the idea that women's entry into waged labour (or 'feminisation' of the labour force) *automatically* has an emancipatory effect on women. And third, it highlights the deepening contradiction between economic and social restructuring - particularly in terms of women's labour exploitation in the productive and reproductive spheres.

There are however, a number of shortcomings with McDowell's post-Fordist analysis which expose certain 'universal' assumptions about female labour. Although this criticism has been made elsewhere (in a different context), sweeping generalisations are made about gender and social formation that draw (implicitly) on Britain's class structure. The separation of relatively few numbers of women into 'core' jobs, and the vast majority into 'periphery' jobs is also the historical product of class boundaries, education and

training opportunities - not just gender. Further, the *specific* characteristics of core and periphery jobs were not given (other than some were full-time and others were not). The reader was left to assume that most 'servicing' and 'caring' jobs were necessarily in the periphery. This raises questions about whether service jobs are necessarily 'bad' jobs, and the extent to which McDowell fully explored the dynamics and defining features of post-Fordist, service-oriented economies. While it is true that *consumer* services (personal and social care) tend (in many countries) to be at the lower end of the stability and pay-scale, *producer* services (business and distributive functions) tend to be more characteristic of 'core' employment in terms of stability and pay. It is also true that certain social services (in the public sector) tend to offer very stable employment, while a variety of business services (including administration and clerical work) tend to be poorly valued and are perceived to be of lower status. In other words, there is considerable variety of employment within the service sector which make assumptions about producer-jobs as 'good' and service-jobs as 'bad' not entirely accurate. Moreover, given that the notion of core-periphery labour dynamics was central to McDowell's theoretical framework, surprisingly little empirical evidence was offered to substantiate this concept.

Finally, there is little (or no) indication of the spatial differentiation of the social relations of production, or, acknowledgement that the content and gendered characteristics of core and periphery jobs may reflect regional functional specialisation. This is a rather serious oversight given that regions characterised by heavy manufacturing have different 'job-wage-skill-gender' structures than areas specialising in high-technology, information based industries.

Here we see the particular relevance of developing locality studies as a means to evaluate whether and how, combinations of spatially variable restructuring phenomena create specific localised causal entities with distinct dynamics (Bagguley et. al., 1990). Empirical work done on the experience of industrial restructuring in Lancaster, England during the 1970s and 1980s (Bagguley et. al., 1990) showed that an effective way to understand the economic, cultural, social and political complexity of restructuring was to

present the concrete processes of industrial change at a variety of spatial levels as the intersection of class, gender and race relations expressed in the local context. Depending upon local histories of development, the occupational structure and social composition of a region's labour force 'recomposes' itself. Evidence suggested that the processes of recomposition had different impacts on women and men. For example, in terms of employment patterns, sectoral change did not have much effect on women's occupational experience as they tended to remain within the same occupational grouping despite shifts between industrial sectors.

Theoretically, the strength of locality studies draws on the possibility of examining more rounded sets of processes and interrelations of causal entities in different spheres including the formal economy, civil society and the state (Bagguley et. al., 1990). In this sense, it fills the gap left by post-Fordist critique which over generalises the role of capital in contributing to gendered divisions of labour and ignore the central importance of space in defining regional economies and social systems. The theoretical limitations (or perhaps, areas requiring some caution in interpretation) of locality studies, particular in the context of Canada, relate to sweeping statements about the centrality of classes in the social recomposition of localities and generalisations about the role of the (nation) state in defining economic policy. In an economy characterised by branch plant industries (like in Canada) and foreign investment, strategies aimed at regulating capital flight are often very limited. The willingness and ability of social groups to mobilise around economic issues therefore are likely to be markedly different than that experienced in Lancaster.

2.4 Gender, Restructuring and Regional Labour Markets - The Case of an 'Old Order' Community

So far, our discussion has centred on a critical review of orthodox restructuring theory (including the limitations of class-based analysis), the value of exploring gender in the context of spatial divisions of labour (Massey, 1982, 1984, 1994) and selected feminist

critiques of the effects of liberalised trade, post-Fordism and gendered divisions of employment. The final part of this theoretical framework concerns the role of 'community' and its interrelationship with gender and industrial restructuring.

The basic claim from Massey's (1984) research into spatial divisions of labour, is that localities can be identified by using a typology of labour market types such as 'heavy industry/ branch plant' regions, 'skilled engineering' labour markets, inter alia. It follows that each of these types will display a certain social composition formed by a previous division of labour. Gender is also superficially introduced into this typology as a part of identifying and describing particular class groups in types of regional labour markets. The limitation of this view for empirical research is that, in searching for the impacts of nationally generated processes in the data, cases not consistent with national trends may be ignored. The importance of looking at the local impact of national processes stems from the fact that localities react differently to successive layers of investment - the effects of national restructuring may be the opposite from one region to another. Following this logic, the implications for employment patterns also point to the possibility of regional variation. Localities (or communities) therefore, provide the setting in which to analyse how major external and international processes operate within local structures.

Community restructuring is heavily contingent upon industrial restructuring (and vice versa) - acting as both cause and effect (Haughton, 1989). While much is written about the interconnections of community, industrial restructuring and social change, relatively few studies attempt to illustrate the interconnections. The case study on Cornwall aims to make these connections. The theoretical position taken in linking national forces of restructuring to different communities involves the need to understand the uniqueness of localities, with particular regard to their functional specialisation and employment characteristics. The legacy of previous forms of industrial production, labour processes and community activity is particularly important in gaining an understanding of *older* industrial areas. Not only is this legacy a critical mediating influence in restructuring as it represents both a barrier and the means of achieving change (Haughton, 1989), but it is

these communities which tend to experience the most profound social transformations in accommodating (or resisting) the demands of capital.

Owing to the increasing mobility of capital in the past two decades and the willingness of corporations to abandon sites where long production runs, organised labour and less flexible manufacturing technology are the 'norm', areas with a long history of specialisation in Fordist production (textiles, apparel, pulp and paper, selected chemical and other 'sunset' industries) are perceived as particularly vulnerable to the negative impacts of restructuring. Where larger manufacturing centres of the 'old order' may recover, stabilise or have greater potential for service sector development owing to a more complex industrial profile (Windsor and Hamilton, Ontario), many smaller centres do not have this potential owing to a relatively high degree of functional specialisation, more limited economic diversification (owing to lower demand and fewer people) and greater geographic isolation. Cornwall appears to fit into this latter category - however the precise nature of its labour adjustment process remains to be discovered and that provides the basis of this study. Exemplary of Porter's (1991) old economic order, and the problems associated with permeable Fordism, an exploration of Cornwall's restructuring experience, and how it affects gendered employment patterns, may provide further insight into the links between the social and spatial processes of production in a geography of regional change.

2.5 Summary and Revised Framework

This last section briefly summarises the main theoretical arguments reviewed in the chapter and proposes a revised formulation of gender, restructuring and regional change outlined in Figure 2.

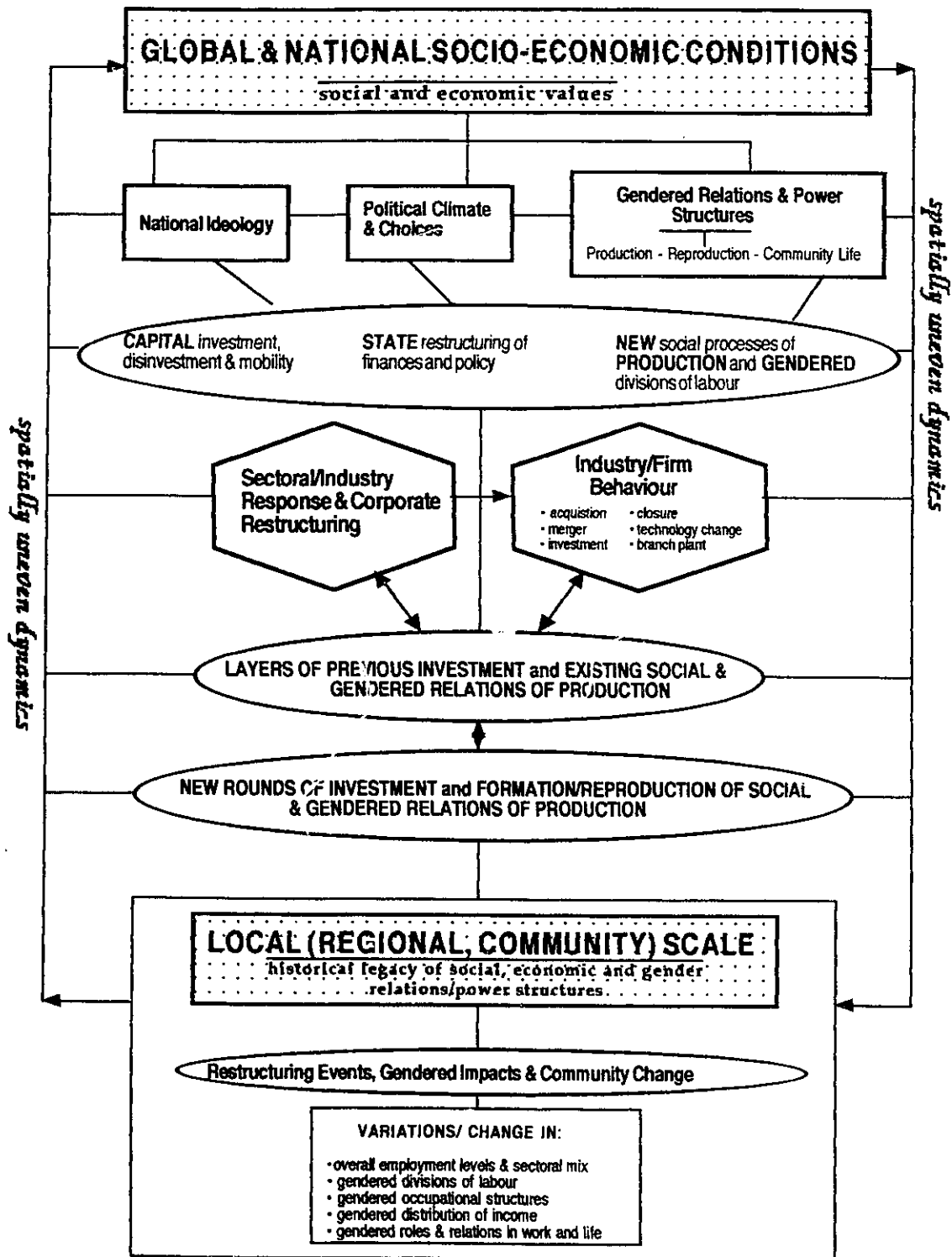
The starting point for developing a theoretical framework to guide this research involved a critical review of **orthodox restructuring theory**. It was argued that adherence to neoclassical restructuring studies as highly reductionist and, where people

were factored into the scenario, they were included as economic entities (either producers and/or consumers). While there are certain benefits to the identification of macro-scale trends, orthodox analyses are aspatial and gender neutral. These type of analyses tend also to focus exclusively on the manufacturing sector to describe restructuring, while ignoring the importance of changing employment patterns in the service sector - a sector which is characterised by high proportions of female employment. As a means of introducing 'social process' into restructuring theory, **class analysis** links economic production to the construction and reproduction of a distinct social order. Here, we see the specific conditions of incorporation of different groups of people into the production process. However, class-based studies of restructuring are only partially successful in explaining how and why men and women are differentially incorporated into the social relations of production. Class categories, as fundamentally economic creations, are limited in their ability to contextualise the wider relations of economic production which include the reproduction of the labour force and the maintenance of community structure.

A discussion of Massey's **spatial divisions of labour** expanded the notion of class and social analysis in restructuring theory and linked the social relations of production to the uneven nature of development. The idea of social relations being stretched out over space provided a conceptual basis for geographies of regional change to explore gendered patterns of employment. The limitations of Massey's analysis of restructuring, gender and employment stem from an explicit adherence to class as representing the category around which gender is formed. It was argued that, as part of developing a greater theoretical and empirical awareness of gender in restructuring studies, we needed to think of society as made up of relations between individuals - instead of simply relations between blocks of people. In this way, it may be possible to explore the mechanisms and processes which tend to reproduce gendered divisions of labour.

Post-Fordist theory bridged this gap left by Massey's class-based concepts of social relations and gender by exposing the *complexities of new work relations* resulting

Figure 2 Gender, Restructuring and Regional Change: A Revised 'Global-Local' Framework



from this latest round of industrial restructuring. Here, gender relations are not a function of class relations, and are used to explain how women's conditions of entry into the work force contribute to gendered divisions of labour. As capital restructures, exploited groups (women, youths, immigrants) are further marginalised in a production process aimed at flexibility and specialisation. Associated with restructured production techniques are new forms of work that have led to an increasingly **feminised labour force**. A major limitation of post-Fordist theory is the lack of discussion of the spatial differentiation of the social relations of production.

The final component to the theoretical framework involved a brief discussion of the role of community as a setting for the interplay of global processes with local structures. It is in this context that the links between gender, restructuring and employment are most evident. Further, concerns with local uniqueness demand a thorough understanding of how broader scale forces are recorded in specific contexts, thereby advancing geographies of regional change beyond concerns with general representativity and towards a deeper examination of processes shaping patterns of change. The value of this approach, which draws on the 'locality studies' approach (Bagguley et. al., 1990), lies in the development of more informed public policy aimed at anticipating and dealing with the social impacts of restructuring. Referring briefly to Figure 2, key political, social, economic and gendered factors in a revised approach to restructuring studies are identified - showing the interconnections between global and local processes. The entire framework represents a 'loop' indicating a mutually recursive and dynamic relationship between the various factors and spatial levels. Rather than demonstrate directions of causality, the diagram is meant to highlight areas where important changes (linked to the restructuring process) are occurring, and outline social constructs and institutions involved in those changes.

Using Cornwall, Ontario as a case study, this research sets out to examine: (1) the importance of space and locality in exploring patterns of labour force feminisation, and; (2) the links between restructuring and the continuity of gendered divisions of labour. The theoretical and methodological challenges underlying these tasks involves showing how it

might be possible to bridge the gap between understanding specific and broader trends in several related contexts. The first context involves variance between national, regional and sub-regional experiences of restructuring and labour force adjustment. The second context concerns processes underlying gendered patterns of employment, and how individual experience informs the mechanisms shaping gendered divisions of labour. Finally, and building on the conceptual guidelines proposed by locality research in the United Kingdom, the third context concerns the utility of community-based research as a way to improve our understanding of the geography of regional change and our ability to contribute to public policy debates on the social impacts of restructuring in Canada. It is suggested that the dynamics of gendered adjustment strategies, and labour force restructuring in the case of Cornwall, will be strongly linked to its position as a branch plant economy highly vulnerable to changing global patterns of investment in its traditional industries (particularly textiles and apparel and pulp and paper production). The interpretation of 'locality' and understanding of 'social process' in the Canadian context should be made with a view to the permeable nature of our production and investment regimes.

The next chapter outlines general the research design, methods and approach to empirical study. Consistent with the theoretical aims of challenging analytical categories and explanations of restructuring, a discussion of methods in geographic research highlights the importance of critical self understanding in the process of theorising.

CHAPTER THREE

Methods and Research Design: Defining an Approach

3.0 Introduction

This chapter critically discusses the methods used in empirical study and outlines the main components of the research design. The context for the research design is set in the first section through a discussion of 'counting women' which includes a brief review of feminist epistemology, empiricism and the politics of knowing. The overall study design aims to create a 'reflexive' approach to social theorising and, in so doing, self-critical comments are made concerning the implications of choosing various methods and approaches to explanations. The second section centres on identifying key research assumptions and proposes ways to evaluate processes and mechanisms of change central to the theoretical goals. The third and final section highlights the main components and phases of empirical study and reflects on data uses and limitations.

3.1 The Politics of Method - Feminism, Criticism and Geographic Explanation

In the absence of self-aware, and self-critical theorising, the applicability of geographic explanation is limited. Among other things, the strength of feminist (geographic) critique lies in its inherent role to challenge accepted theoretical 'norms' and

'categories' of analysis and relationships forming the basis of explanation. Increasingly, geographers (both feminist and non-feminist) are being drawn into debates over how methodologies act as powerful extensions of epistemological and ontological positions (Hodge, 1995). Recognising the fact that even the 'simplest' method of investigation is imbued with meaning and assumptions about how 'a thing' can be known, is instructive as it allows us to reflect on what can be learned from different types of information collected. From the outset, it is important to clarify that no matter what approach to research is taken, the most we can ever hope to achieve is a 'partial perspective' where researchers explicitly position themselves within the matrix of social and power relations with respect to the object of study (Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi, 1995).

The problematic of 'what can be known' brings us back to the starting point of *how* we can know. The following section critically reviews selected literature on how, and whether, women should count in feminist geographic research. At best, this review is somewhat superficial but touches on several important aspects of quantitative analysis and feminist research objectives relevant to this study.

3.1.1 Should Women Count? - A Methodological Balancing Act

Much recent feminist geographic literature⁹ has centred on the role of quantitative methodology in research. These debates are relevant to this study in general - given its aims to enhance knowledge of human-environment interaction and gender equity - and in particular because of the use of quantitative techniques in the analysis of restructuring and labour force change.

Early feminist geographical work sought to redress the absence of women and later, the importance of gender, by counting women to increase their visibility and significance in empirical and theoretical work. '**Feminist empiricism**' - quantitative research

⁹ Works including: Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi, 1995; McLafferty, 1995; Staeheli and Lawson, 1995; Moss, 1994; Moss, 1995; Lawson, 1995; Hodge, 1995.

highlighting the spatial dimensions of women's inequality - is based on the idea that: women are overlooked or misrepresented in mainstream science due to the oversights of male and/or nonfeminist researchers (Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi, 1995). According to McLafferty (1995),

The many examples where researchers interpret the same "facts" differently, or where disaggregating data reveals completely new patterns, or where the choice of scale or place affects what we see, confirm the lack of complete objectivity in quantitative research (p. 437)... Quantitative methods are well suited to describe and probe the measurable aspects of women's lives, to analyze spatial associations, and to document spatial and temporal inequalities (p. 438).

In terms of 'counting women', quantitative methods are applicable to those *aspects of women's lives* that can be measured and that show spatial or distributional inequity (such as income, labour force participation, access to certain types of housing and transportation, inter alia). The point here is not whether women *should* count, but rather, that only certain types of questions can be answered by traditional quantitative methods. In terms of fitting in with feminist politics, quantitative research that makes visible women's inequality has valuable potential to inform policies in the interests of women (Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi, 1995).

Numerically documenting women's lives however, does not *explain* the sources of women's unequal position in society. Drawing on Marxist **structural analysis**, feminists (in the early 1980s) began to question the social construction of knowledge and its role in the explication and transformation of gendered power relations (Staeheli and Lawson, 1995; Moss 1994; Lawson, 1995; McLafferty, 1995). In terms of theorising and methodological choice, claims to 'objective truth' must be called into question on the grounds that they reproduce and reinforce gendered constructions of identity and power. In 'knowing something' it is impossible to separate oneself from what is being investigated. However, where feminist theory represents a significant departure from

structural analysis is the questioning of Marxism's broad and abstract categories explaining social and economic process. Explaining 'oppression' in terms of 'class theory' for example, overlooks the reality and complexity of women's inequality where gender relations are simultaneously defined by race, class and capitalist production. Attempts to develop unified 'meta theories' are also not consistent with the feminist scholarly tradition of grounding feminist knowledge and politics in the everyday experiences of women (Smith, 1987). In terms of 'counting' therefore, feminist empirical research aimed at extensive documentation was extended to deconstruct traditional analytical categories and explicitly illuminate gender as a social process through which masculinities and femininities are formed (Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi, 1995).

Contributing to debates on empirical analysis have been epistemological discussions concerning how women's knowledge is different from men's knowledge. Given that knowledge is socially constructed, **feminist standpoint theorists** have argued that like all social constructs, knowledge is also gendered (Moss, 1994; Moss 1995; Staeheli and Lawson, 1995; Hartsock, 1984, Harding, 1987).

In a society where women and women's ways of knowing are not considered equal to those of men, it is men's knowledge (even of women) that is valued, while women's knowledge is marginalized. This opens up a "line of fault" between women's experiences and dominant conceptual schemes. Because of their position on (and consciousness of) this "line of fault", women/feminist researchers are better placed than men/nonfeminists to reveal gendered bias and disadvantage...Realising the inadequacy of conceptual schemes that deny women's experiences, many feminist scholars have begun to focus on reconceptualizations that articulate and valorise women's ways of knowing. **Their emphasis on the connection between women's knowledge and their experiences of gender oppression leads standpoint feminists to research processes that are not amenable to quantification** (emphasis added) (Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi, 1995 p. 431).

Achieving a 'feminist standpoint' in analysis demands an agenda for research in feminist geography that sorts through our positions as researchers and those of the 'researched' in order to build narratives inclusive of the 'researched' while maintaining a commitment to clarifying how knowledge is socially constructed. Moss (1994, 1995) calls this agenda "betweenness" and argues that it can be achieved by engaging in reflexivity and self-critical analysis. Methodologically, the claims of feminist standpoint theory are difficult to reconcile with quantitative research - unless the limitations and use of data are clearly outlined at the outset of the investigation.

In terms of the practice of science and the generation of knowledge, standpoint theorists suggest that all we can ever work with is a **partial perspective** on understanding phenomena. Our "embeddedness" in multiple positionings of power, truths, facts and conditions must be drawn out and incorporated into explanations. Rather than dismiss quantifying methods as generating knowledge 'inappropriate' to valorising women's way of knowing, criticism should be confined to exposing the false notion that quantification leads to a monopoly on truth.

There is no presupposed vantage point in the search for truths in poststructuralist thought. Objectivity is not equated with *a* truth; rather, such thought permits the possibility of multiple truths. Care must be taken to assure that the subject is not split via choice of method into an object separate from its subject. What multiple truths mean for quantitative methods is that counting must be situated within a partial account of an indivisible subject/object (Moss, 1995 p.444).

Based on the above review, we can conclude that rather than invalidate quantitative methods, various feminist critiques of 'ways of knowing and doing' have led quantitative geographers to think critically about their research, and carefully specify its place. While it is true that quantitative methods "break the living connection" between the researcher and the researched (Moss, 1995), quantitative geographers can insure that their research is more reflexive by being explicit about the politics of research and more sensitive to the subject's

needs and viewpoints (McLafferty, 1995). **The lessons drawn from feminist epistemology especially relevant to this research design concern the need to carefully examine the collection and quality of data and question what is being measured by looking at the diversity and complexity of constructs and categories.**

Related to this discussion on the use of quantitative data in feminist research are questions concerning how the quantitative-qualitative dualism in methodological development perpetuate artificial divisions in geographic explanation. Particularly in analysing the social construction of knowledge, qualitative methods (such as intensive interviewing, participant observation, recording personal narratives, inter alia) are employed because they can document and expose those power relations affecting gender that quantitative methods cannot capture. Qualitative data facilitates the deconstruction of categories to make sense of social process in a way that is opposite to how quantification involves building categories and fixing social relations in order to stabilise them for analysis. This is not to suggest that simultaneously employing qualitative and quantitative methods is counterproductive. Indeed, both approaches to analysis and explanation are employed in this study guided by the fact that counting is used to understand how geographical placement shapes the construction of gendered identities and for understanding how these identities are constituted differently in different places. **The challenge in this study on economic restructuring and gender, is to think carefully about how what we see and ‘quantify’ reflects that which is theorised and imagined in places - like ‘gender’ which is itself an ‘invisible’ construct with material ‘measurable’ manifestations.**

Here, the qualitative-quantitative dualism is vital to measuring how (through labour force and occupational characteristics) aspects of social life contribute to the simultaneous construction of difference (between women and men, and between different groups of women) and ‘similarity’ (in exposing the shared experiences of women). Just as qualitative studies enrich a project by encouraging the ‘subjects’ to have a voice,

quantitative analysis provides a sense of where the research fits in, socially, economically, politically and spatially (McLafferty, 1995). The choice of methods therefore represents a 'balancing act' between feminist ontologies, theorising and empirical research objectives. Following Lawson (1995), it is difficult to negotiate a compatible relationship between feminist ontologies and 'quantifying' research methods. What is considered 'legitimate' is subject to pervasive power relations surrounding the process of knowledge production in all academic departments. The difficulty of resolving tensions between various feminist methods and ways of knowing in geographic analysis however, only reinforces the importance of exposing these issues by engaging in challenging and reflexive research designs.

3.1.2 Research Reflexivity - Importance and Implications

The preceding review of feminism and quantification sets the scene for defining this research plan in two ways. First, it introduces some important debates on the quality and use of data relevant to critical feminist study. And second, it touched on the notion of 'reflexivity' which is a key component of the research plan.

Before outlining the research plan, some discussion of **methodological goals is necessary to clarify the particular choice of techniques and overall approach.** To begin with, this piece of research is feminist in the sense that it seeks to develop a comprehensive and critical understanding of economic restructuring by recognising the importance of 'gender' in the spatially differentiated social relations of production. An essential part of this task is to contribute to a kind of social theory where self-understanding is made explicit, and is also extended, challenged and verified in the continual process of refining explanation. In other words, **feminist research is inherently 'reflexive'** in making the research plan known, in contributing to positive change and empowerment by doing the research, and in making the results accessible to those who participate in the study.

Related to this first point is a second one concerning the fact that feminist analyses are not the same thing as gender studies. Gender is *not* the sole topic of feminist critique (although it is a central construct) - it *is* however, a category of analysis, a perspective on knowledge and a basis for political action. Recently, gender has become more important to nonfeminist analyses of restructuring, but these studies do not necessarily combine an explicit commitment to academic and political change by engaging in 'gender studies'. Feminist analyses of economic restructuring differ from nonfeminist analyses because the conceptual, methodological and political goals are based on a different set of values (Moss, 1994). Recognition of distinct local political economies demands historically and spatially specific explanations of industrial change in light of the social, economic and political relations of everyday life (Mackenzie, 1988; Moss, 1994).

In terms of overall strategy, and drawing on Moss's (1994) analysis of economic restructuring, three central tenets underlie this research design: (1) gender is both a relation and a process that is conceptualised with other sets of relations and processes - in this case production and industrial change; (2) gender is constitutive of individual experience and adaptation to changing material conditions, and; (3) gender is separated conceptually only in order to comprehend entwined sets of relations. Theoretically, feminist critique based on these tenets contributes to incremental change in the way relations and processes are conceptualised. Methodologically, the goal is to combine different techniques to facilitate an alternative and critical 'view' of events and people's lives. There is nothing feminist about a method; it is the feminist use of a method that is significant (Moss, 1994).

The next important aim of this section is to engage in critical self-reflection by discussing how methodological choice can influence the way a problem is understood through research, and addressed through policy. A variety of choices were made in formulating the research design which shape the potential for explanation and policy options. In general, there are two parts to the empirical work - a detailed 'macro' level statistical phase, combined with a series of intensive 'personal work history' interviews. The research is also temporally specific and 'non-generalisable'; which leaves it open to

criticisms of being limited to a 'case study'. To make this criticism however would be a short-sighted dismissal of the aims and methodological contributions of the research.

First of all, concerns with dialectical opposites ('macro-micro'; 'general-unique') are not very useful in understanding why different procedures were chosen in this study. Given the focus on gender and employment, it should be recognised that there is no 'standard experience' and that there is more than one labour market, each with different dynamics¹⁰. To search for representativity in this study would be to limit analysis of social process to a recording traces of social statistics. To focus on the 'unique' (in this case personal histories) limits our understanding about the nature and sources of the structuring of the labour market. The combination of the two approaches, and thoughtful integration of information, can provide insight into the sources and implications of structural change for individuals and/or specific groups of people that would otherwise be difficult to obtain. Further, **the explicit recognition of the strengths and limitations of different procedures enhances the value of explanation in that it helps us better understand the practice of theorising, and consequently the value of explanation.**

A second set of choices were made over the nature of the causal structure. Following Massey and Meegan (1979, 1982), it is possible to design a framework detailing the *dominant directions* of causality, without speculating on the *content and nature* of that causality. In this case, the 'forces' of restructuring are assumed to be in operation, given the extent of labour force change. It is however, beyond the scope of this study to explore in detail the content of those 'forces'. While this fact should be identified, it does not restrict the structural validity of this research in seeking to connect 'global' change with

¹⁰ Drawing on the work of Daniel Bertaux (1991), it is argued here that the official rules and real norms relating to recruitment and promotion in government employment, for example, are not the same as those operating in the private sector. Similarly, there are different employment dynamics between occupations (including those based on qualifications). A recognition of the heterogeneity of labour markets improves our understanding of the processes of change *between* sectors. Further, he argues for the use of *flexible* techniques of observation - including interviews - in determining links between social process and statistical trends.

individual experience. The dominant direction of that global change involves economic and employment restructuring - revealed through comparative statistical analysis. Evaluating individual experience, ascertained through interviews and community-focused research, helps us 'contextualise' the impacts of change on people, families and communities. In this manner, it is possible to mediate the links between economic change and experienced impacts, exploring the concept and importance of 'gender' at a variety of spatial and analytical scales. **The point is to create continuity in the analysis - to critically reflect on what we can know about dominant directions of change from different angles. Central to this task is explicitly recognising the observational limits inherent in the various techniques applied.**

Third, the combination of gender and space in the explanatory framework poses some considerable challenges in demonstrating how they 'fit together'. To begin with, the nature of 'space' is an issue of considerable debate in geographic theory. Following the work of Giddens (1979), Pred (1984, 1985), Gregson (1986), Gregory (1985) and Lefevbre (1991), space, time and individual action are inseparable and mutually recursive forces that create and define places. This dynamic, and socially-grounded view of space is crucial to understanding the 'uneven' impacts of change and spatially-specific construction of 'gender'. **In general, the research design attempts to grasp how individuals are embedded in a particular historical configuration (dealing with the social processes of production), which itself is the creation of history, society and individual action.** As a constraining layer on individual action, 'gender' mediates the ways individuals participate in, and create, any given historical configuration. The links between 'spatial processes' and 'gender' are therefore, sought in the material conditions which represent the historical accumulation of female and male action in different settings. The 'material conditions' in this case stem from work and life experience as reflected in employment patterns.

A final point to consider is that **methodological choice has associated with it certain political interests regarding the types of policy recommendations**

that are possible. Ultimately, this study is aimed at informing social policy concerned with an improved understanding of the differential impacts of economic and employment restructuring on women and men. As a part of this goal, the research results will be made available to those individuals who participated in the interview process as a means of facilitating a more detailed understanding of local events thereby empowering people to voice their concerns and opinions about their community's economic and social future. It is also hoped that studies of this nature will highlight the negative consequences of *not* creating a greater sense of social responsibility in economic decision making, and influence public policy makers in this direction.

While there is some consensus among academics that *ideological position* has an important role to play in the use of research findings, there is less agreement on the degree of relation between *methodology* and policy recommendations (Massey and Meegan, 1985). The construction of 'causal connections' and point of entry into the 'causal loop' will strongly influence the type of solutions advocated. For instance, this research advocates *fundamental changes* to the way geographers *define* and *explain* 'the social' to include gender in studying regional change. This particular world view will offer 'solutions' to social issues that are very different from approaches which, although pursuing the same topic, do not engage in similar ontological and methodological debates. Depending on problem definition and choice of method, policy recommendations can range from demanding structural change, to making adjustments to existing structures, to rationalising the status quo. While this point may seem obvious, methodological bias is not commonly discussed in the presentation of research results. Combined with this issue is another concerning the fact that researchers of different political persuasions are drawn more to some topics than to others. This is particularly true among feminists studying women's lives and gender issues. **That policy recommendations based on social research necessarily reflect these methodological biases should be identified in the course of the study as a means of creating greater self-understanding in theorising and field research.**

In summation, the political and ideological issues associated with the choice of specific research methods and designs are numerous and complex. Only a few have been identified here with the intent of developing more reflexive approach to research. The following sections help clarify the central assumptions and define key mechanisms which guide empirical research. Where possible, the strengths and potential limitations of approaches are briefly discussed.

3.2 Research Questions and Assumptions

The following hypotheses and assumptions focus on interpreting processes of change *starting* with an examination of key statistical trends. The role and importance of interview data is introduced in this section, and developed further in discussion of 'research design'. Given certain limitations inherent in census data - stemming from restricted definitions of 'productive' employment - initial insight into mechanisms of change are based on employment and occupational information by sex. The assumptions used to identify these mechanisms include:

- (1) ***Industrial restructuring is associated with changes to the gendered division of labour.***

This statement encompasses two concurrent processes. The first is relatively straightforward and involves measuring the relative levels and locations of female participation in the work force over time. The second set of changes is more difficult to ascertain from statistics alone. It involves: (a) characterising the 'gendered division of labour' by looking at the type of occupations people do, and the quality of their employment; and (b) speculating on the *how* these divisions are created, reproduced and changed in the context of industrial restructuring.

Consistent with the theoretical claims of the importance of 'space', this second task must also incorporate some comparative spatial analysis. Elements of these processes may be suggested by studying labour force participation rates; changes in

occupational categories by sex; unemployment data; duration of tenure; income levels by sex; and the incidence of full-time/part-time employment. Further, these indicators can be studied at different levels of spatial aggregation. Interview data is particularly important in building an interpretive understanding of how male and female employment patterns relate to changing gender relations in the work place, in the home life and in the level of social integration in the community. Questions concerning perceived changes in status, satisfaction and responsibility in the work place may provide insight into the *nature* of gendered divisions of labour. This, in combination with examining the intersection of work and life may (through a study of work patterns, domestic roles and community activities) will help inform how gendered divisions of labour are created and reproduced. Analysis of individual experience and activities is central to identifying mechanisms that are important in understanding the broader *processes* involved in industrial restructuring and gender divisions in the labour market.

- (2) ***Gendered divisions of labour are tied to the employment and occupational opportunities inherent in the specific functional characteristics of regional productive structures. Changing these structures will have a differential impact on women and men based on existing gender roles and relations.***

There are several assumptions involved in this hypothesis. First, is the idea that regional functional specialisation exercises an important influence over the construction and reproduction of gendered divisions of labour which are necessary to the social processes of production. Second, this is a departure from explanations of female exploitation based on ubiquitous 'patriarchal institutions' and relations. The intention is to develop a more dynamic explanation of 'gender' and 'difference', connected to the material conditions of production and reproduction in daily life. And third, gendered divisions of labour exist in all spheres of human activity, and are fundamentally interdependent. This assumption allows us to challenge the static notion of 'dual spheres' of activity (separated into 'private' and 'public' spaces) and gain a more comprehensive understanding of how gender,

work, home and community are simultaneously structured and restructured. The emphasis in this hypothesis concerns *processes* understood by describing the dominant functional characteristics of a regional economy and evaluating how the types of jobs performed by women and men have changed over time. Crucial here is interview data on male and female work experiences, responsibilities in the context of 'home-life', and the level of social integration in the community. This will highlight how, if at all, gender roles have changed or remained the same in the context of fluctuating economic circumstances.

(3) ***This research is temporally and locationally specific.***

The processes and impacts of restructuring depend upon place-specific conditions. As a snapshot of selected events in a still-continuing process, the historical emphasis of the research concerns structural changes to employment patterns in Cornwall between 1986 and 1991. This five year span captures the changes between a relatively prosperous, pre-FTA period of economic growth in Canada (the mid 1980s) with the recessionary period of the late 1980s and early 1990s. This latter period was characterised by the rise of structural unemployment and major economic transformation. The interview process details individual experience over (approximately) the past 10 years - including the beginning of rapid deindustrialisation in Cornwall (in the late 1980s) to the present time where people continue to adjust their employment strategies in response to structural change. While the results are not intended to be 'generalisable', it is hoped that the theoretical framework, and methods of research can make a contribution to other restructuring studies aimed at showing the interrelations between locality and global process.

3.3 Research Design - Objectives and Tasks

This section outlines the research plan and identifies the central objectives associated with each of the three phases (refer to Figure 3 at the end of this section for an overview of the research process). Included as a part of the outline is a brief rationale concerning the uses and constraints of the principal methods involving macro-statistical analysis, and personal work history interviews. More specific questions concerning techniques (particularly in the case of statistical analysis) and the interview process will be addressed in Chapters Four and Five respectively, in an effort to avoid repetition here.

3.3.1 *Phase 1: Macro-Structural Overview - Situating Cornwall within the Restructuring Process*

Purpose: To provide valuable background data on relevant processes of restructuring, employment and social change in Cornwall, in the context of changes at different levels of spatial aggregation within Canada. To identify specific 'gendered' patterns of employment in Cornwall and determine how they relate to a more 'global' context. To explore the notion of 'functional specialisation' in Cornwall through a comparative analysis of employment and occupational trends.

Tasks: This phase involves the use of statistical data from the Canadian Census, Labour Force Survey and Industrial Classification information. This allows for a relatively 'consistent' comparison between levels of aggregation, and the identification of trends - dealing with employment and occupation changes by gender - to be explored in the next phase.

Evaluation Procedures: Standard statistical tests (including rates of change; location quotient analysis; t-tests; and correlations between different variables) form the basis of analysis in this phase. Interpretation of the results relies on pattern identification and critical evaluation of 'what is missing' from aggregate data.

Comments About Data: Census information, owing to the standardised definition of social and economic 'categories', is easily evaluated at a number of spatial scales (national, sub-national, intra-city) to reveal consistent comparisons. The detail and historical depth of census data are also vital to identifying longer-term trends - in this case, industrial change and gendered employment patterns. However, there are a number of important limitations to census information, particularly from a feminist point of view. To argue by example, it was not until the 1991 Census that female labour force participation was recorded according to the age and presence of children. And, it will not be until the next census (1996) that 'work' will be defined and recorded to include 'non-paid domestic labour' within households. While it is possible in some cases to use statistical cross-tabulations (notably with census tract information) to develop a more detailed picture of life cycle and demographic relationships, the point is that the definition and content of statistical categories often conceal some of the most important factors underlying labour force participation and industrial structure. Further, constructed as they are, census categories imply the 'traditional' separation of 'space' between private-domestic and public-productive that often reinforces, not explores, gender stereotyping. And finally, given the recent appearance of more detailed 'gender' categories in the census (1991 and 1996), it is difficult to make meaningful and detailed comparisons between current statistical trends for women and with census information from 15 or 20 years ago. Herein lies the value of combining quantitative data with life/work history information (discussed in the following section). While aggregate statistical data can provide insight into the nature and sources of the (re-)structuring of the labour market, life/work histories provide information about how individuals experience the effects of labour market (re-)structuring (Walby, 1991).

3.3.2 Phase 2: Micro-Structural Study of Restructuring - Gender, Employment and Economic Change in Cornwall

Purpose: Relying on further statistical investigation of the 'local case', and using 'Personal Work History Interviews' to contextualise trends identified in phase 1, examine the links between economic restructuring and gendered divisions of labour. Here, the focus is on individual experience in an attempt to better understand how 'gender' is

constructed and changed in accordance with restructuring labour markets and the social processes of production. The 'mechanisms of change' are sought in the strategies used by women and men in adjusting to different employment opportunities, combined with the ways responsibilities in home-life and the level of participation in the community are approached.

Tasks: Drawing on the themes identified in phase 1, design an open-ended interview guide addressing experience and activities in: the work life, the home life and community life. Design a selection criteria, and identify a sample of approximately 15 participants (male and female) using local agencies and contact persons. Conduct taped interview sessions and transcribe information.

Evaluation Procedures: The analysis of interview data is largely interpretive and descriptive. Some comparisons between 'male' and 'female' responses to standardised questions will be made. Given that a goal of this intensive 'micro level' analysis is to help inform our understanding of how gendered divisions of labour are constructed, two 'models of explanation' are proposed to help structure the data. These models facilitate the analysis of process by looking at the intersection of work and life, and relating it to employment and occupational experiences. The models (reviewed more fully in chapter five) include: (1) job models - emphasising the role of **labour market** forces in structuring individual work experience, and gendered employment patterns or; (2) gender models - which emphasise **domestic factors** as the key component in structuring male/female employment patterns.

Comments about Data: This phase of the research relies principally on the interpretation of local experience - using interview data - to help inform our understanding of *mechanisms* and *processes* of change. Life and work histories involve the collection and use of accounts of the lives of men and women, in a number of forms¹¹ - in this case

¹¹ These forms can also include: autobiographies, diaries, oral histories and structured questionnaires. The essential quality is that the account is personal, and spans a period of time.

through an unstructured questionnaire. Life and work history data are vital in this research because they recognise the importance of the overlap in the chronology between individuals' lives and social and institutional structures, as well as between related individuals (Dex, 1991). Both sets of relations are important in this research given the theoretical arguments connecting gender, employment and restructuring events. Individual experience reflects the structural facts which impinge upon people and mould their behaviours. It also provides insight into how their life histories reflect their own actions and those of people around them. Therefore, it is possible to explore social change - for instance, related to industrial restructuring - through life and work histories.

The analysis of gender, and women's position in society and the work force is facilitated by personal history research, in that women are particularly affected by their stage in the life cycle, the presence of children, child care and related reproductive duties. Interview data is often the most effective way to make links between life cycle details and women's socio-economic position - partly because of the richness of detail provided, and also because many aspects of 'women's lives' are hidden from aggregate statistical records. There is a problematic tendency, however, to place too much emphasis on biological events in structuring women's lives and employment patterns, at the expense of other factors. It is often the case that women's work experience is described through a 'gender model' while men's work experience is explained by a 'job model' (Walby, 1991) - the former structured around domestic events, the latter around industrial structures and the labour market. The greater use of 'life history' research in analysing women's as opposed to men's labour force experience may push the understanding of women's employment in a different direction from that of men to a greater extent than is warranted (Walby, 1991). To that end, personal work history interviews are used to collect information on individual experience that has in some way *been shaped by labour market structuring*. In turn, this demands a coincident explanation of forces shaping the labour market - such as deindustrialisation and/or other forms of economic restructuring.

The rationale for juxtaposing different techniques in empirical research is twofold.

First, it facilitates an exploration of the *meaning* of shifts in employment and occupational patterns observed through statistical data. It allows the researcher to determine how economic, social and political events and contradictions are contested, resolved and manifest in people's lives - in the way they adjust to, or create change. It will also help us reflect on important theoretical and methodological questions concerning research into gender, and women's patterns and experiences of paid employment. For example, which has the greater effect on women's labour force activity - the life cycle or de-industrialisation? How can we improve our research techniques to best reflect the ways life and work responsibilities in one instance, and industrial and labour market change in the other, intersect to provide insight into gender as a dynamic social construct? This raises a second and related point concerning the complexity of, and 'tensions' between, different ways of 'knowing'. As an exercise in feminist research, this study of restructuring in Cornwall seeks to be critically self-aware in challenging the application and content of analytical techniques. The 'personal histories' method adds something to the analysis of industrial change that cannot be gleaned from aggregate data alone. In making links between industrial-occupational change and individual work histories - it is possible to speculate on *processes*, rather than simply identify trends for aggregate populations. Also, the expression of personal and local experience forces the researcher to reflect on the suitability of theoretical concepts and to re-examine the content of analytical categories.

The literature on life and work histories¹² yields some shared concerns about its uses and limitations. For example, people's memories are fallible, and problems of recall can arise if reflecting upon considerable passages of time. It can be argued therefore, that life histories are inevitably 'subjective'. Drawing on Walby (1991), we believe that selective recall is *precisely* what makes life histories valuable, in collecting data which has a *direct correspondence* to events in a person's past. This is crucial to understanding how 'gender' influences peoples' employment patterns and daily life activities. The data yielded are not 'hard facts' that can be statistically analysed, but that does not make it scientifically less valid, nor, does it relegate life history information to strictly 'ethnographic' research.

¹² see for example: Dex (1991); Bertaux (1991); Plummer (1983); Walby (1991)

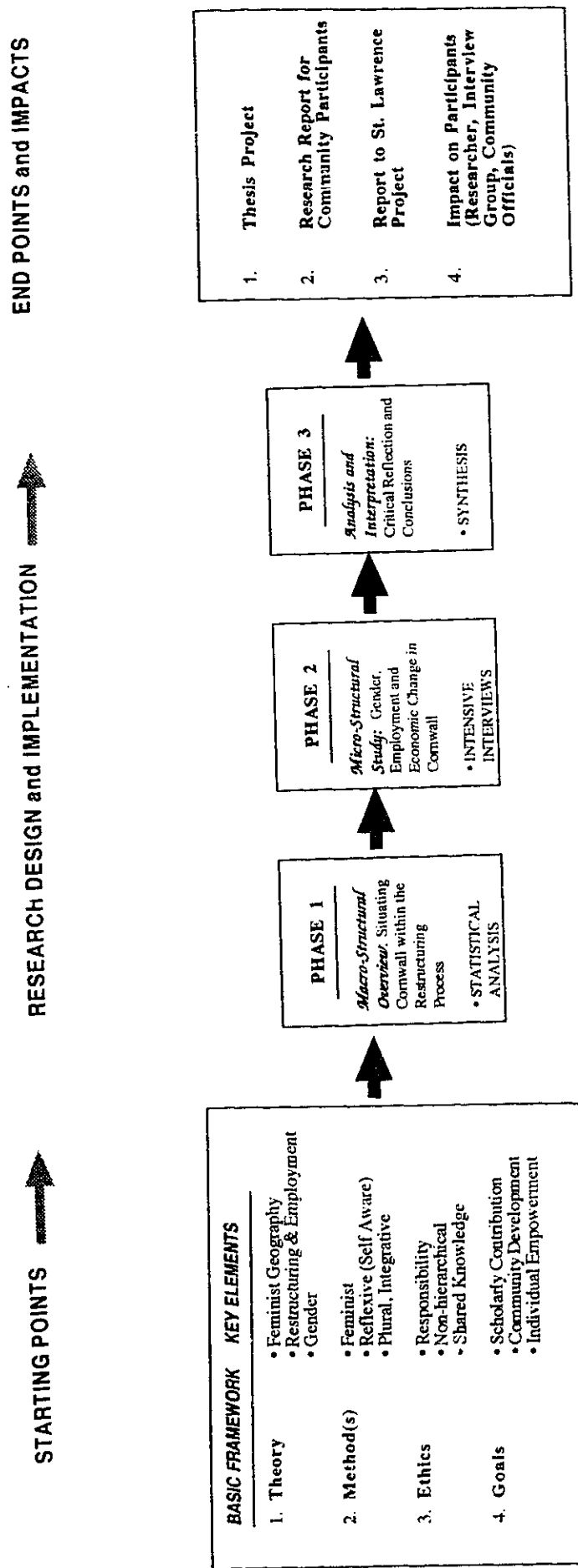
Valuable connections can be made between personal experience and structural events using life history data to comment on processes of change. Second, sample sizes for interviews are often small and do not facilitate research with statistically significant results. In this study, fifteen people participated in the interviews. However, generating a large enough sample to yield statistically significant results is both prohibitively expensive, and would also demand the type of aggregation in forming and analysing questions that is specifically avoided here. Third, one must be careful in life history research not to 'assume' certain events factor more prominently into the lives of women than in the lives of men.

Previously mentioned in this regard was the 'job model' used to describe male work experiences, and the 'gender' model used to depict female work experience. To avoid this stereotyping, it is important to ensure that 'household' questions were asked equally of men and women so that analysis is more meaningful. Finally, and by way of a general comment on phase 1 and 2 of the research design, the terms 'macro' and 'micro' in reference to analytical 'levels' should be clarified. These terms are merely descriptive, and do *not* reflect a world view that separates phenomena into an 'either/or' scenario. Rather the research design highlights the utility of looking at an issue from 'different angles' - to encourage a more comprehensive approach to problem solving.

3.3.3 Phase 3 - Analysis and Interpretation

Purpose: To evaluate the significance of restructuring as an agent of change in redefining the gendered division of labour and gender constructs. To evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the analytical procedures as a means to empirically evaluate the theoretical issues identified. To identify areas requiring more research in understanding the geography of restructuring and gender in formulating social theory and policy. To disseminate research results to community participants and organisations as a means of contributing to their knowledge of local events and options for redevelopment.

Figure 3 Research Process and Design



3.4 Conclusion - Research Responsibility and Relevance

Rather than summarise the contents of this section, concluding comments will focus on: (1) the relevance of this study to the Cornwall region, and; (2) the issue of 'research responsibility' which is particularly important to feminist analysis.

To begin with, this research is part of the *Ecosystem Recovery on the St. Lawrence Project*, managed by the Institute for Research on Environment and Economy (IREE) at the University of Ottawa. Central to the success of the *St. Lawrence Project*, as identified in its main research objectives, is a commitment to community-based, community-designed and community-sustained research and policy formation. The research outlined in this thesis builds on these 'community centred' principles in its overall conception and planned implementation. More specifically, the proposed research will contribute to the *Project* in two principal ways. First, it will build on several of the 'Social Sciences and Public Policy Goals' outlined by the study: tasks relating to the analysis of Cornwall's restructuring industrial base and regional economy; to analysing institutional sub-systems; and, to exploring viable means to the community's sustainable, socio-economic redevelopment are of shared interest. The *Project's* proposal, in isolating specific topics of study, places much emphasis on the fact that Cornwall's "industrial base has been ravaged...and the recession [has contributed] to both deterioration and structural change" in the region. Clearly, the research outlined here can make a valuable contribution to: (a) the identification of significant causal processes influencing industrial restructuring and regional change; and, (b) proposing a framework for understanding the nature and direction of these changes in the formation of public policy aimed at sustainable redevelopment of the region.

Second, this thesis can make a useful contribution to the *St. Lawrence Project* by way of expanding its social, political and economic focus to **explicitly** include gender issues in planning for Cornwall's sustainable redevelopment. Given the recent emphasis in restructuring literature on the gendered aspects of employment, combined with the rising importance of female-centred informal economies in restructuring communities - in the

shape of 'home workers' for instance (Mackenzie, 1989) - it is surprising that little attention has been afforded to the activities, concerns and needs of women in the region.

Related to these 'relevance' issues is the question of research responsibility. Any social research should take measures to 'give back' to all persons concerned, in the hope of shaping positive directions of change. While this is often accomplished at the institutional level - in the form of published reports and articles - it is less often accomplished at the individual level. The problem of access to technical documents by 'non-specialists' is usually cited as the reason for this neglect. As part of an effort to promote responsible, meaningful and **community-based research**, a short 'digest' of important findings will be compiled for all interview participants. The intention is to promote a comprehensive awareness of 'what is going on in Cornwall', and highlight the importance of individual choice and action to community re-development.

The two chapters which follow this discussion of methods deal respectively with the macro-statistical (chapter 4), and micro-interview (chapter 5) phases. Where appropriate, specific comments about research hypotheses and analytical measures will be addressed in the context of each chapter. The sixth, and final chapter focuses on 'phase 3' of the research design, dealing with the critical interpretation of the results, the effectiveness of the research design and potential for policy development.

CHAPTER FOUR

Restructuring the 'Old Order': Regional Specialisation, Gender and Employment Trends

4.0 Introduction

The main concern of this chapter is to build a comparative statistical analysis of employment and occupation trends at different levels of spatial aggregation within Canada. The aim is to contextualise Cornwall's experience of economic and employment change. The theoretical themes developed here involve the importance of 'space' in examining the connection between the uneven processes of restructuring, gender and employment. In terms of specific research questions, three things are being asked: (1) does a closer examination of Canadian labour force data reveal regionalised economies and employment trends?; (2) is there evidence of regionally differentiated gendered divisions of labour?; and (3) to what extent can we make generalisations about the links between industrial restructuring, regional specialisation and feminised employment patterns? Before addressing these questions, a brief overview of historical patterns of regionalisation within Canada helps place Cornwall into a broader economic context.

4.1 Towards a 'New' Order - Restructuring, Regional Specialisation and New Work Relations

The problem of 'runaway' manufacturing plants and deindustrialisation has become a major economic concern in Canada. Critics of the FTA point to a recent sharp decline in manufacturing employment as evidence that unregulated free trade with the U.S. has already sparked a turnaround in the direction of Canada's economic development - undermining our more diversified industrial sectors, and reinforcing our reliance on resource extraction and other 'peripheral' or 'dependent' types of employment. In many high-profile instances, the job loss in Canada resulted from a decision by employers to transfer production to alternative facilities in the the U.S., often located in the deep South. ..To be sure, the dire statistics of job loss and disinvestment must be interpreted with caution...Nevertheless, the scale of the job loss and the accompanying hardship in Canada's industrial heartland, together with the numerous reported cases of relocation to the U.S., suggest that this is a matter for considerable concern (Stanford, 1991 p. 3-4).

A variety of sources (government, public interest groups, industry) have documented job loss in Canada since the recession in the early 1980s, most particularly in the context of the FTA with the United States (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 1991; Statistics Canada's *Canadian Economic Observer; Survey of Employment; Labour Force Review*; and, *Perspectives*, inter alia). The magnitude of job loss, and rapidity of employment change has received much attention. For example, in studies of the short-run impacts of economic restructuring thought to be linked to the FTA, the Canadian Economic Observer claimed that between January 1989 and February 1991, 289,000 jobs in manufacturing were lost, whereas the Survey of Employment reported that up to 435,000 jobs disappeared over roughly the same period.

Following Stanford's advice (above) to interpret job loss with caution, it is generally agreed upon that Canada is losing large numbers of manufacturing jobs in

particular, and 'spin off' jobs as a consequence. Referring to Table 4, we see that over a period of two decades the distribution of employment by industry has been away from the goods producing sector and towards the service sector. Examining the trends by sex, women's representation in services has increased by about four and a half per cent, and dropped approximately the same amount in goods producing. Similar trends are apparent for men, but the magnitudes are larger - an increase of about six percent in service jobs and a similar decrease in goods producing. The data also reveal that the *relative representation of women* (considered as a per cent of total sectoral employment) has increased by eight percent in service industries and decreased by just over four percent in goods producing industries.

**Table 4 Distribution of Employment by Industry and Sex, Canada
1975-1993**

	Women		Men		Women as % of total employment	
	Service	Goods producing	Service	Goods producing	Service	Goods producing
	%					
1975	81.6	18.4	56.7	43.3	45.2	19.6
1976	81.0	19.0	56.5	43.4	45.8	20.4
1977	82.0	18.0	57.3	42.7	46.2	20.2
1978	82.0	18.0	57.2	42.8	47.2	20.7
1979	81.4	18.5	57.1	42.9	47.4	21.5
1980	81.6	18.4	57.7	42.3	48.2	22.0
1981	81.5	18.4	55.9	44.1	49.7	22.2
1982	82.7	17.3	58.0	42.0	50.0	22.4
1983	82.6	17.4	59.1	40.9	50.2	23.4
1984	82.7	17.3	58.7	41.3	50.8	23.6
1985	83.2	16.8	59.2	40.8	51.2	23.5
1986	83.2	16.8	59.8	40.2	51.3	24.0
1987	83.8	16.2	59.4	40.5	52.0	23.5
1988	83.6	16.4	59.1	40.9	52.4	23.9
1989	83.9	16.1	59.1	40.9	52.8	23.7
1990	84.6	15.4	60.2	39.8	53.2	23.8
1991	85.2	14.8	61.5	38.4	53.4	24.2
1992	85.6	14.4	62.4	37.5	53.4	24.3
1993	86.0	14.0	62.8	37.2	53.3	23.9

source: Statistics Canada (1994) *Women in the Workforce* , p.19

Whether the continuing trends of decreased participation in goods producing jobs is a permanent result of continental free trade, the recessions of the early 1980s and early 1990s, or global restructuring trends, is not entirely clear. Likely, it is a combination of all three sets of factors. It is the scale of job loss and the accompanying hardship in Canada's industrial heartland, that help focus attention on the complex problems of 'restructuring' and rapid deindustrialisation in places like Cornwall.

The fact that Canada lost a much larger share of its manufacturing jobs in the post-FTA recession than did the United States (where manufacturing employment fell by 7% between January 1989 and February 1991, compared to Canada's 15%), suggests that the economic downturn of the early 1990s was not solely to blame for Canada's struggling manufacturing performance and labour market restructuring (Stanford, 1991). The issues posed by capital mobility, wage competition and inter-regional competition (within Canada; between Canadian regions and areas of the continental trade zone; and in the context of Canada's global trade relations) need to be examined more closely in ongoing attempts to define the impacts of restructuring on labour markets, new work relations and the issue of 'feminisation'. It is important to re-state the fact that the feminisation of labour is not simply a 'women's issue'. Rather it is indicative of a profound transformation and polarisation of the labour market (Drache, 1993; Mahon, 1993; McDowell, 1992; Myles, 1993; Armstrong, 1993; inter alia). The extent and scope of the changes argues against those who would claim that Canada's present unstable economic performance is indicative of a period of 'adjustment'. An examination of various aspects of restructuring and the labour experience demands an understanding of economic 'regions' in Canada.

4.1.1 The Importance of 'Region' in the Analysis of 'Restructuring' - Some Key Issues for Canada and Labour Force Change

However they are defined - economically, culturally, politically, geographically - there is no denying that Canada is a collection of regions. While the concept of 'region' may convey a commonly understood meaning in casual usage, its precise definition remains the topic of much debate. Particularly for human geographers, who have

expanded their traditional concern with the people/nature relation in the production and reproduction of space to include society as the prime agent in region formation, regions have multiple interpretations (Gilbert, 1988). In this study, *regions* are understood to be 'multi-layered' in connecting every day life to the global space economy through the immediate built environment of socio-economic integration. *Regional disparities* reflect heartland-hinterland and urban-rural differences, which represent the historical legacy of: government policy; the impacts of investment and disinvestment; the natural distribution of resources; and the changing distributions of human capital.

In linking the uneven dynamics of regional development with employment trends, it is argued that regions are characterised by specific spatial divisions of labour that are historically materialistic - in other words, employment structure is shaped by immediate material surroundings. It is also true that these spatial divisions of labour are fundamentally gendered, which means that functionally specialised regions may be characterised by certain gendered patterns of employment (Mackenzie, 1989; Rose, 1993; Massey, 1994; Roos, 1985, Saunders, 1989; McDowell, 1991; McDowell, 1992b; Dex, 1991; inter alia). This logic is consistent with the main aims of the research aimed at evaluating: (a) how the social relations of production are defined, organised and structured over space, and (b) how gender is fundamental to better understanding the dynamics of these social processes. As an aside, it is surprising that, despite the renewed interest in the complexities of regionalism (Gilbert, 1988), relatively little theoretical and empirical work exists concerning a 'gendered' regional science in the context of Canadian restructuring. This research seeks to make a contribution in that direction.

What then, is the importance of 'regions' in exploring restructuring and feminisation? In a very general sense, the emotional debate over liberalised trade and regional development may be traced back to Sir John A. MacDonald, who designed a National Policy protecting Canadian industry with high tariffs (Sinclair, 1991). During the nineteenth century, manufacturing became concentrated in Central Canada, along the Quebec-Windsor Corridor given discriminatory banking and transportation policies. In

many respects, the legacy of this National Policy has influenced regional development patterns over the past one hundred years, and is the source of some resentment of 'periphery' regions (the Maritimes and the agricultural West) who feel they have subsidised greater relative prosperity in the Central 'core'.

The development of Canada's industrial landscape, particularly the location of secondary industries since the Second World War, has also been strongly influenced by the historical importance of the northern United States as that country's industrial core (up to the 1970s). It has been argued that the regional impact of United States capital operates through an 'economic shadow effect' - particularly influential on Ontario manufacturing and intra-regional development. Ray (1971) hypothesised that the location of industry is influenced by **internal** economic factors (market potential) *and* **external** factors (taking into account the economic shadow provided by Canada's major markets). Simply stated, 'economic shadow' means the attraction exercised by a region on external or foreign capital and entrepreneurship: "United States control of manufacturing activity in Canada casts an economic shadow over the country in which the number of subsidiaries established in any region is related, in part, to two external factors - the size and proximity of United States manufacturing centres" (Ray, 1971 p.36). Tests of the model showed it was influential in explaining the accelerated industrial growth of southwestern Ontario and the Toronto region, as compared with the more limited growth of eastern Ontario (Ray, 1971).

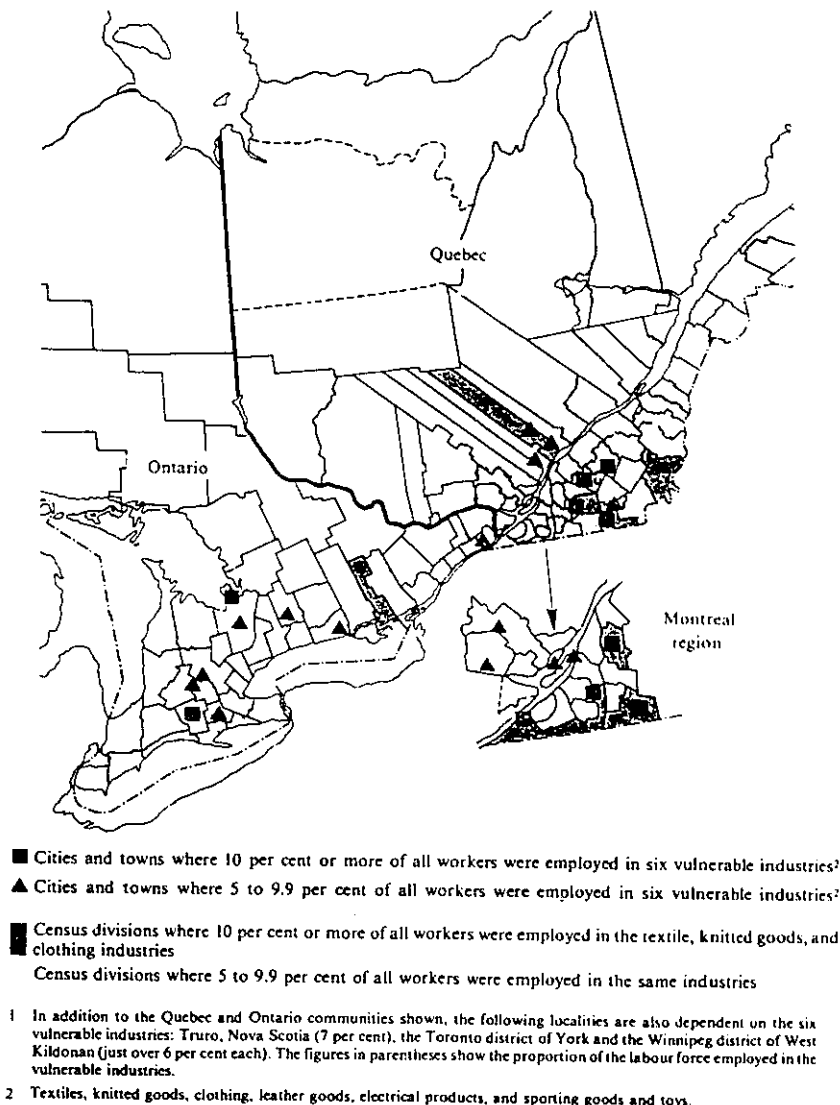
In a wider and more contemporary context, the 'economic shadow' continues to influence the nature of increasing continental integration. Consider, for instance, the case of Cornwall in eastern Ontario. Situated on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River (about 100 kilometres south-east of Ottawa and 115 kilometres west of Montreal), Cornwall has a population of approximately 47,000 inhabitants and is the County seat of the United Counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry - a larger region (primarily agricultural) which has a population in excess of 105,000 people. The manufacture of paper products, textiles and chemicals has been the traditional mainstay of the City's economic base. Located on the United States border, it provided an excellent site for

American branch plants seeking to avoid tariff costs by producing in Canada for Canadian and international markets. However, Cornwall's once prosperous industrial base has been experiencing a steady erosion of its factor advantages over the past twenty years owing primarily to international competition and more liberalised trade (through the FTA and NAFTA). In the late 1970s, the Economic Council of Canada conducted a study on regions and localities with manufacturing bases vulnerable to competition from developing and newly industrialising countries. Relative 'vulnerability' was determined by studying the imports from developing countries that impinged upon the Canadian output of manufactured goods, and on the total employment in various industries including the six most vulnerable sectors of: textiles; knitted goods; clothing; leather goods; electrical products; and sporting goods and toys (Economic Council of Canada, 1978). Where ten per cent of a regional work force was employed in one of the four 'most vulnerable' industries (textiles; knitted goods; clothing; leather goods) that area was subject to "the potential for significant job displacement" (Economic Council of Canada, 1978 p.56). The spatial concentration of these highly competition sensitive areas are shown in Figure 4. Note that Cornwall, on the Quebec-Ontario border is one of these 'vulnerable areas'.

Not ten years after the Council's study was published, major disruptions in employment and manufacturing disinvestment hit Cornwall's economy. Reduced federal intervention in the economy, higher relative labour costs and lack of technical innovation have combined with free trade to create a scenario of rapid deindustrialisation, high unemployment and economic stagnation in Cornwall, particularly since the late 1980s. Whereas Cornwall based its historical competitive advantage on old order national economic policy, it is now paying the price of a changing regional balance of economic prosperity and development.

Related to the concept of 'economic shadow' is the idea of Canadian 'permeable Fordism' (Jenson, 1989; Mahon, 1993) which has not only influenced the regional nature

**Figure 4 The Historical Distribution of Regions and Localities
Vulnerable to Competition From Developing Countries**



source: Economic Council of Canada (1978 p. 57)

of industrial location, but also shapes industry employment¹³. The concept is particularly relevant here in light of debates over Fordist and post-Fordist working relations, and because of its inclusion of social processes in analyses of regional imbalance and economic

¹³ see Mahon's paper for a more detailed review of labour force trends - particularly the historical connection between the Canadian work force and American controlled unions, and the role of Canadian federal policy in establishing collective bargaining and working standards.

change. Of key importance in Mahon's (1993) argument is that since the implementation of free trade, 'higher priced' Canadian labour (owing, among other things, to more inclusive social welfare benefits supported by labour unions and the federal government expenditure) is now exposed to 'freer market forces'. More expensive labour contributes to higher production costs which have led to plant closures, mergers and concentrations in Canada's different economic regions. In terms of issues for labour:

The FTA has placed the issue of restructuring firmly on the agenda...Although it is important to emphasize that 'manufacturing matters', it is dangerous to suggest that it...matters above all else. Producer services which are directly linked to the goods-producing sector can generate some good jobs, especially if unions succeed in organizing this sector....Workers, moreover, will only accept the job losses restructuring may entail if there are good alternative sources of employment (Mahon, 1993 pp.327-328).

The crux of the issue therefore, is not to focus on 'job loss' (which seems inevitable), but to develop a progressive regional and national approach to labour force adjustment. In the 'new economy' the interests of labour and consumers are served if new technology and forms of work organisation reflect the needs of particularly 'vulnerable' regions by maintaining universal social standards (Mahon, 1993). The forces of labour adjustment are tied directly to industrial restructuring - making the process a highly political as well as economic one.

In 1985, the MacDonald Royal Commission concluded that freer trade and the resultant restructuring would remove the most enduring and negative sources of regional alienation in Canada's political history. The central problem with this view of economic restructuring is that it is too simplistic. For more than one hundred years, Canada has pursued economic development based on the notion of promoting greater spatial equilibrium between regions. Whether one agrees with this approach or not, the fact

remains that persistent regional disparity cannot be solved by government policies promoting freer trade alone. Among other things, this fact is a basic problem of geography. Using the 'core-periphery' concept to describe the relationship between the Canadian and American economies (the latter country by far our most dominant trade partner) - Canadian peripheral regions will always be more peripheral than any other comparable U.S. region. In their analysis of the implications of the MacDonald Commission Report for regional development trends and policy, Coffey and Polèse (1987) make this argument, citing numerous examples (such as, no matter how peripheral the state of Maine is relative to North American Markets, Eastern Quebec and Atlantic Canada will always be *more* peripheral given related distance-cost factors corresponding to communications, transport and infrastructure development). The Canadian region which is *least* peripheral is Southern Ontario which has the highest accessibility to American markets.

The unique geographical configuration of the Canadian economy and its integration into the international economy favour a *limited number of regions* [emphasis added], i.e., those best suited for trade and interaction with our commercial partners: south-western Quebec, southern British Columbia and, most notably, Southern Ontario. (Coffey and Polèse, 1987 p. 7).

With increasing trade liberalisation, and a reduced national policy emphasis on regional equity concerns, regional economies are destined to be more directly influenced by 'global' forces (Coffey and Polèse, 1987; McNiven, 1987; Myles, 1993; Drache, 1993). In other words, the changing balance between efficiency and equity goals in federal policy circles may mean that the costs and benefits of restructuring will be more acutely experienced - especially in 'old order' economies - in the future than has been the case in the past few decades.

Conventional wisdom argues that manufacturing in the Central Canadian 'core' contributes to the overall prosperity of *all* regions (for example, through the federal policy of equalisation payments between rich and poor regions). Moreover, changing the

conditions of 'core' prosperity in the case of freer trade has not necessarily led to a better distribution of the wealth. Many would argue that it has contributed to an erosion of well-being measured in terms of Canadians' income (Statistics Canada, 1993; Fudge, 1991; Sinclair, 1991; Drache, 1993; Mahon, 1993; Myles, 1993, inter alia). That this 'erosion' is periodic and unevenly distributed is basic to the 'regional' dynamics of restructuring. Add to this, that in the context of continental free trade, the Canadian government has surrendered many of its important policy instruments aimed at redressing regional imbalance, including: the right to review most foreign investment; the right to impose local content and local employment requirements on American investors; the right to restrict the repatriation of profits of U.S.-based transnational corporations; and, the right to independent resource and energy pricing (Sinclair, 1991).

While it is beyond the scope of this research to provide an in depth examination of the sources and implications of these issues, the point to be made here is that **the processes of restructuring have strong inter- and intra-regional dynamics based on existing discrepancies in the Canadian space economy. The link between regions, the impacts of restructuring and processes of 'feminisation' may be found in labour market formation which reflects and shapes regional development patterns in the national space economy.** The following section highlights some key empirical trends and issues linking restructuring and employment.

4.1.2 Uneven Development in a post-Fordist Economy - The Significance of New Work Relations on the Old Economic Order

In 1950, almost 60% of working Canadians were involved in **goods production** - natural resources, manufacturing and construction. By 1990 just over 70% of those involved in the labour force were concentrated in the **service sector**. In fact, **since the end of the 1980s, almost all of the net job creation has taken place in the service sector** (Economic Council of Canada, 1990). What are some of the most

important impacts of this 'transformation' on the employment of Canadians - particularly in 'old order' manufacturing regions, like Cornwall, where opportunities for economic diversification may be limited?

To get an idea of the magnitude and direction of change, the growth in manufacturing jobs in Canada declined by 12.3% between 1980 and 1990, compared to a decline of 5.3% during the same period in the United States (cited in Stanford, 1991). In part, job loss may be attributed to the search for flexibility by manufacturing firms manifest in several 'labour force adjustment' strategies. Drawing on Fudge (1991) and Drache (1993), these strategies are seen to involve any combination of: (1) functional flexibility - making short term changes to meet fluctuations in labour requirements; (2) numerical flexibility (changing the numbers of workers to meet new labour requirements); and/or (3) financial flexibility (adjusting wages - usually down - in line with increases in the supply of labour). Changing the basic rules of production has meant introducing new forms of work and payment schemes. Increasingly, firms are using flexible work arrangements to change the way labour relates to capital. Employers are reducing their contribution to social income programmes and introducing bonus schemes where existing wages are tied to the economic situation of firms (Drache, 1993). Hiring and firing becomes easier and lower standards of work are introduced that exploit the less stable position of new entrants to the work force (youth, women and immigrants), work force re-entrants (often women with older children) and the existing gender and wage gaps. In light of the increasingly fragmented nature of the labour market, deindustrialisation and corporate strategies aimed at 'pay for performance', the forces of restructuring have eroded the context for solidarity and collective consciousness among 'marginalised' workers. Although these trends must be interpreted with caution, and keeping in mind the uneven nature of restructuring between industries and regions, the fact remains that more workers - female *and* male - are increasingly 'worse off' in wages and employment stability (Mahon, 1993; Myles, 1993; Drache, 1993; Fudge, 1993; Statistics Canada *Women in the Workplace*, 1994).

Throughout the 1980s and continuing to the present, the share of wages going to

middle class families in Canada shrank. For example in 1967, 26.8% of the Canadian work force had annual earnings characterised as 'middle level' (within 25% of the median on either side). By 1986, only 21.5 of working Canadians were 'middle level' (Economic Council of Canada, 1990). Moreover, as regards low-wage earners, a review of work and income statistics between 1975 and 1985 reveals that without exception, minimum wages as a percentage of average annual industrial wages have declined in every province in Canada. In an analysis of post-Fordist working relations and the search for productive flexibility in Canada, Drache (1993) suggests that governments have allowed minimum wages to decline in real terms to create new and lower standards of work and employment. By controlling labour costs in this manner, productive efficiency is thought to go up. However, flexibility and good economic performance do not necessarily follow from one another. Indeed, Drache argues that flexible work arrangements may increase profits by introducing new forms of wage payment and reduced contributions to social income programmes, but decrease overall economic well being by creating less stable labour market conditions - trends which affect already vulnerable (marginalised) groups of workers including women, visible minorities and immigrants most acutely. In Canada, these three groups comprise an ever larger proportion of the labour market and are important in the organisation of the labour market in the future (Drache, 1993).

In a provincial comparison, Table 5 shows that from 1975 to 1985 every region's wage structure experienced a downward turn and the most significant drops occurred in Quebec, Alberta, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island. Thus as more people are becoming involved in the service sector across the country, the relative position of service sector incomes as compared to goods producing incomes is declining. Further, given the concentration of women in 'lower end' consumer services, it follows that women and new work force entrants are likely bearing the brunt of these changes. Leading the list in areas 'hard hit' by declining wage structure is Quebec - almost double that of the other Central Canadian province, Ontario. While the decline for Ontario was not as drastic, wages have continued to erode in that province given a number of factors including the disappearance of large numbers of goods producing jobs and the growth of nonunioned labour - trends

Table 5 Provincial Minimum Wages as a Percentage of the Average Industrial Wage, 1975 - 1985

Province	1975	1977	1979	1981	1983	1985	% Change
Quebec	56	51	49	46	43	40	-16
Ontario	47	43	42	40	37	38	-9
Manitoba	56	52	47	45	46	45	-9
Saskatchewan	53	51	51	48	46	46	-7
Alberta	48	46	39	39	36	34	-14
British Columbia	48	42	37	36	35	34	-14
Newfoundland	45	41	41	42	42	41	-4
Prince Edward Island	61	56	52	43	48	46	-15
New Brunswick	51	50	43	43	44	40	-9
Nova Scotia	52	52	45	45	45	44	-8

source: adapted from Drache (1993) p. 260

characteristic of the 'new economic order'¹⁴.

Government policy is premised on the anticipation that the vast majority of new jobs will be in the low end of the employment market. In this vision of tomorrow's labour market needs, secretaries, bookkeepers, truck drivers, janitors, cashiers and tellers, general office clerks, waiters, guards and other security people, typists, receptionists head the a list of occupations that are expected to contribute the most to Canada's future employment growth (Drache, 1993 p. 261).

The fact that the polarisation of incomes and the restructuring of employment are gendered processes may further undermine the conditions for women in the work force. According to Fudge (1991), the growth in flexible employment has disproportionately affected women. For instance, the garment and textile industries make an important contribution to the Canadian economy and are the second largest industrial employer in

¹⁴ In 1987 for example, 15% of the work force in Ontario earned less than \$5 per hour and over 250,000 of those were employed full time (Drache, 1993).

Canada (Vosko, 1993). Concentrated in Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba, the garment industry is the largest single manufacturing employer of women. Since 1989, textiles and garments manufacturers have undergone 'severe shrinkage' (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 1993), having reduced their labour force (which stands at 150,000) by 10% between 1990 and 1993.

In the case of Canada-U.S. free trade, structural adjustment for the Canadian garment industry translates into a disproportionate increase in women's unemployment in manufacturing. To aggregate this problematic adjustment further, increased job loss in this sector is most highly concentrated in Quebec. Between 1988 and 1992, 32% of women and 13% of men lost jobs in the Quebec garment industry. This poses serious regional implications for the Canadian economy. If recent economic hardships partially reflect the FTA, with the introduction of the NAFTA, the potential for further industrial degradation will increase in most Canadian secondary sectors (Vosko, 1993 p. 2).

The figure of '32%' in this instance translates into 19,600 fewer jobs for women in this industry in Quebec alone. In Ontario, by contrast, female employment in this sector grew by 7% between 1988 and 1991, while male employment grew by 1.4% (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 1993 citing unpublished Labour Force Statistics, Statistics Canada, 1993). However, economic growth in Ontario is concentrated in larger urban centres, while smaller urban centres (for example, Cornwall) tended to be more vulnerable to drastic deindustrialisation in this sector (Cohen, 1991).

4.1.3 New Work Relations and Labour Market Restructuring - Some Implications

This brief overview of selected trends in industry and employment raises several issues which provide a basis for further empirical study. First, continental free trade brings concerns about restructuring and regional inequality to the fore. Since the implementation of the FTA, many industries have further increased concentration in provinces with large urban centres close to the Canada - U.S. border. These events influenced the limited extent

of in industrial growth in some provinces, especially Ontario, at the cost of industrial decline in other provinces generating (or perhaps exacerbating) a regional 'have/have not' divide (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 1993). It could also be argued that the FTA has influenced **intra-regional** development dynamics. Smaller manufacturing centres like Cornwall depended in large measure on their 'border location' and accessibility to American markets for industrial growth and development. With the removal of international trade barriers, the rapidity and extent of manufacturing plant closures and job loss has been devastating.

Highlighting trends in the textile and garment industry (sectors in many ways exemplary of the 'old order' and the exploitation of marginalised labour) suggests that dynamics between changing productive relations, gendered divisions of labour and regionally-specific impacts of restructuring require on-going evaluation. Given the reality of regional and intra-regional divides, a second series of issues arises concerning the functional specialisation of regions, employment and gendered occupational structures. To what extent are 'new work relations' permeating the employment profiles of declining, smaller traditional manufacturing centres, like Cornwall - those areas which 'lose out' as industries concentrate closer to larger urban centres? An examination of employment and occupational patterns at different levels of spatial aggregation might provide interesting insights into the mechanisms of change connecting the social relations of production to regional functional specialisation and 'feminisation'. Finally, and in the interests of informed public policy, the *type* of conclusions drawn from aggregated data concerning gendered employment trends should be examined. The extent to which the regional nature of development shapes 'local' experiences of deindustrialisation and feminisation remains to be examined.

4.2 Crisis in Cornwall - A Canadian Restructuring Experience

Cornwall's early prosperity and rapid growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries depended upon the establishment of Toronto Paper Manufacturing Company (Domtar Fine Paper) and Courtaulds (textiles) in 1883 and 1924 respectively. Notably since the mid-1980s however, the City's prosperity and functional specialisation in manufacturing have been eroded owing to an ongoing and profound restructuring process. The purpose of this section is to examine the extent and direction of change in terms of the impacts on regional labour markets, gendered divisions of labour and economic transformation. To begin, some key indicators of restructuring in Cornwall are identified.

4.2.1 Deindustrialisation - Symptoms of Economic and Social Restructuring

Since the mid-1980s, Cornwall has been faced with a series of plant closures and various symptoms of profound and rapid economic decline. From the period 1989 to 1993, there have been 20 plant shutdowns and 2,600 net job losses in manufacturing alone (City of Cornwall, 1993). Table 6a shows the organisations that suffered from the greatest number of job losses in the post-FTA recession, between June 1989 and December 1992. In this four year period, when over 3,000 total jobs in the City were lost, the only major new plant opening was Northern Globe, creating approximately 100 jobs. Table 6b provides employment data from selected manufacturing firms in Cornwall, detailing changes to their total numbers of employees from May 1990 to February 1996¹⁵. Note that since the initial and drastic round of job losses ending in 1992, manufacturing employment has more or less stabilised around 5,000 positions - roughly 1,500 fewer than was recorded in May of 1990.

¹⁵ There is some overlap between the series of data provided in Tables 6a and 6b, but owing to changes in the way data has been collected by the city's development agency, two tables separate but related tables were necessary. The figures in Table 6b were derived from an ongoing, self-administered survey of selected industries in Cornwall (which send in data to the city's Development Office). The accuracy of the data therefore depends on the companies themselves.

Among the city's larger employers (of 100 people or more), movement toward overall employment downsizing appears to be the dominant trend. For example, Domtar (paper products), ICI (industrial chemicals) and Marconi (electronic components), reduced their collective work forces by 655 jobs between May 1990 and February 1996. In terms of job 'creation'¹⁶ among large employers over the same period, Morbem (coated fabrics), Levi Strauss (jeans and apparel), Ridgewood (modular furniture) and Meridian (aluminium die castings) hired a total of 540 people. These data, combined with a longer term view of manufacturing employment as a percentage of total employment in the city, suggest an ongoing process of deindustrialisation. In 1981, 28.6% of the total employment was manufacturing based, which dropped to 24.4% in 1986 and 22.3% in 1991.

Further, city officials estimate (1995)¹⁷ that unemployment rates are over twenty-one per cent - fully ten per cent higher than Statistics Canada records in the 1991 census. And, to complicate matters, 50% of the unemployed have exhausted their U.I.C. benefits, while approximately 40% of the adult population receives some form of social assistance (City of Cornwall, March 1993). High incidence of job losses, home foreclosures and personal and business bankruptcies, have, according to the City's social welfare services, contributed to more family breakdowns, child neglect, domestic violence, poor nutrition, school drop outs, and teen pregnancies. In its *Proposal for Emergency Crisis Funding* (March, 1993), the links between economic, social and community change were characterised in a digram reproduced here in Figure 5.

What is particularly instructive about Figure 5 is that it represents the dimensions of local experience, and demonstrates the interrelated nature of economic and social change.

¹⁶ The statistics do not indicate whether hirings are 'new' jobs - newly positions created owing to expansion of the productive work force in a firm - or, job 'recalls' - taking back people who had previously worked at an establishment and who were being recalled temporarily. In an interview with the Economic Development Coordinator for the city, it was suggested that the statistics represent both 'recalls' and 'new jobs'.

¹⁷ Economic Development Office, March 1995 interview

Table 6a Development Trends in Cornwall and Region: Plant Openings, Closures and Layoffs 1989-1992

Company	Jobs Created	Jobs Lost		Date Effective
		Closure	Layoffs	
Courtaulds		360		Dec. 1992
Beiersdorf Canada		27		Dec. 1992
Dominion Textiles		350		June 1992
Northern Globe	100			May 1992
Freudenberg		57		May 1992
Kohler			21	April 1992
Karl Gutmann			35	April 1992
Cowall Manufacturing			45	April 1992
Canadian Marconi			21	April 1992
Dexter Colour Canada		28		April 1992
Sims Manufacturing			10	March 1992
NuMED Canada	3			Jan. 1992
F&B Clothing		50		Jan. 1992
ICI			24	Dec. 1991
Domtar			150	Dec. 1991
Locweld Inc.	25			Oct. 1991
Domtar			76	Aug. 1991
NuMED Canada	1			Aug. 1991
Paramount		80		Aug. 1991
Diesel Recon		65		March 1991
British Auto Rest.	3			April 1991
L&K Plastics		40		Feb. 1991
Kershaw Manufacturing		45		Dec. 1990
Rapid Transformers				Nov. 1990
Combustion Engineering		200		Oct. 1990
Amoco Fabrics		200		July 1990
Lara Fashions		75		July 1990
Malani Textiles		10		June 1990
NuMED Canada	2			May 1990
BASF		150		May 1990
Twistex Inc.		40		April 1990
Marimac		95		Feb. 1990
Servaas Rubber		45		Oct. 1990
Courtaulds Films		240		Oct. 1990
Waltec		50		June 1989
Sub total	154	2207	382	
TOTAL JOBS				
(a) Created	154			
(b) Lost	2589			

source: Proposal for Emergency Crisis Funding, City of Cornwall (March 1993)

Table 6b Employment Trends in Selected Cornwall and Area Manufacturing Companies - May 1990 to February 1996

Company	May-90	Jun-93	Jan-94	May-94	Nov-94	Mar-95	Jun-95	Oct-95	Feb-96	Changes
	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	
Air Refiner (Canada) Ltd.	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
All-Tack	45	48	48	48	55	55	55	55	55	0
Allied Signal Aerospace	53	11	14	14	14	6	6	6	6	0
Aloes Foods	0	0	0	0	5	5	5	5	5	0
Amoco Fabrics & Fibres	200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Antoni Coatings	0	12	12	13	15	17	17	17	17	0
BASF Canada	0	9	9	9	9	12	12	12	12	0
Becker Milk Company	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Best Form Brassiere	60	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	0
BMR Handbags Ltd.	10	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bolger Steel Fab.	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	0
Busitech	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	5	0
C & D Services	0	25	100	100	90	90	90	90	90	0
CFI	35	95	118	118	118	121	121	121	121	0
Canadian Marconi	300	132	132	132	115	115	115	80	0	-80
Canadian Technical Tape	83	95	95	95	95	80	80	80	80	0
Champlain Industries	35	65	65	65	65	65	65	65	65	0
Columbia Finishing Mills	35	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	0
Combustion Engineering	240	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cornwall Concrete	5	7	7	7	7	3	7	7	7	0
Cornwall Gravel	84	100	100	100	130	150	150	150	150	0
Cornwall Ind. Machining	9	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0
Cornwall Machine & Welding	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cornwall Roof Truss	17	10	10	10	10	6	6	6	6	0
Courtaulds (Canada) Inc.	300	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cornwall Manufacturing	100	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	0
Crate Ideas	0	3	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
C-Tech Limited	145	120	120	120	120	120	100	80	80	0
Cyborg Systems	0	15	19	19	19	24	24	27	27	0
Dexel Color Canada	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Diesel Recon Canada	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DICKEY-John CANADA INC.	18	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	0
Dominion Tape of Canada	75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Domtar	1450	1158	1158	1158	1158	1158	1158	1158	1100	-58
Dynamic Closures	40	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	0
Exeltherm	40	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	0
F & B Clothing	70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fiberez	27	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	0
Finica Fashions Int. Corp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	40	40	0
French Fry	0	6	14	14	6	0	0	0	0	0
Freudenberg Nonwovens Inc.	70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glasseco	20	30	30	50	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glengarry Biotech	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0
GM Plastics	23	50	41	43	45	45	45	45	45	0
Granby Metal Stamping	20	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Greyline Instruments	8	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	0
Guardsman Products	123	80	85	85	96	98	98	98	102	4
Heiko Systems Furniture	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heuga Canada Ltd.	81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ICI Forest Products	195	182	171	169	163	133	124	118	110	-8
I.R. Bell & Son	7	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	0
Karl Gutmann Inc.	60	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kershaw Mfg. Canada	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kohler Ltd.	225	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kraft General Foods	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	0
L & K Plastics	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lara Fashions Inc.	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Levi Strauss	300	440	440	440	440	460	460	460	460	0
Looweld	0	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	0
Marimac	0	0	0	0	50	50	50	50	50	0
Martinville Hockey Sticks Inc.	0	0	0	0	0	15	15	15	15	0
Mendian	104	125	205	205	205	230	230	230	230	0
M&R Plastics	6	25	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	0
Morbern	236	259	263	263	263	270	300	300	400	100
Northern Globe	0	110	110	110	3	3	3	3	3	0
Northern Lights	0	45	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	0
Nova Machine	8	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0

Table 6b continued...

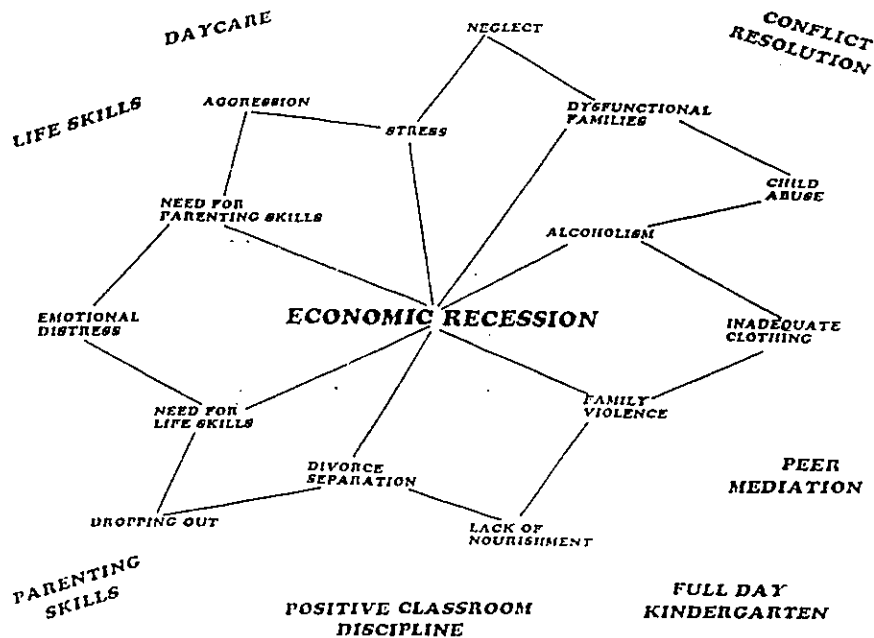
NuMED	0	9	12	14	17	17	17	18	22	4
Nutrite	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	0
OS Plastics	0	0	0	0	42	40	40	40	40	0
Parisien Beverages	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Permanent Lafarge	25	25	25	25	25	8	8	8	8	0
Pfizer Canada	11	13	13	13	12	12	12	13	13	0
Prym Newey	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rapid Transformers	0	15	15	15	15	18	18	18	18	0
Reg Products Inc.	0	0	0	0	0	7	7	1	1	0
Richelieu Hosiery	100	100	100	100	100	100	110	110	110	0
Ridgewood Industries	110	140	140	250	250	200	200	200	200	0
Robert Mitchell	31	20	23	23	20	20	30	30	30	0
Robert Windows	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Raisio Chemicals North Am.	0	8	8	12	14	14	14	14	14	0
Rol Mfg.	40	35	35	35	43	47	47	47	47	0
Rossi Artistic Glass	15	15	15	15	15	0	0	0	0	0
Seaway Valley Fries	0	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	0
Seaway Yams	0	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	0
Simmons Canada	100	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sims Manufacturing	65	130	130	180	205	175	175	175	175	0
Source Wood Products	12	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	0
Transcontinental Printing	115	130	100	100	100	130	130	130	130	0
United Colour & Chem.	9	7	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	0
United Tri-Tech Inc.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
Upper Village Furniture	12	15	15	15	31	31	31	12	0	-12
Valco Furniture	92	103	103	103	110	120	120	120	120	0
Waterville Textiles	0	0	0	0	0	22	22	22	22	0
Weddco Canada	0	0	3	3	7	7	7	7	0	-7
	May-90	Jun-93	Jan-94	May-94	Nov-94	Mar-95	Jun-95	Oct-95	Feb-96	Changes
Total	6,500	4,936	5,026	5,107	5,117	5,111	5,181	5,106	5,049	-25
Change from previous total		-1,564	90	81	10	-6	70	-75	-57	

source: City of Cornwall Economic Development Office, February 1996

While it is difficult to make conclusions about causal connections, 'economic recession' is identified as a central dynamic of community breakdown¹⁸. Herein lies a solid rationale for focusing on employment trends and the social processes of production in empirical research.

¹⁸ see also a comprehensive case study of the SKF plant closure in Toronto by Grayson, (1981).

Figure 5 Restructuring in Cornwall: Linking Economic, Social and Community Change



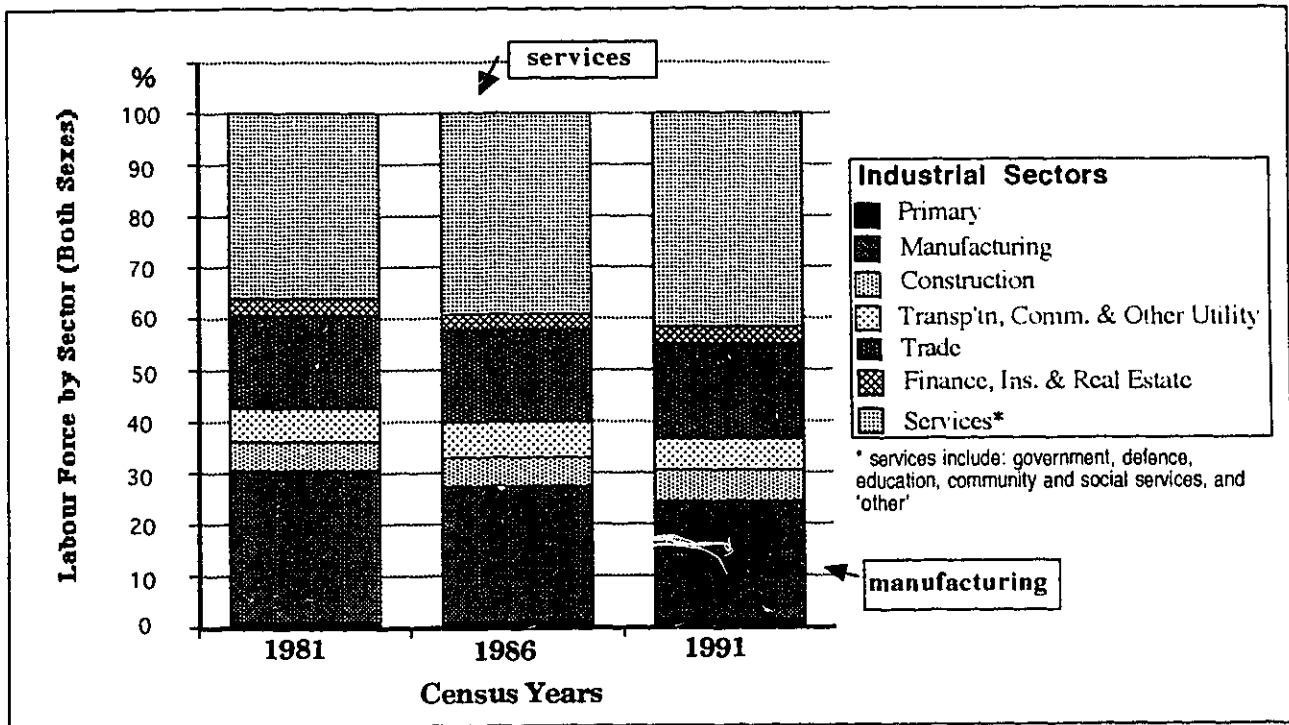
source: Proposal for Emergency Crisis Funding, City of Cornwall 1993

4.2.2 An Analysis of Regionalised and Gendered Labour Markets - Locating Cornwall in the Restructuring Process

Figure 6, shows the distribution of employment by industrial sector for both sexes for the years 1981, 1986 and 1991. The dominant trend reveals a gradual reduction of manufacturing employment and the rising importance of service industries - a direction of change which is similar to that experienced at provincial and national levels of analysis over the same time period. Figures 7a and 7b represent occupational categories by sex for 1986 and 1991 as percent of total employment. Comparing the male and female trends, note that the male occupational distribution is more varied than the female distribution. In 1986, 71.3% of working women were concentrated in four different occupations - those related to medicine and health; sales; services and clerical jobs. By 1991, 65.1% of women remained

concentrated in these occupations - a drop of over six percent, but still representing by far the majority of female workers.

Figure 6 **Distribution of Employment by Industrial Sector for Both Sexes: Cornwall - 1981, 1986, 1991**

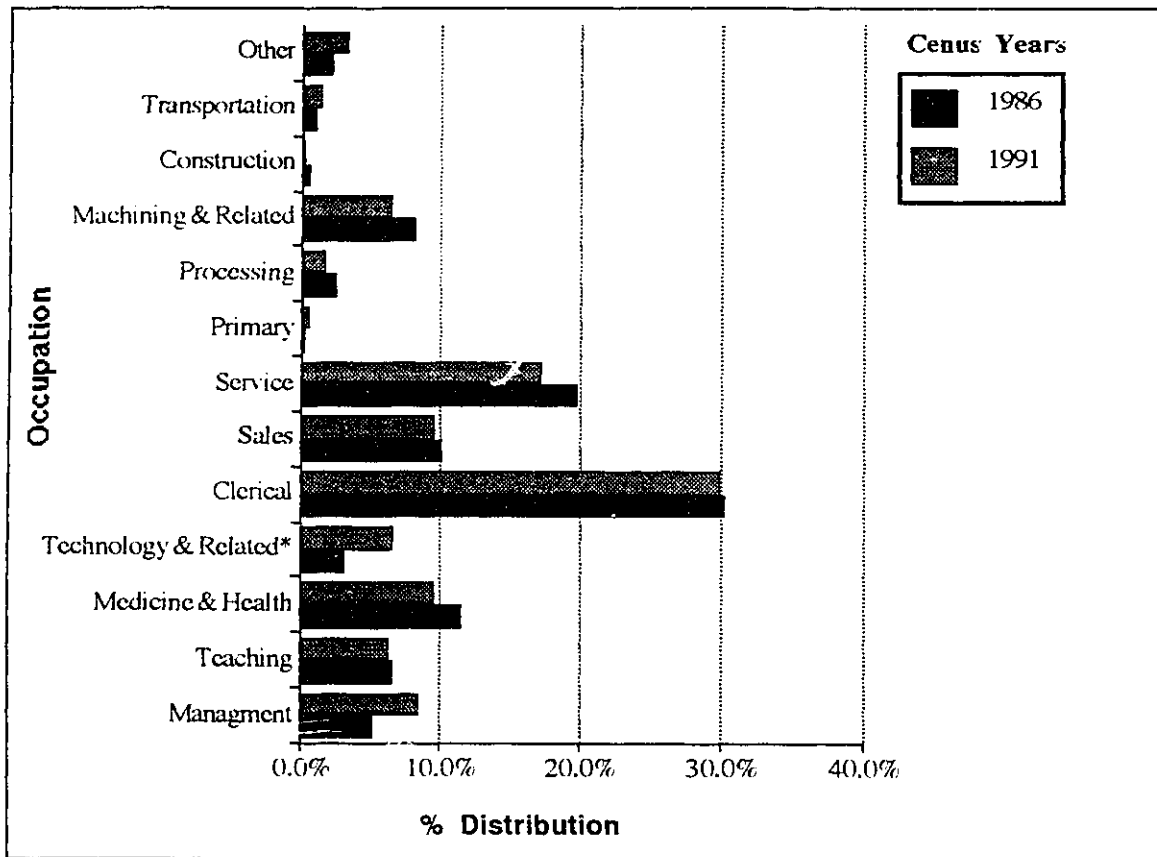


source: Statistics Canada (catalogue nos. 95-338, 94-112, 93-x-942 E-5671)

Referring to the male data for the same time period, there has been a slight tendency towards *increasing* male concentration in the top four occupations, combined with the fact that the 'top four' are not the same between census years (as was the case with the female data). In 1986, 47.1% of men were involved in: machining; processing; service jobs and management positions (management and construction actually represent the same percentage). In 1991 however, the top four occupational categories were: management; 'other' jobs not elsewhere classified; machining and services. There were also fewer men, in absolute numbers represented in all occupations in 1991 than in 1986, a trend opposed to

that shown by the data for women.

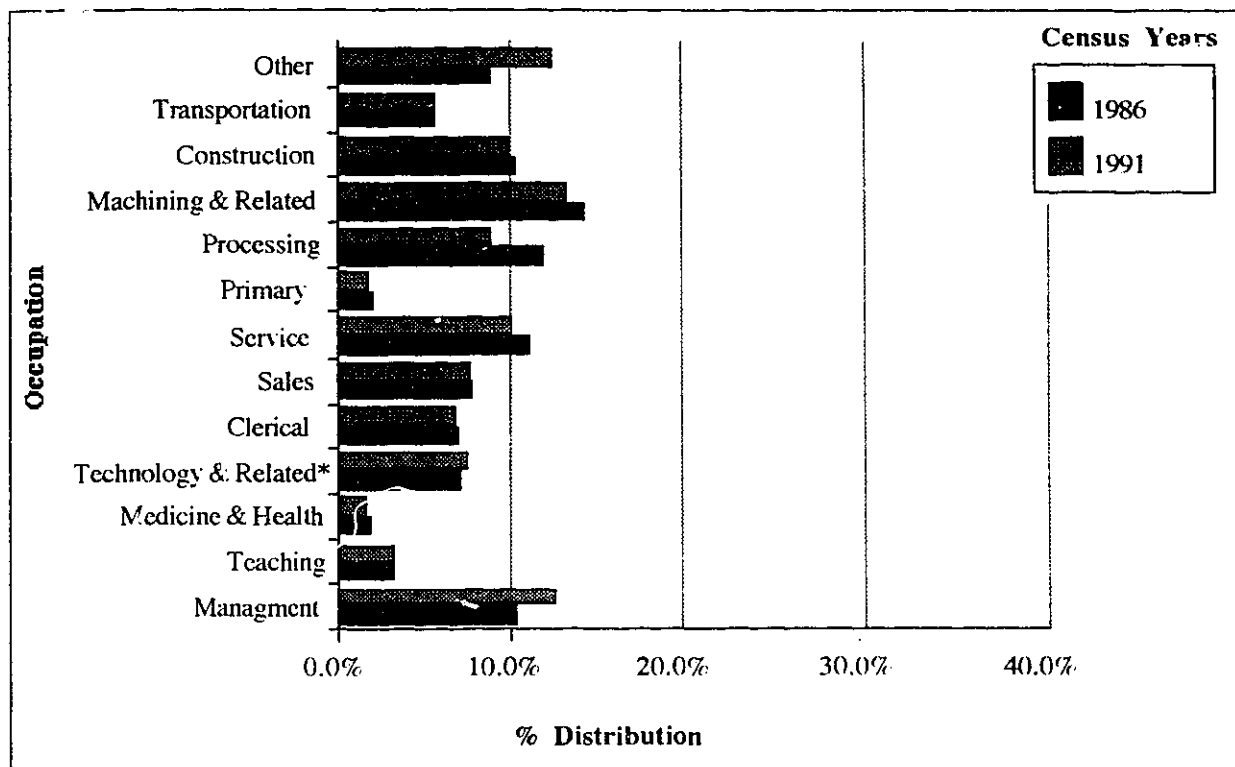
**Figure 7a Female Occupational Representation, Cornwall
1986 and 1991**



source: Statistics Canada (catalogue nos. 95-338, 94-12)

In terms of industrial structure, Table 7 shows Cornwall's top 12 industries (by employment and floor area) in 1991. In many cases, floor area (and employment) can be evaluated to interpret the relative technological investment of a firm - large numbers of employees and large floor areas often indicate lower degrees of technological investment and a relatively labour intensive operation (as in the case of textiles). These characteristics - slower rates of technological innovation and growth - are indicative of old order

Figure 7b Male Occupational Representation in Cornwall, 1986 & 1991



source: Statistics Canada (catalogue nos. 95-338, 94-12)

restructuring sensitive industries. Note that with one exception, 'electronics products', Cornwall's industrial structure is linked to slower growth industries¹⁹.

¹⁹ According to OECD research (1986), high growth industrial sectors are those characterised by high technology in production. The six ISIC industries expected to show the highest potential for future growth include: aerospace; office machines and computers; electronics and components; drugs; instruments; and electronic machinery.

Table 7 Industries by Employment for Both Sexes and by Floor Area - Cornwall, 1991

Industrial Classification (tot. employment)	Number of Establishments	Employees	Floor Area (sq. ft.)	% mfg. emply. 5090	% tot. emply. 22280
Paper/Allied Products	1	1158	1002500	22.8%	22.8%
Clothing	4	589	161991	11.6%	11.6%
Electrical/Electronic Prod.	8	402	443600	7.9%	7.9%
Textile/Textile Prod.	5	369	25700	7.2%	7.2%
Furniture/Fixtures	3	361	302000	7.1%	7.1%
Chemicals/Chemical Prod.	7	302	342817	5.9%	5.9%
Non-Metallic Mineral Prod.	3	291	389262	5.7%	5.7%
Plastic Products	8	203	350000	4.0%	4.0%
Printing/Publishing/Allied	1	168	194000	3.3%	3.3%
Fabricated Metal Prod.	6	164	183330	3.2%	3.2%
Food/Beverage	3	89	107000	1.7%	1.7%
Wood	2	78	19000	1.5%	1.5%
TOTAL	51	4174	3521200	82.0%	82.0%

source: City of Cornwall Economic Development Office, Industrial Directory 1995 and Community Profile Book, 1995

The statistical indicators and trends cited above point to the fact that industrial structure, gendered occupational patterns and economic well being are interrelated and directly influenced by processes of restructuring. The interpretation and impacts of these processes however, need to be examined at different levels of statistical aggregation to examine: (a) the regionally differentiated nature of restructuring, and; (b) gendered patterns of employment change. Disaggregating national trends allows us to see what is happening at the level of where people live - in counties and towns - and how their lives are affected by change.

To begin with, several simple tests were conducted on labour force data from the Canadian Census to empirically verify the importance of 'regional variation' and gender in employment and restructuring studies. The first test involved a regression analysis of male and female employment rates in Canada in 1986 and 1991 for all individuals in the labour

force over the age of fifteen. The objective was to plot female unemployment rates (x) against male unemployment rates (y) to test the degree to which female unemployment rates could be explained by male unemployment rates. If the feminisation hypothesis is correct - that female labour is replacing male labour - then what we might expect to see in general, is in cases of high male unemployment, female unemployment will be lower. If on the other hand, economic restructuring creates structural unemployment in certain regions and industries, there may be a high correlation between male and female unemployment rates. Using the male rates as a 'standard' of comparison, the regression statistics and residuals may provide further insight into the complexities of work force 'feminisation' at different levels of statistical aggregation. Regression analyses were conducted for the 1986 and 1991 census years, and compare unemployment statistics for all Canadian census divisions with all census subdivisions in Eastern Ontario. The results of the regression tests are represented in Figures 8a and 8b.

The results revealed interesting variations depending upon the scale of analysis. Referring to the data for Canadian census divisions in 1986 and 1991, we see that

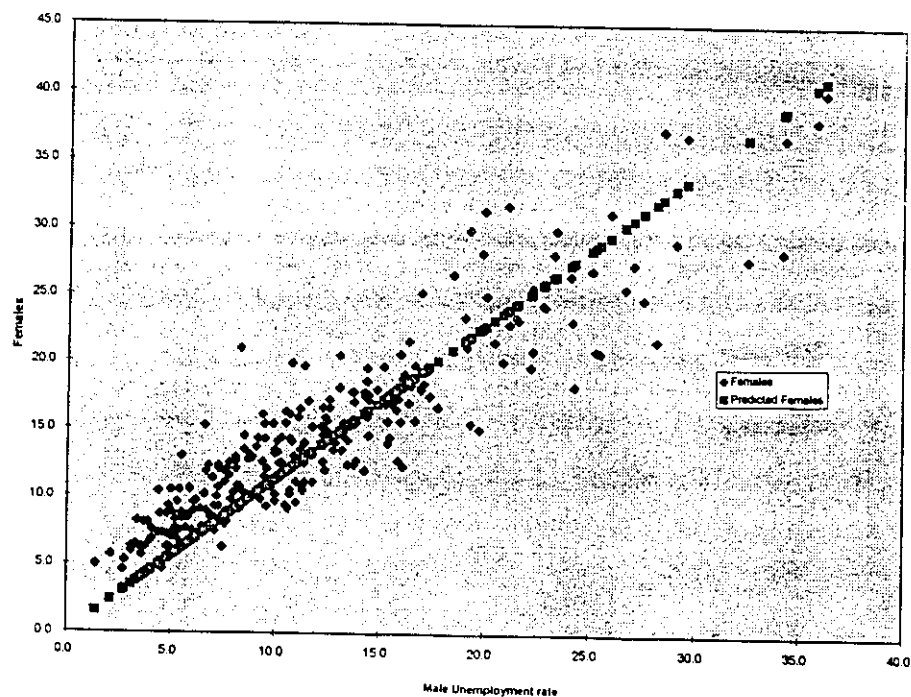
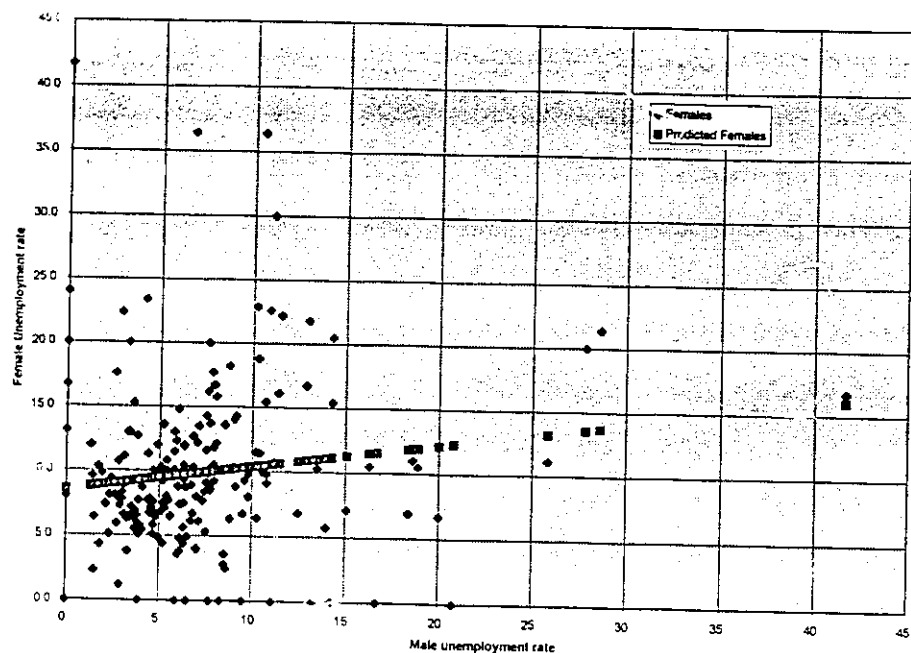
Table 8 Male Unemployment Rate as a Predictor of Female Unemployment

	1986		1991	
	R-squared	Observations	R-squared	Observations
Canada (Census Subdivisions)	0.83**	266	0.87**	290
Eastern Ontario (Census Subdivisions)	0.02*	200	0.14*	197

* significant at .05

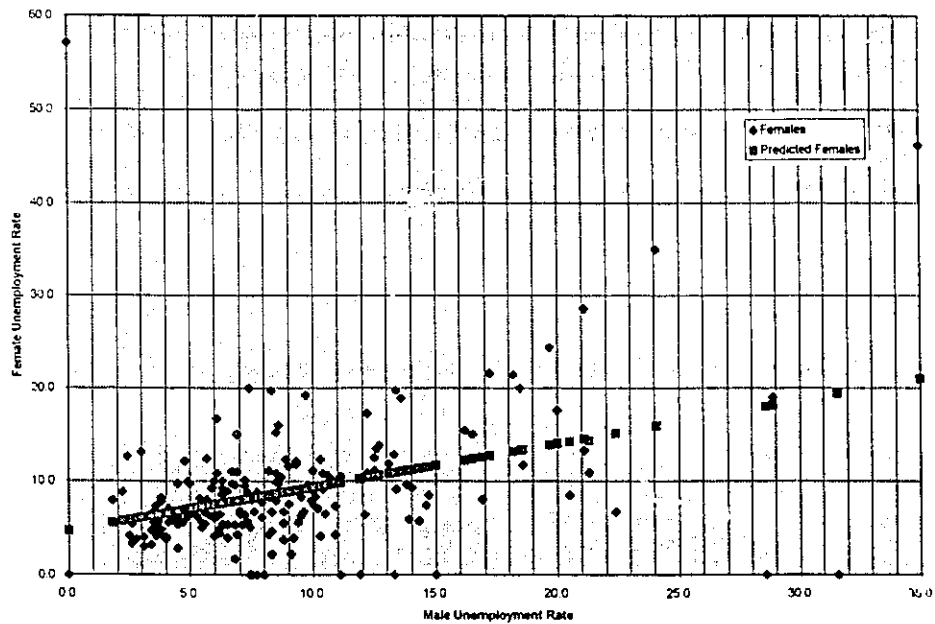
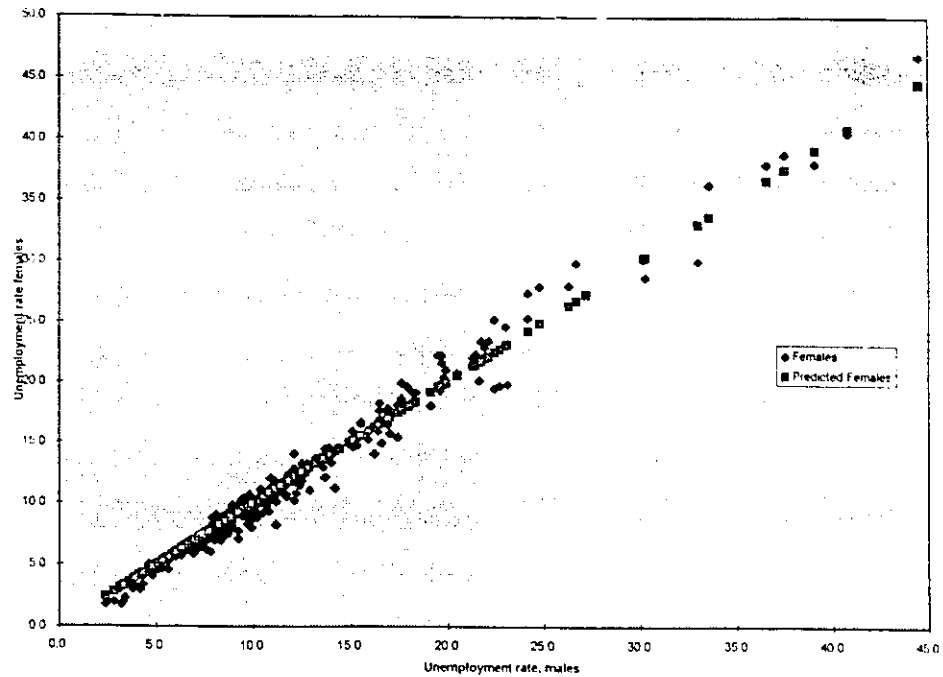
** significant at .0001

Figure 8a Coefficient of Determination (R^2) Between Male and Female Unemployment Rates For Canadian CDs and Eastern Ontario CSDs, 1986



source: Statistics Canada (1986 cat. no. 94-112)

Figure 8b Coefficient of Determination (R^2) Between Male and Female Unemployment Rates For Canadian CDs and Eastern Ontario CSDs, 1991



source: Statistics Canada (1991, cat. no. 95-338)

there is a very strong correlation between male and female unemployment rates. In other words, at aggregate levels of analysis, female unemployment rates can be predicted by looking at male unemployment rates - a relationship which is increasing in strength over the test period from 1986 to 1991. The opposite trend is true for predicted male and female unemployment rates in the case of Eastern Ontario census subdivisions, also for the years between 1986 and 1991. Here, we see that a very weak relationship exists between male unemployment rates as predictor of female unemployment rates. For instance, only 2% of the variation in 1986 and only 14% of the variation in 1991 of female unemployment rates could be explained by similar male unemployment rates. Looking at the data for Cornwall within Eastern Ontario, the residuals (the difference between the actual unemployment rate and the predicted rate) for females were both positive. In 1986, the predicted unemployment rate was 9.9% and the residual was 2.12, whereas in 1991, the predicted unemployment rate was 9.83% and the residual was 0.66. In general, female unemployment rates were slightly higher than the corresponding male rates, but did not show marked variation from the predicted values. They also showed a tendency towards greater similarity over the test period.

The conclusion drawn from these tests is that insight into unemployment trends is directly dependent upon spatial scale. If we take unemployment data as an important indicator of economic change, it follows that spatial comparisons of data are central to better understanding the uneven regional impacts of restructuring. In part, this may be a statistical artifact²⁰ - linked to the differences in level of statistical aggregation between national census divisions and regional census subdivisions. However, the data do support arguments concerning the centrality of 'space' and 'local experience' in defining a geography of regional change.

Based on these data, some interesting questions arise concerning *why* we see a

²⁰ The results for this test are influenced by the nature of the data compared. For example, the high level of correlation for Canadian CDs and the relatively low level of correlation for Eastern Ontario CSDs is owing to different census units and detail of statistical information being compared. Rather than negate the conclusions being drawn, this fact merely highlights the importance of locality research and spatially disaggregating statistics in restructuring studies.

lower correlation of male and female unemployment trends for the Eastern Ontario tests in both 1986 and 1991. Possible explanations could lie in traditional 'feminisation' assumptions where women are thought to be moving into 'men's jobs'; or that occupational sex segregation is high in these areas and it is 'men's jobs' that are disappearing while women remain stably employed. It could also be the case that the observed pattern is an anomaly and reflects short term economic adjustment in the region. Further insight could be gained into these issues by identifying cases where the positive and negative residuals show little correlation to the predicted y-value, and investigating trends in the industrial structures of these areas.

Following these tests, and in the interest of learning more about trends of feminisation, the nature of work and regional employment patterns, a second series of tests was devised to look at the location quotients (LQs)²¹ by gender, for all occupations - again at a variety of statistical scales. The data used here compares census information on gendered occupation patterns for Canadian and Ontario CDs (the latter providing about 86 observations) and Eastern Ontario CSDs. The LQs were calculated separately for women and men and were based on the general 'feminisation' hypotheses that:

1. as more males lose their jobs owing to restructuring and deindustrialisation (particularly in those occupations related to manufacturing production), they will be replaced by cheaper female labour. This female labour is likely to be 'less skilled' and concentrated in lower-wage manual jobs (notably in machining, product fabricating, material processing, and equipment operation), and;
2. the gender-segregated nature of labour force activity may vary according to the regionalised nature of the Canadian space-economy. In other words, the distribution of occupational LQs may reflect regional functional specialisation.

²¹ **Location quotients** (LQs) represent the ratio of two ratios, and are appropriate for mapping relative distributions. For example, here they were used to determine the relative distribution of female (or male) workers in a specific occupational category in comparison to all female (or male) workers in all occupational categories at different levels of statistical aggregation - Canadian CDs; Ontario CDs, and; Eastern Ontario CSDs.

While admittedly fairly 'broad', the rationale for these hypotheses is based on: (a) restructuring literature suggesting that the Canadian labour force is being feminised given the twin forces of deindustrialisation and, the growth of service sector employment; (b) feminist and post-Fordist critiques of economic liberalisation strategies which suggest that women are experiencing continuity and concentration in those occupations where they have traditionally found themselves (involving lower-pay, lower-skill, lower-status jobs), and; (c) the notion that the processes of regional development and economic change are uneven and have differential impacts on employment based on gender.

The results revealed several general points of interest . To begin with an overview of the observed patterns, at the level of **Canadian CDs** male occupational patterns showed more distinct regional concentrations that did female occupational patterns in both 1986 and 1991. Women's occupational patterns tended to be more varied than their male counterparts, and often displayed larger quotient ranges than males for both census years. Also, women tended to be more involved in processing and product fabrication jobs in Canadian CDs than did men - a concentration which has intensified from 1986 to 1991.

The occupational LQs for all **Ontario CDs** showed similar trends to those observed at the national level - specifically greater female participation in processing and fabrication, and; intensified female participation in these occupations over time. One of the notable differences between national and provincial trends involved female participation in management occupations in Ontario. Compared to national trends, women were less involved in management than men in the province of Ontario for 1986 and 1991. Given that the majority of Canada's industrial head quarters, business and financial services are located in Ontario, and that women have been traditionally excluded from upper management positions, it may be the case that this gendered division of labour is more pronounced in Ontario than in other provinces, or compared to national averages. Table 9 compares selected occupational location quotients by sex and census year at different levels of statistical aggregation. The data shows how occupational patterns have changed, or

remained consistent between 1986 and 1991 - which includes the period of economic restructuring immediately following the implementation of Free Trade Agreement with the United States (in 1989). The 'Tri-Counties' refers to the **census division** of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry within the Ontario data set (this is the county in which Cornwall is located). Data for 'Cornwall' is derived from an analysis of the **census subdivisions** within Eastern Ontario²²). The standard deviation for selected occupations in all Ontario CDs and all Eastern Ontario CSDs was calculated as a basis of comparison to see how the Tri Counties (within Ontario) and Cornwall (within Eastern Ontario) showed any regional functional specialisation in the gendered structure of their occupational distribution.

Table 9 Selected Occupational Location Quotients by Sex and Level of Statistical Aggregation, 1986 and 1991

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	1986				1991			
	Loc'n Quotient Tri Counties	Std Dev All Ont. CDs	Loc'n Quotient Cornwall	Std Dev All E.Ont. CSDs	Loc'n Quotient Tri Counties	Std Dev All Ont. CDs	Loc'n Quotient Cornwall	Std Dev All E.Ont. CSDs
Females								
Management	0.7571	0.1852	0.5193	0.4687	0.7603	0.1564	0.6509	0.4205
Clerical	0.8918	0.0954	0.8871	0.2568	0.955	0.0873	0.9613	0.2621
Sales	0.9216	0.1228	1.1598	0.5373	0.9094	0.1294	1.1669	0.6949
Service	1.2601	0.2964	1.3161	0.6177	1.1323	0.2629	1.1992	0.5951
Processing	1.6198	0.5976	2.0319	2.7633	1.3367	0.5419	1.7754	3.1417
Machining & related	1.2055	0.5692	2.3905	1.9802	1.5336	0.7836	3.3208	5.82
Males								
Management	0.8812	0.2301	0.6783	0.4158	0.8694	0.2033	0.7652	0.3999
Clerical	0.8383	0.1984	0.8862	0.4351	0.7483	0.2039	0.8413	0.4371
Sales	0.8666	0.1613	0.9958	0.4997	0.8658	0.1707	0.9554	0.5771
Service	0.9165	0.3241	0.634	0.5549	0.9058	0.2751	0.7682	0.5266
Processing	2.6008	0.6342	2.5957	1.7101	2.6924	0.7614	3.5831	1.5366
Machining & related	0.9409	0.3356	1.8295	0.6741	0.7684	0.4743	1.8795	1.9629

source: Statistics Canada (cat. nos. 95-338, 94-112)

Looking at the Ontario census division of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry (the Tri-Counties), the data indicate that female occupational concentration decreased slightly in

²² Note that the two columns showing 'standard deviations' (one for all Ontario census divisions and one for all Eastern Ontario census subdivisions) represent the measure of dispersion of that occupational category away from a normal distribution.

processing, services and sales occupations and increased in clerical and management occupations between 1986 and 1991. Compared to the standard deviation for all Ontario CDs, female concentration in all selected occupations was higher in the Tri-Counties. Indeed, with the exception of machining and related occupations, the standard deviations for the Ontario CDs dropped between 1986 and 1991 indicating a greater similarity of occupational structure throughout Ontario census divisions (in these selected cases) over time. Looking at the data for Cornwall, women's concentrations in management, clerical, sales and particularly machining jobs increased over the study period. However, comparing the data for Cornwall with that of Eastern Ontario, note that in the case of machining and related jobs, a marked rise in 1991 was accompanied by an even more substantial increase in the standard deviation for Eastern Ontario CSDs in that occupational category. This suggests that while women in Cornwall became more concentrated in machining jobs, the city showed relatively less specialisation in this category compared to Eastern Ontario.²³

According to the data for men, the trends observed were varied. At the county level, male occupational concentration increased in processing between 1986 and 1991, and decreased in management and sales (marginally), clerical and machining jobs. Compared to the data for all Ontario CDs, the most notable and sustained difference was in processing jobs (which are more concentrated in the Tri-Counties than compared to Ontario CDs). Focusing on Cornwall, increases were noted for management, service, processing and machining jobs between the census years. Note the particular increase and relative specialisation in processing jobs for males in Cornwall compared to Eastern Ontario CSDs (see footnote number eleven). In terms of Eastern Ontario the largest change was observed for machining and related jobs which more than doubled over the study period.

The testing of occupational location quotients at a variety of levels of statistical

²³ As noted elsewhere, the definition of occupational categories can change between census years which may contribute to some element of observed change. However, the categories tested in Table 8 were chosen based on their general comparability in addition to their ability to highlight certain key trends.

aggregation revealed comparative results and trends which confirm the importance of spatial differentiation in restructuring studies. It also shows the utility of disaggregating data to the level where people live (usually at the city or county level) to get a better picture of employment and occupational trends. There was considerable variation in male and female occupational trends between years in all of the examined cases. To some extent, these changes may reflect the cyclical nature of growth and recession within the business cycle. In the case of machining and related jobs for women in Cornwall and Eastern Ontario, the large increase combined with the relative stability of male participation in this category in Cornwall indicates a relative feminisation of these types of jobs. The data also indicated a relative and sustained concentration of male and female participation in processing occupations within Cornwall and Eastern Ontario which supports the notion of regional functional specialisation in manufacturing related employment. What these tests do *not* provide is a precise statistical measure of 'quantities' of difference. Rather, the point was to 'locate' Cornwall within the Canadian restructuring continuum, to show that, while there may be some similarities with national employment trends, there are also important differences which influence the social conditions and processes of production within that regional economy.

The location quotient tests demonstrated that interpretation of statistical information on gender and employment both complex and spatially variable. Returning again to the dual assumptions of 'feminisation' that: (1) globalisation leads to greater demand for female, lower-wage labour; and (2) women (and 'women's work')²⁴ will increasingly be substituted for men (and 'men's work') in the economy; an analysis of male/female participation rates at different levels of aggregation may further insight into the dynamics of feminisation and overall employment patterns. Statistical verification of the 'feminisation hypothesis' is strongest at the most general levels of aggregation. Table 10 below shows an increase in female participation rates in every case between 1986 and 1991. And, with

²⁴ Characterising an occupation as 'women's work' refers to the fact that particular jobs have been socialised and valued according to perceptions about gendered roles in productive employment (which related to gender roles in other areas of life). In manufacturing (and other) employment for example, 'women's work' contrasts 'men's work' as being of lower 'status' and having fewer responsibilities; is more discontinuous, and; is associated with a lower wage and skill structure.

one exception (of less than half a per cent in Ontario), there is a decrease in women's unemployment rates during the same time period. During these identical census years, male participation rates consistently dropped, while unemployment rates have risen. A simple comparison of female and male participation ratios of participation and unemployment show that women appeared to 'improve' their labour market position between 1986 and 1991.

Table 10 Female and Male Participation and Unemployment Rates at Various Levels of Aggregation (1986 and 1991)

		Rates of Change					
		1986	1991	% change by sex 1986-91*	Female:Male Ratios (PR and UR)		
					1986	1991	% change**
Canada	Female PR	55.4	59.9	4.5	0.72	0.78	0.06
	Male PR	77	76.4	-0.6			
	Female UR	11.3	10.2	-1.1	1.18	1.01	-0.17
	Male UR	9.6	10.1	0.5			
Ontario	Female PR	55.9	62.1	6.2	0.70	0.80	0.10
	Male PR	79.3	77.4	-1.9			
	Female UR	8	8.4	0.4	1.36	0.98	-0.38
	Male UR	5.9	8.6	2.7			
E. Ontario	Female PR	50.7	56.3	5.6	0.69	0.77	0.08
	Male PR	73.2	73.2	0			
	Female UR	9.8	8.7	-1.1	1.40	1.00	-0.40
	Male UR	7	8.7	1.7			
Tri-Counties	Female PR	51.9	56.6	4.7	0.69	0.76	0.07
	Male PR	75.4	74.9	-0.5			
	Female UR	10.2	8.5	-1.7	1.55	1.04	-0.51
	Male UR	6.6	8.2	1.6			
Cornwall (C)	Female PR	51.1	52.9	1.8	0.68	0.73	0.05
	Male PR	74.9	72.6	-2.3			
	Female UR	12.1	10.5	-1.6	1.51	0.95	-0.57
	Male UR	8	11.1	3.1			

* difference between 1991 and 1986 rates

** difference between 1991 and 1986 ratios of PR and UR

source: Statistics Canada (cat. nos. 95-338, 94-112, 93-x-942 E-576)

Looking at the data more carefully, and with a view to comparative spatial differences, another picture arises. By examining female and male participation rates (PR)

between Cornwall and other Ontario CDs from 1986 to 1991, several important trends become visible. First, in both years, participation rates for women and men are lower in the city of Cornwall than for the province as a whole. Second, while female participation rates in Cornwall increased by 1.8% over the study period, male rates decreased by 2.3% between 1986 and 1991. And third, the *rates* of change reveal some interesting differences. Rates of labour force participation increased about three and a half times faster for women in Ontario, than it did for their counterparts in Cornwall. The decline in male participation on the other hand was more rapid for men in Cornwall (2.3%) than for men in Ontario (1.9%). Looking at the 'rates of change' column, note that there is a decline in the city's position, relative to Ontario, for both men and women. Similar trends are observable when comparing participation by sex in Cornwall, to equivalent national statistics.

Comparative analysis of unemployment rates²⁵ at different levels of aggregation also reveals varied rates of change which lends further support to the notion of regional specificity in labour market dynamics. Here, we see that female unemployment (while higher in Cornwall than either Ontario or Canada), dropped by 1.6% (from 12.1% to 10.5%) between 1986 and 1991. Female unemployment increased marginally in Ontario, but dropped in Canada as whole by 1.1%. The male trends showed the opposite trend as compared to those for females. The increase in male unemployment was highest in Cornwall between 1986 and 1991 (by 3.1%); second highest in Ontario (an increase of 2.7%) and lowest in Canada as a whole (an increase of 0.5%). Looking at the ratios of change in female to male unemployment rates, the degree of difference declined more in Cornwall between 1986 and 1991, than in Ontario and Canada respectively.

25 'Unemployment rate' refers to the unemployed labour force (aged 15 and to 65) expressed as a percentage of the total labour force. 'Participation rate' on the other hand, refers to the total labour force expressed as a percentage of the population 15 years of age and over. Looking at unemployment rates alone as a judge of labour force trends is sometimes difficult because it only records those people whose unemployment benefits/insurance have not yet run out. Once these people exceed the allowable time with benefits, they are not longer classed as 'unemployed'. This is referred to in various literature as 'structural unemployment' - which is affecting the lives of increasing numbers of people, but is invisible in the 'unemployment rate' statistic.

The combination of decreasing relative participation rates for women and men, and consistently high unemployment rates in Cornwall for both sexes suggests that Cornwall's regional economy and labour market are responding to restructuring trends at different rates for a number of possible reasons. Primary among these is the fact that with Free Trade (and now NAFTA), the location of tariff-sensitive branch plant industries on the American border is no longer necessary as a way to assure access to Canadian markets. The Canadian competitive advantage in many of these industries (like textiles and apparel) is also weak. Here, we see the 'economic shadow effect' influencing intra-regional development in Ontario. Further, as a 'traditional' manufacturing centre, Cornwall's industrial base is generally sensitive to prevailing restructuring trends. These findings are not inconsistent with the notion of spatially uneven development and the rapid decline of certain areas within Canada's industrial heartland. Participation and unemployment statistics do not, however, tell us *in what kinds* of jobs women are participating. Given rising male unemployment and declining participation rates at all levels of analysis, how are women 'filling in the gaps', if they are at all? In the case of old order manufacturing centres, like Cornwall, how are women and men adjusting their employment strategies in the face of plant closures and service sector growth? What are the 'gendered' occupational trends, and how do they inform our understanding of the processes of restructuring and sexual divisions of labour?

4.2.3 The Nature of Regional Employment - Gender and Occupation

In response to these questions, another series of tests was developed to look at occupational trends by gender at different levels of spatial aggregation (consistent with previous tests). Analysis was based on devising five occupational categories²⁶ including: Management; Clerical; Sales and Service; Processing and Related; and Machining, Fabricating and Related. These categories represent, as clearly as possible, jobs characteristic of the secondary (manufacturing and related) and tertiary sectors. Constructed as they are, they should give some indication of 'deindustrialisation' trends as people move from secondary to tertiary occupations. Representation by gender in each category was then compared for 1986 and 1991, at the following levels of statistical aggregation: Canadian CDs; Ontario CDs; Regional CDs ('Eastern Ontario' and the individual CD of 'Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry') and the 'local' CSD which included the city of Cornwall.

Table 11 compares the per cent of the work force, by gender, engaged in each of the five test categories between 1986 and 1991. At the national and provincial levels, and within Eastern Ontario female participation in '*processing & related*' increased slightly (by labour half a per cent on average). At the county (SDG) and city level however, a decrease was observed. In Cornwall, the drop was substantial - fully 3.2% representing the largest change at any level of aggregation. Males, on the other hand, increased their representation

²⁶ Given definitional variation of occupational categories between census years, some of the categories devised for testing represent a combination of those listed in the census document. For example, in 1986 *processing* occupations exist as a single category, whereas for 1991, it was necessary to combine *material handling*, and *processing* to form a single category. The Census Dictionary was instrumental in making certain that the content of various categories, between census years showed sufficient consistency. The same is true for *machining, fabricating & related* which is a single category in 1986, but is separated into *machining* and *product fabricating & related* in the following census. *Sales* and *services* were both listed as unique categories in 1986 and 1991, but were combined for the analysis as the content of these jobs displayed a certain amount of overlap. *Management & administration* existed in both the 1986 and 1991 census, but according to the Census Dictionary, show some significant content changes between the two years (for example, some 'clerical' positions were transformed into 'management' jobs by 1991). Although there were some changes in the content of the *clerical* category, the definitions are similar enough to make comparisons between 1986 and 1991 reliable.

in *processing* occupations in every case between 1986 and 1991. Looking at ratios of representation therefore, females showed an erosion of their representation (relative to males) in this job category over the five year test period, with the exception of 'Ontario CDs' which showed a marginal increase.

The relative position of female representation to male representation in *machining, fabricating & related* occupations also dropped between 1986 and 1991. The only exception to this trend was observed in Cornwall, where women increased their participation in these jobs by 1.5% and males displayed at 2.7% decline. Indeed, it is in Cornwall again where the trend for women is clearly different from other levels of aggregation. In the case of *machining* jobs, Cornwall was the only case where female representation actually increased. By contrast, male decline in *machining* occupations was the greatest in Cornwall in conditions where declines were experienced at every level of aggregation.

A couple of trends emerge from this analysis of gendered occupational structure in typically 'manufacturing' jobs. First of all, women's relative representation in manufacturing related employment is declining relative to men's participation in these jobs. And second, female and male representation in manufacturing occupations in Cornwall remains higher over time than at other levels of statistical aggregation. Where exceptions occur, as in the case of male '*processing*', Cornwall stands second behind SDG - the census division of which Cornwall is the county seat. In *machining, fabricating & related* jobs, Cornwall is second to the figure for Ontario by less than one per cent - both cases being noticeably more specialised in this occupational category than other levels of aggregation. In female *machining* jobs, Cornwall improves its position between 1986 and 1991 to second behind the greater area of SDG, and remains the 'most specialised' in *processing* over the same time period (followed again by SDG).

In making sense of these trends in terms of the restructuring literature on feminisation, it is difficult to draw clear conclusions about women replacing men in

Table 11 Occupational Comparisons in Five Test Categories By Sex, 1986 and 1991

Geographic Level	Occupational Categories	Female/Male	1986 % workforce	1991 % workforce	Rate of Change % change*	Fem:Male ratio 1986**	Fem:Male ratio 1991	Direction of ratio change***
Canadian CDs	Management	female	7.7	10.2	2.5	0.61	0.74	0.13
		male	12.6	13.8	1.2			
	Clerical	female	33.5	31.6	-1.9	4.93	4.45	-0.48
		male	6.8	7.1	0.3			
	Sales & Service	female	25.5	25.5	0	1.35	1.33	-0.02
		male	18.9	19.2	0.3			
	Processing & related	female	2.1	2.5	0.4	0.46	0.37	-0.08
		male	4.6	6.7	2.1			
	Machining, fabricating & related	female	4.6	3.4	-1.2	0.34	0.29	-0.06
		male	13.5	11.9	-1.6			
					0			
Ontario CDs	Management	female	8.4	11.9	3.5	0.63	0.77	0.14
		male	13.4	15.5	2.1			
	Clerical	female	33.9	31.5	-2.4	4.52	3.84	-0.68
		male	7.5	8.2	0.7			
	Sales & Service	female	24.2	23.5	-0.7	1.31	1.27	-0.04
		male	18.5	18.5	0			
	Processing & related	female	1.7	2.4	0.7	0.40	0.46	0.06
		male	4.2	5.2	1			
	Machining, fabricating & related	female	5.9	3.9	-2	0.37	0.28	-0.09
		male	16.1	13.9	-2.2			
					0			
Stormont, Dundas & Glengarry	Management	female	6.1	8.7	2.6	0.58	0.71	0.13
		male	10.6	12.3	1.7			
	Clerical	female	28.9	28.9	0	5.16	5.16	0.00
		male	5.6	5.6	0			
	Sales & Service	female	26.1	23.4	-2.7	1.76	1.57	-0.19
		male	14.8	14.9	0.1			
	Processing & related	female	2.7	2.4	-0.3	0.28	0.24	-0.04
		male	9.7	10.1	0.4			
	Machining, fabricating & related	female	6.8	4.9	-1.9	0.50	0.41	-0.09
		male	13.6	11.9	-1.7			
					0			
Eastern Ontario CSDs	Management	female	9.8	13.1	3.3	0.64	0.79	0.15
		male	15.2	16.5	1.3			
	Clerical	female	34.1	31.1	-3	4.32	3.84	-0.48
		male	7.9	8.1	0.2			
	Sales & Service	female	23.6	22.6	-1	1.10	2.04	0.94
		male						
	Processing & related	male	21.5	11.1	-10.4			
		female	1.2	1.4	0.2	0.37	0.36	-0.02
	Machining, fabricating & related	male	3.2	3.9	0.7			
		female	3.4	2.3	-1.1	0.37	0.28	-0.08
		male	9.3	8.1	-1.2			
					0			
Cornwall (city)	Management	female	8.7	12.4	3.7	0.51	1.06	0.55
		male	17.2	11.7	-5.5			
	Clerical	female	25.7	33.9	8.2	4.36	8.69	4.34
		male	5.9	3.9	-2			
	Sales & Service	female	22.3	21.2	-1.1	1.63	1.18	-0.44
		male	13.7	17.9	4.2			
	Processing & related	female	6.1	2.9	-3.2	0.78	0.34	-0.44
		male	7.8	8.6	0.8			
	Machining, fabricating & related	female	3.1	4.6	1.5	0.19	0.35	0.15
		male	15.9	13.2	-2.7			

* percent change in workforce representation by occupational group between 1991 and 1986

** ratio of female to male representation in each occupational group in 1986 (also calculated for 1991)

*** difference in ratio values between 1991 and 1986

source: Statistics Canada (cat. nos. 95-338, 94-112, 93-x-942 E-576)

manufacturing related occupations in the case of Cornwall. There is some general support however, for the notion of continuity of the gendered division of labour in non-traditional occupations, and, the deepening of these divisions between women and men in the labour market. It is equally interesting to note the variation in trends when looking at Cornwall - namely the drastic decline in female *processing* jobs and unique increase in *machining* jobs. In the latter case, this female increase is mirrored by the largest male decrease in these occupations. Recall that between 1989 and 1992 (Table 6a), Cornwall experienced its largest decline in manufacturing employment - particularly in textile operations, which may to some extent account for the large declines in male *machining, fabricating and related* occupations, and female *processing*. Some of the specific jobs that make up these aggregate categories include (Statistics Canada Standard Occupational Classifications, 1980 and 1990, cat. no. 93-332):

A. Textile Processing Occupations

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| • foremen/forewoman | • weaving |
| • knitting | • winding and reeling occupations |
| • bleaching and dyeing | • spinning and twisting occupations |
| • finishing, inspecting and testing | • fibre preparers |

B. Machining, Product Fabricating and Related

Product Fabricating Jobs, Textiles

- foremen/forewomen
- pattern makers, dress makers
- tailors, hat makers
- shoe making and repair
- sewing machine operators
- inspecting, testing, grading

Machining Jobs

- foreman/forewoman
- forging occupations
- metal-working machines
- tool and die makers
- inspecting, testing, grading
- machine set up and testing
- pattern- and mould-makers

Product Fabricating Jobs, Electronics

- foreman/forewoman
- electronic assemblers
- installing, repairing machinery
- fabricating and other elemental work
- inspecting, testing, grading

Between Courtaulds, Dominion Textiles, F&B Clothing and Amoco Fabrics 960 jobs were lost. The electronics firm, Canadian Marconi, also downsized during this period

by 166 employees, which likely contributed to the drop in female *processing* jobs as it was mainly women who did the assembly work on the production lines. Courtaulds Films, Diesel Recon, BASF and Combustion Engineering - all firms with male dominated production lines - accounted for 655 job losses during this same period and contributed to the sharp decline in *machining, fabricating and related* jobs for men (City of Cornwall, Industrial Directory, 1995; Interviews with former employees of Marconi, Courtaulds, Dominion Textiles, Combustion Engineering, June to September, 1995; Interviews with Economic Development Office, City of Cornwall, February 1995). Based on the available data, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the increase in male *processing* jobs and female *machining* jobs. It is possible that with the closure of certain mills, people were re-employed in other operations that necessitated them changing occupational categories.

While it is easy to jump to conclusions here, this trend does raise more questions than it answers - particularly about characterising 'new' and 'old' economies with certain gendered patterns of participation and employment. Regional functional specialisation in gendered employment patterns make generalisations about the 'new economic order' as applied to Cornwall, of limited use in interpreting its restructuring experience. Further, while it is clear that the 'old order' is in decline, the direction of 're-development' in the region remains indistinct - making pronouncements about a 'new economic order' based on aggregate data less than accurate. However, if overall female labour force participation is *increasing*, but female representation in manufacturing occupations seems to be *decreasing* it is logical to look to the tertiary sector to as a possible location of significant labour force change. It remains to be seen how Cornwall, with its specialisation in manufacturing, is responding to wider forces of economic 'tertiarisation' in Canada.

The results for tertiary sector occupations showed more variation than for secondary sector occupations. Without exception, women at every level of aggregation increased their position relative to men in *management* jobs. In part, this may be owing to the changes in the definition of that category between 1986 and 1991. Notice that Cornwall is unique in presenting the only case where male representation in *management* declined

(which may be accounted for by plant closures and the elimination of male dominated middle and upper management positions in various large firms), and also shows the greatest rate of change in representation of five and a half per cent. It is also in Cornwall where we observe the greatest positive change for women moving into *management* occupations. Looking at these changes in conjunction with trends in *clerical* occupations, the fact that female participation has decreased in all cases, except Cornwall, is consistent with the notion that some of these jobs have been reclassified 'up' to management positions. Data provided from the Employment and Education Retraining Centre in Cornwall also indicated that some displaced workers had access to various temporary contract positions with the public service sector - which could account for more people being involved in *management* and *clerical* jobs over the study period. In fact, Cornwall shows the most substantial increases in *clerical* jobs for women and men between 1986 and 1991. Both female and male participation in *sales & service* occupations remained fairly constant, with women showing decreasing relative representation to men from 1986 to 1991. The single exception here was the dramatic decline in *sales & service* jobs for men in Eastern Ontario, of 10.4%, and the relatively large increase, of 4.2%, of men working in these occupations in Cornwall. The following brief list (SOC codes include hundreds of occupations highly specific to each industry type) provides some indication of the contents of each of the three service sector occupations categories used in the tests (Statistics Canada Standard Occupational Classifications, 1980 and 1990, cat. no. 93-332):

A. Management, Administrative and Related Occupations

- | | |
|---|---|
| • general managers and other senior officials | • personnel and related officers |
| • administrators in all fields | • government administrators |
| • financial management occupations | • personnel and industrial relations officers |
| • production management occupations | |
| • organisation and methods analysts | |
| • inspectors and regulatory officers | |

B. Clerical and Related Occupations

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| • stenographic and typing occupations | • stock, shipping, & receiving clerks |
| • bookkeeping, accountant-recording | • secretaries |
| • cashiers and tellers | • financial and statistics clerks |
| • office machine operators | • data processing occupations |

C. Sales and Service Occupations

Service Occupations

- protective & financial services
- food & beverage preparation
- jobs in accommodation & lodging
- personal services (eg. hairdressing)
- apparel and furnishings services
- janitors, cleaners and general labouring

Sales Occupations

- supervisor of sales operations
- street vendors, door-to-door sales
- selling commodities
- insurance & real estate sales
- buyers, wholesale & retail trades
- advertising sales

Again, these data raise a few important points, starting with the fact that while there seems to be greater uniformity between the data at different spatial scales in the rates and direction of change in the gendered occupational structure of the service sector, the importance of local experience cannot be overlooked. In the case of Cornwall, it has already been suggested that local variation may stem from its history as a traditional manufacturing centre, combined with its recent and rapid deindustrialisation. This may help explain the decrease in male *management* jobs between 1986 and 1991, for example. Also, the scenario of 'rapid deindustrialisation' in Cornwall may partially account for the unusual rise in male and female participation in *clerical* jobs, as people move out of industry and into the service sector. In terms of statistical significance, the rates of female-to-male change in each of the five categories, and between various levels of statistical aggregation, show no important differences²⁷. This means that, despite some observable differences between levels, census data shows that general trends in the gendered occupational structure are fairly consistent.

This tension, between *general* trends, and *observable* differences may be important in better understanding the nature of uneven development and the impacts on regional labour markets. In other words, it is among the *exceptions* to general rules where we may identify important connections between gender, restructuring and employment patterns as they are linked to regional specialisation. The procedure selected involved Spearman's Rank Order tests on complete sets of occupational data (ie. all the categories as they appear in the census) for 1986 and 1991. The per cent representations in each

²⁷ This was verified using t-tests for two small samples, and comparing results for the different levels of aggregation.

occupational category of female and male workers were calculated and then ranked in order from first to last to see how gendered divisions of labour compared at different levels of aggregation. Here, ordinal data are appropriate to identify and evaluate variations between spatial scales that may reflect regional functional specialisation in gendered occupational structures. The results of the tests are presented in Tables 12a and 12b below.

Starting with the data for female occupations, the correlation factor (R_s value) in each test case for 1986 and 1991 is very high - at, or above ninety percent. In other words, regardless of the level of spatial aggregation, female occupational structures show great similarity. In fact, the degree of similarity in female patterns of work at all levels has actually increased over time (although at levels of correlation already over ninety per cent in 1986, it is difficult to see further substantial increases). The results of this test are consistent with those outlined earlier in Table 11 (comparing five occupational test categories) which also indicated the existence of clearly gendered patterns of work and occupational resiliency among females at various levels of spatial aggregation. Also consistent with previous findings in this chapter, the Rank Order tests suggest an intensification of female participation in certain key occupations.

Turning to the male occupational data, the degree of similarity (R_s factor) between each test case over time was much less than that for the females. Comparing the occupational structures of Canada and the Tri-Counties, the degree of difference increased (by about six per cent) between 1986 and 1991. The opposite trend occurred in the Eastern Ontario and Cornwall data, where the similarity of male occupational structures increased over time (by approximately twenty four per cent). In the latter case, men seem to have maintained their functional specialisation in machining, product fabricating and processing jobs but also have tended toward slightly greater similarity in various service sector occupations (sales, services, teaching). Referring to the data comparing Canadian CDs with the Tri-Counties, specialisation has been maintained in the latter case in processing and equipment operating. However, this has not necessarily been accompanied by a more 'tertiarised' occupational structure in the Tri-Counties.

Table 12a Spearman's Rank Correlation Tests - Spatial Comparisons of Female Occupation Between Canadian CDs and the Tri-Counties and Eastern Ontario CSDs and Cornwall, 1986 & 1991

Occp'n Category	Test 1 (Ranks)		Occp'n Category	Test 2 (Ranks)	
	Canada	Tri-Counties		E. Ontario	Cornwall (C)
Clerical	1		1 Clerical	1	1
Service	2		2 Service	2	3
Sales	3		4 Manag. & admin.	3	5
Med. & health	4		3 Med. & health	4	2
Manag. & admin.	5		7 Sales	5	4
Teaching & related	6		6 Technological	6	7
Technological	7		9 Teaching & related	7	6
Machining	8		5 Machining	8	9
Primary	9		8 'Other' occs.	9	11
'Other' occs.	10		11 Primary	10	12
Processsing	11		10 Processsing	11	8
Transp. eq. opeating	12		12 Transp. eq. opeating	12	10
Contruc'n trades	13		13 Contruc'n trades	13	13
Test 1 Rs = 0.93956044			Test 2 Rs = 0.90659307		

Occp'n Category	Test 1 (Ranks)		Occp'n Category	Test 2 (Ranks)	
	Canada	Tri-Counties		E. Ontario	Cornwall (C)
Clerical	1		1 Clerical	1	1
Service	2		2 Service	2	2
Manag. & admin.	3		4 Manag. & admin.	3	5
Sales	4		5 Sales	4	3
Med. & health	5		3 Med. & health	5	4
Teaching & related	6		6 Teaching & related	6	6
Product fabricating	7		8 Social science occs.	7	8
Social science occs.	8		9 Natural sci. & related occs.	8	11
Farmir g	9		7 Product fabricating	9	7
Natural sci. & related occs.	10		13 Artistic & related	10	13
Artistic & related	11		14 Farming	11	17
Processing	12		12 'Other' occs.	12	9
'Other' occs.	13		10 Transp. eq. operating	13	12
Material handling	14		15 Processing	14	10
Transp. eq. operating	15		11 Material handling	15	16
Other crafts & equip. op.	16		17 Other crafts & equip. op.	16	14
Construc'n trades	17		18 Construc'n trades	17	18
Machining	18		16 Machining	18	15
Religious occs.	19		19 Religious occs.	19	19
Forestry	20		21 Forestry	20	22
Fishing & trapping	21		22 Fishing & trapping	21	21
Mining & quarrying	22		20 Mining & quarrying	22	20
Test 1 Rs = 0.96169314			Test 2 Rs = 0.935629588		

Table 12b Spearman's Rank Correlation Tests - Spatial Comparisons of Male Occupation Between Canadian CDs and the Tri-Counties and Eastern Ontario CSDs and Cornwall, 1986 & 1991

Occp'n Category	Test 1 (Ranks)		Occup'n Category	Test 2 (Ranks)	
	Canada	Tri-Counties		E. Ontario	Cornwall (C)
Machining*	1		1 Manag. & admin.	1	1
Manag. & admin.	2		3 Service	2	4
Service	3		6 Technological*	3	11
Construc'n trades	4		2 Construc'n trades	4	3
Sales	5		8 Machining**	5	2
Technological**	6		11 Clerical	6	8
Primary	7		4 Sales	7	10
Clerical	8		10 'Other' occs.	8	6
'Other' occs.	9		7 Primary	9	7
Transp. eq. operating	10		9 Transp. eq. operating	10	9
Processing	11		5 Processing	11	5
Teaching	12		12 Teaching & related	12	13
Medicine	13		13 Med. & health	13	12
Test 1 Rs = 0.71979022			Test 2 Rs = 0.618131869		

Occp'n Category	Test 1 (Ranks)		Occup'n Category	Test 2 (Ranks)	
	Canada	Tri-Counties		E. Ontario	Cornwall (C)
Manag. & admin.	1		1 Manag. & admin.	1	1
Construc'n trades	2		2 Service	2	3
Service	3		5 Construc'n trades	3	4
Sales	4		7 Natural sci. & related occs.	4	10
Product fabricating	5		3 Clerical	5	8
Clerical	6		10 Sales	6	7
Transp. eq. operating	7		9 Product fabricating	7	2
Natural sc. & related occs.	8		11 Transp. eq. operating	8	9
Farming	9		4 'Other' occs.	9	6
Processing	10		6 Farming	10	17
Machining	11		12 Teaching & related	11	11
'Other' occs.	12		8 Processing	12	5
Teaching & related	13		13 Social sci. occ.	13	16
Material handling	14		14 Med. & health	14	15
Med. & health	15		16 Artistic & related	15	18
Artistic & related	16		18 Machining	16	12
Social sci. occ.	17		17 Material handling	17	13
Other crafts & equip. op.	18		15 Other crafts & equip. op.	18	14
Forestry	19		20 Religious occs.	19	21
Mining & quarrying	20		21 Forestry	20	20
Fishing & trapping	21		22 Mining & quarrying	21	19
Religious occs.	22		19 Fishing & trapping	22	22
Test 1 Rs = 0.6595144			Test 2 Rs = 0.8554488		

In the case of the male occupational structure, it is more difficult to determine the degree and significance of observed differences in the Rs value given the variability of occupational categories between the test years. Starting with the knowledge that male occupational patterns are more varied than female patterns (data for Cornwall were displayed previously in this chapter in Figures 7a and 7b), and that overall employment is more concentrated in the manufacturing sector and manufacturing related jobs, the following inferences can be made. First, deindustrialisation is more likely to affect male specialisation in the manufacturing sector through the loss of *manufacturing jobs* than will be the case for women. Second, where male employment is highly concentrated in manufacturing at smaller levels of aggregation (like in Cornwall), the magnitude of change introduced by industrial restructuring will always *appear* larger than at greater (and relatively less concentrated) levels of aggregation. However, it is also likely that the magnitude of *real* change to the occupational structure of specialised manufacturing areas like Cornwall is *experienced* more acutely in general, and particularly by men. The issue of deindustrialisation, gendered patterns of occupational change and individual experience, will be addressed through personal history interviews in the next chapter

4.3 Summary

Always tempting is the urge to draw wide-ranging conclusions from statistical data. However, consistent with foregoing critical discussions of macro-scale, non-spatial analyses this temptation will be avoided here. The above analyses appear to lend some initial statistical support to concerns with linking gendered divisions of labour to the uneven and regionally specific processes of restructuring. Cornwall, and its surrounding region of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry displayed regional specialisation in manufacturing related occupations for both men and women. While this specialisation was maintained over the test period, the 'margin of difference' is being eroded. The dynamics of labour force change however, are not clear. Rapid deindustrialisation in the area likely reflects some combination of: (1) the lost locational advantages to American (and other) branch plants once free trade came into affect; (2) the concentration of economic activity in larger,

diversified centres (the 'economic shadow' of Toronto is probably a factor), and; (3) broader forces of change challenging the ability of 'old economic order' communities (like Cornwall) to fit into increasingly global, specialised and 'flexible' production processes. This last point begs the question, 'now that Cornwall is forced to change, what kind of new economy will it develop?'. In answering this question, City administrators would be well advised to look at the **broadier forces of social and economic change** and how they *interrelate* with local labour, social, economic and political characteristics.

Constructing statistical analyses with a view to **spatial differences** will improve theoretical, empirical and policy work on restructuring in at least two ways. First, it facilitates a better understanding of regional labour market formation and how local adjustments occur in the context of industrial restructuring. Second, better insight into the *spatially differentiated experiences of 'feminisation'* is gained when gender is 'seen' as a necessary relation in the social processes of production. A better understanding of the mix and skills base of local labour will help help policy makers anticipate the processes of labour adjustment and suggest more realistic options for developing a 'new' economy. In this study, gendered employment and occupational trends were evaluated to 'make sense' of the notion of feminisation in a regionally specialised economy characterised by an older, or traditional, manufacturing base.

A number of important questions remain unanswered, or rather 'unexplored', in the context of the above statistical analysis. Primary among them concerns how the changing social processes of production (associated with deindustrialisation) influence male and female adjustment experiences as individuals seek new employment opportunities. In other words, how do women and men differentially *experience* 'gendered divisions of labour' in the context of profound economic change in a traditionally manufacturing-based community like Cornwall? And, why is this important in a revised explanation of regional change? The task remains to re-integrate statistical research with theorising about the *social processes* of production. Merely stating that changes have occurred in occupational specialisation, work activity and female/male participation rates provides only a partial

understanding of the impact of restructured productive processes on community function and the ways women and men relate to each other in the work place and in daily life. It is at this level that 'gender' can be explored from a different view - to record the effects of labour market structuring and experiences of structural change.

The next chapter deals with individual experiences of restructuring - how men's and women's lives and work histories reflect and shape the dynamics of regional and community change. The aim is to link local conditions to global processes, focusing on 'gender' as a key analytical construct in understanding the social and economic processes underlying labour market formation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Deindustrialisation and Personal Work Histories: Gendered Dimensions of Continuity and Change

5.0 Introduction

The preceding chapter outlined some important trends and changes in the quantity and nature of female and male employment, and occupational patterns at different levels of spatial aggregation within Canada. Particular attention was paid to the problem of deindustrialisation and gendered geographies of employment in Cornwall. Several issues worthy of further study arose from this statistical analysis that will be discussed here. First, while changes to the gender-composition of employment have been a national phenomenon over the past few decades, more work needs to be done on how local conditions *shape individual experiences* of restructuring. Building on this point is a second issue concerning the ways gender structures employment patterns. How can we explain the various types of 'forces' which help shape gendered roles and relations in work and life? And finally, how do existing gendered divisions of labour relate to and differentiate male and female experiences economic restructuring - particularly the process of 'deindustrialisation'?

Existing patterns of functional specialisation are in part the product of social relations between men and women. The nature of, and variation in, male and female work experiences and job change in Cornwall will therefore reflect historical gendered divisions of labour. The implications of these issues for a revised geography of regional change are important. Failure to disaggregate employment statistics by gender, and to contextualise

these trends based on local experience may conceal the effectiveness of regional policy aimed at rejuvenating areas exposed to rapid deindustrialisation. New patterns of employment may also contribute to a change in the gender of those excluded from the paid work force. Without understanding the major changes occurring in the type of employment available and the gender of workers employed, our understanding of the processes of industrial and regional development as a whole is limited.

This chapter uses interview data to explore the connections between restructuring, life, work and gender. Building on themes from earlier chapters, the concept of 'feminisation' is explored in a local context - to see how gendered divisions in the labour market are changed and reproduced in the context of industrial decline. Another aim of the interviews is to highlight points of contact and departure between 'macro' and 'micro' level data in theorising about the processes of restructuring and gendered divisions of labour.

Following this introductory section, key theoretical and methodological issues involved in the presentation and analysis of the interview data are outlined. Comments centre on alternative 'models' which may be useful in explaining how we can view gender in the context of restructuring and work history data. This methodological review provides the framework for a thematic presentation of interview data, including an analysis of: work force feminisation; the concept of 'harmonising down'; a changing sense of community, and; the participant's view of the future of their community. A concluding section reflects on the value of the explanatory models proposed and discusses how a more detailed understanding of individual experience informs on wider scale processes of restructuring.

5.1 Revisiting Some Points of Method - Looking for Models and Explanations

In the chapter on methods and research design (chapter three), 'job' and 'gender' models were briefly introduced as alternative means of explaining the differential work patterns of women and men. To review, the 'job model' uses labour market and industrial

structures to explain male work patterns, and the 'gender model' relies mainly on domestic events to explain female work patterns (Walby, 1991). Typically, women are seen to have 'inferior' labour market positions as a consequence of their domestic and reproductive responsibilities. A variety of literature exists suggesting reasons why this is the case²⁸.

While there are clear differences of opinion on the causal processes of women's disadvantaged labour position, much of the literature agrees upon the following points. First, the patriarchal structuring of the labour market (headed by trade unions and capitalists) leads to women's concentration in lower skilled, lesser paid jobs in anticipation of women leaving and re-entering the work force owing to gendered domestic responsibilities. Second, women's participation in paid employment depends crucially upon what employers offer, given the gendered structure of the social relations of industrial production. And third, the different position of men and women in paid work are a product of men, on average, having greater 'human capital' in the sense of training, experience and qualifications. This, combined with discrimination in 'valuing' female dominated occupations, accounts for differential wages, status and skill in creating a gendered division of labour. The ordering and 'function' of the social, economic, political and historical processes underlying these points forms the basis of academic debate on the subject.

Upon consideration, there is considerable overlap between the preceding few points. To ensure analytical continuity, it is argued here that they really express different components of the same problem involving the social construction of gender in industrial society. 'Job versus gender models' therefore are best used as a means of indicating *emphasis* between causal events, rather than suggesting an 'either/or' scenario. The idea of 'emphasis' among interrelated events helps establish a conceptual framework that challenges the static notions of 'public' and 'private' spaces. The central problem with this bipolar construction is that it conceals, or assumes certain dynamics reproducing each

²⁸ Particularly active in this field of explanation are sociologists focusing on human capital debates; supply vs. demand side theorists of women's participation; and advocates of family structures vs. advocates of labour market structures as governing women's participation in paid work (Walby, 1991). For a comprehensive introduction into these areas of argument see: Donald Treiman and Heidi Hartmann (1981), *Women, Work and Wages: Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value*, Washington DC: National Academy Press; and the volume edited by Linda McDowell and Rosemary Pringle (1992), *Defining Women: Social Institutions and Gender Divisions*, Oxford: Polity Press in Association with The Open University.

space. A false impression is also given that: (a) activities can be discretely separated into two 'spheres', and; (b) that it is desirable to do so. Statistics point to the fact that more women are 'going out to work' - making the maintenance of a separate sphere of the 'domestic economy' and home life increasingly difficult to rationalise.

To be avoided in this analysis is the notion of 'gender' models as illustrative of 'private' spheres of activity and 'job' models as depicting the 'public' domain. Rather, the goal is to build a gendered understanding of human agency by relying on an **incorporative** knowledge of individual behaviour as **interdependent** with social structure. Thus, this component of the research seeks to test the value of two modes of explanation of male and female employment patterns - one emphasising labour market structures, and the other, life-cycle structures.

Integrating different sources of data - statistical and interview - is central to this task. Particularly in research about women, the *exclusive* use of life histories can overstate the significance of biological and domestic factors in structuring women's lives (Walby, 1991; Dex 1991). This in turn, may result in a too narrow view of the forces shaping patterns of women's participation in paid work. Equally important in the construction of the interview guide is not to assume that men *always* play a secondary role in 'domestic events'. An open-minded analysis would for example, ask household questions of men as well as women, in order to test (rather than assume) the relative importance of these events in determining male and female employment patterns. Given decreasing male labour participation rates, and continued high unemployment in Cornwall, it may well be the case that as men spend more time in 'non-traditional' roles in and around the home, their gendered identities and work experiences are increasingly influenced by domestic responsibilities.

5.1.1 Work History Analysis - Challenges and Research Questions

In drawing together different strands of the analysis - concerns with 'macro-micro' links; and understanding the role of gender in restructuring and employment - the analysis

of interview data is structured around the phenomenon of 'job change'. While job changes are a routine aspect of working life, the point and conditions of change provide insight into the intersection of global process with local conditions. Drawing on interview data, the challenge is to disentangle the different implications of these processes on women and men. To that end, the following research questions seek to explore the individual reality of gender and deindustrialisation through an analysis of activities related to work, home life and community life.

Question 1: *How useful is the concept of 'feminisation' in evaluating gendered patterns of work in Cornwall?*

Recall that the concept of feminisation refers to economic and industrial changes where 'cheaper' female labour replaces more 'expensive' male labour in sectors faced with increased global competition. It also refers to changes in the nature of work, and work arrangements - suggesting the creation of more low wage and low skilled work. At the aggregate level (for example in Canada and Ontario), statistical evidence seems to support this idea. Statistics showed that average real income for women and men has decreased since 1986 and more women are working while male participation in the labour force continues to drop. Whereas national and sub-national development policy is necessarily based on aggregate statistical trends, the uneven nature of regional change demands that these statistics are 'contextualised' through individual experience so as to: (a) better inform effective regional development policy; and (b) critically interpret the validity of explanatory concepts in a geography of regional change. For example, rapid deindustrialisation in Cornwall has contributed to profound social and economic change in the community and for its residents. However, the issue of *whether*, or *how*, people experience deindustrialisation in their own lives cannot be learned from aggregate data. When people experience job change, are the social and economic impacts differentiated by gender? Does the direction of *experienced* job change support the notion feminisation - in the sense that women are improving their positions in the paid work force? The focus of this question concerns the nature of job change as women and men move from the manufacturing (owing to layoff or plant closure) to another (usually the service) sector. Adjustment strategies which do not involve 'paid employment' are also discussed. The notion of 'continuity' in

gendered divisions of labour, and of men 'harmonising down' in a restructuring labour market are also important to the interpretation of job change.

Question Two: In characterising gendered employment patterns, are 'job' or 'gender' explanations more useful in understanding the structuring of the labour market?

This question attempts to identify certain key mechanisms which shape gender constructs in the workplace, at home and in the community. Here, the focus is on domestic roles and responsibilities of women and men as they negotiate the intersection of their 'employed' and 'non-employed' lives. What is at issue is the applicability of the 'job' or 'gender' model in describing if women are more influenced than men, by domestic expectations and needs during a period of labour adjustment and job change. Analysis centres on: whether women are more flexible in changing the industrial sector in which they work; evaluating the level of female and male occupational attachment; and looking at the 'quality' of employment by gender (measured by part-time/full-time work; expressed preferences for employment; and perceived work status). The goal is to assess how work history is facilitated and/or constrained by labour market and gender constructs.

Question Three: Economic change has a direct influence on people's perception of present and future community viability. To what extent are gender and work history important in shaping individuals' views on restructuring and ideas about community change?

Feminist geographers argue that the dynamics of gendered relations are intertwined with place-specific economic and social processes. In fact, the very construction of gender influences the way people relate to political struggles (Massey, 1994; Dex, 1991; McDowell, 1992a) and different types of change involving employment and community social life (Grayson, 1985). While the data set in this study does not support a detailed analysis of how local employment and occupational structure influence the ways women and men participate in various aspects of community life, it does facilitate an investigation of views on restructuring and community change. This may also provide some insight into links between gender, work history and social integration in the community. It is often assumed that men are more attached to the work force in terms of their social 'identity'

than are women (Grayson, 1985), and therefore, react differently to job loss than do women. While this is an extremely general statement, gendered identities - structured in part around work force attachment - may influence the ways individuals participate in community social life and perceive change. The intent is to identify possible links between changes in employment, social life and future outlook for the community by gender. These themes could have important implications for community redevelopment schemes and policies aimed at mitigating the negative impacts of rapid deindustrialisation.

Much is covered in the above questions and 'clear' answers to them are not necessarily anticipated. Rather, the principal goal is to contextualise key research themes through individual experience, and speculate on the *nature* of the 'global-local' processes structuring the labour market.

5.2 The 'How' and 'Who' of Interviewing - Questionnaire Guide and Participant Selection Process

Designing and conducting work history interviews represented the majority of tasks in the second phase of the research plan. This section offers a brief account of how the interview guide was formulated and carried out, and how participants were selected.

5.2.1 Constructing the Interview Guide - Rationale and Procedure

The interview guide was formulated with two main purposes in mind - first, to *contextualise* some of the statistical themes discovered in the macro-analytical phase of the research and second, to address the gaps left by statistical research in discussing how individual experience informs on the *processes* structuring gender and the labour market. The guide was semi-structured, centring on the themes: 'work life', 'home life' and 'community life'. Each main theme was highlighted by open-ended questions used to prompt respondents on selected topics and aspects of their lives (see Appendix for a copy of the interview guide). In finalising the guide, five test interviews were conducted in

Cornwall to determine whether the interview questions and organisation were easily interpreted and understood by the respondents. Revisions to the guide were then made before the final research interviews took place. The sessions were taped, and, depending on the level of detail provided by the subjects, took between one and two and a half hours. Every participant was interviewed alone - without a spouse or children present. The tapes were transcribed into text as part of the data analysis.

5.2.2 Identifying Participants

Identifying the interview sample was an involved process. Based on the main research themes and statistical analysis, potential respondents were sought who in some ways 'reflected' the main employment trends in the area. These included: job loss through manufacturing plant closure; increasing female participation rates; a tertiarising economy; and the increasing incidence of part-time employment. Ideally, the participants would have experienced job loss in the manufacturing sector, and more recent 're-employment' in the service sector. This would enable comparisons between work experiences in different industrial sectors and encourage reflection on how people perceived and adjusted to changes in their work and home lives. However, in the course of identifying the interview group, the profile was widened to include people who had lost their jobs in manufacturing and were either re-employed in the service sector, *and/or*, participating in re-training, education and volunteer work programmes. The rationale was that a more varied sample might provide a more comprehensive view of adjustment strategies and better insight into gendered behaviours.

While there was no age restriction per se, individuals between the ages of 25 and 65 were preferred which would facilitate some insight into different life cycle stages and employment experiences. The overall rationale for these guidelines was to ensure that some 'common experiences' were shared among the twelve to fifteen respondents that could be analysed in terms of the major research questions. Roughly equal numbers of women and men were preferred so that 'gendered' experiences could be compared. With the help of local contacts and personnel in social service, employment and educational

organisations,²⁹ seven women and eight men were recruited to participate in the interview process. As an aside, it was more difficult to identify female respondents - three cancellations at the point of interview made the task of finding women willing to participate in the research more time consuming than was the case for male respondents. In two of these cases “family responsibilities” were cited as the reason for cancellation. In the third case, the woman’s husband (who had been interviewed the day before) acted on behalf of his wife and suggested she was no longer able to participate when the researcher called to make an interview appointment. In this last instance, no reason was provided to explain the cancellation.

Of the fifteen interviews, nine were carried out in individuals’ homes, three at their places of work, and three at their place of schooling. Each participant was asked whether they preferred to be interviewed in French or English, and in all fifteen cases, English was the chosen language of communication. This was likely influenced by the fact that the researcher’s mother tongue is English. Without exception, people were open, accommodating and detailed in responding to questions. Anonymity in using the interview data was assured by the researcher. Each participant indicated an interest in receiving a ‘digest’ of the research findings, to be distributed at the conclusion of the study.

5.2.3 Introducing the Participants - A ‘Snapshot’ View

Before the interview data are discussed, it may be helpful to highlight key demographic and employment characteristics of the interview group. Table 13 offers an overview of selected life cycle and employment characteristics of the fifteen participants. Note that **fictitious names** are assigned to the participants to ensure anonymity in the research process.

Information is organised by gender and in ascending order of age. On average, the

²⁹ These included: Cornwall Social Services and Welfare Office; The Employment and Education Re-Training Centre; the jobsOntario Centre; the TR Leger Adult Education Centre and the St. Lawrence River Institute.

female respondents were younger than the male respondents. For eight of the respondents the mother tongue was French, although all of these individuals tended "work in English" as their first language. When asked 'why' this was the case, four of the men who worked as mill hands mentioned that all their training courses and machine instruction manuals were in English. In addition, the three Francophone women who had worked as clerks or payroll officers in textile mills said that all their computer software was in English as was the majority of business correspondence. To some extent the predisposition towards the use of English as the national and international language of business may be linked to the wider processes of globalised investment and production. Where applicable, the current sector of employment is indicated along with a short description of the occupation.

By way of a general comment, it is interesting to note that the majority of older male workers tend to be unemployed or waiting to be 'recalled' by an employer. Also, none of

Table 13 **An Overview of the Research Participants - Life Cycle and Employment Characteristics**

<i>Assigned Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Marital Status</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>Current Employment Status</i>	<i>Current Employment Sector</i>
Females					
Micheline	30	married	2	full time	service
Nicole	31	single	0	unemployed/retraining	service oriented
Donna	32	single*	2	unemployed/volunteer	service
Ruth	39	married	2	unemployed/retraining	service oriented
Monique	43	married*	2	full time	service
Sylvie	45	married	2	full time	service
Anne	49	married	4	unemployed/retraining	service oriented
Males					
Scott	34	single	0	full time	manufacturing
Peter	39	married	3	full time	service
Denis	40	married	2	full time	service
Pierre	45	married	2	part time	service
Jean	45	married*	1	unemployed/layed off	manufacturing
Marc	49	married	2	part time	service
Tom	49	married	1	unemployed/casual work	n/a
Bill	62	married	4	unemployed/semi retired	manufacturing

* separated, divorced, re-married

the male workers sampled were in retraining or skills upgrading programmes (sponsored by unemployment insurance). It is not clear whether this is indicative of the general population in Cornwall - the respondent group identified here is too small to provide statistically significant results and was not randomly chosen to represent the general population.

Following this chapter's principal research questions outlined above, the next sections deal with the interview data.

5.3 Restructuring and the Individual - Adjusting to a New Socio-Economic Reality

The statistical analysis of employment and participation rates for the city of Cornwall between 1981 and 1991 showed increasing female labour participation rates and a decrease in the incidence of unemployment. This, despite the loss of over 2,500 jobs in the city's manufacturing sector between 1989 and 1992. Of this 'job loss' figure, approximately 2,200 were owing to plant closure, while just under 400 resulted from 'layoffs' (see Tables 6a and 6b in Chapter 4). Male labour force participation and unemployment rates on the other hand, were a mirror reflection of female patterns during this time - participation decreasing, and unemployment rising markedly. Statistical trends also indicate that, despite retaining some functional specialisation in manufacturing related occupations, Cornwall's economy has become more 'tertiarised' as reflected in the employment and occupational structure.

Based on this aggregate data, it appears that the changing industrial structure and the gender composition of the labour market go neatly in hand, bearing out the 'deindustrialisation and feminisation' hypothesis. It has been argued however that aggregate data alone cannot tell us whether individuals themselves experience deindustrialisation in their own work lives or whether new employment patterns represent a change or concentration of existing gendered divisions of labour. The following sections explore the implications of individual experience in forming a more comprehensive

understanding of restructuring, employment and gender. An analysis of the interview data also highlights the complexity of the social and economic processes at work in a restructuring labour market and exposes some of the gaps in the literature in making links between individual work experience and wider scale trends.

5.3.1 Deindustrialisation, Feminisation and Gendered Divisions of Labour

Is the concept of 'feminisation' representative of people's experience? Indeed, is it useful in evaluating gendered patterns of work and employment in Cornwall? As an initial step in evaluating these questions, it may be helpful to contextualise the notion of 'feminisation' by looking at local experience to determine the importance of individual variations to aggregate trends. In this way, the interpretation of macro level statistics can be made with a more comprehensive view of where and how variations in gendered employment patterns occur - increasing insight into macro-micro links and gaps in our understanding of regional change.

Recognising that the criteria for selecting the interview group focused on people who experienced job loss in the manufacturing sector, and re-employment in another (usually tertiary) sector, analysis concentrates on the *nature* of the job change experience in evaluating the concepts of 'feminisation' and 'gendered divisions of labour'. In other words, moving between sectors but maintaining a highly similar occupation has far different implications in the analysis of gendered divisions of labour than does changing sectors *and* jobs. In this exploring this research question, particular attention is paid to: occupational attachment and continuity in the course of employment change; the perceived importance of 'gender' in reflecting on job satisfaction and status; different aspects of compared work experiences; and the intersection of work life and home life as shaping daily activities and responsibilities.

Table 14 below highlights the respondent's principal work experience by sector and occupation. In each case, the conditions of employment were changed through plant closure or layoff between 1989 to 1994. The table shows that of the group, 8 have been

reemployed, 3 are in retraining or educational programmes, 3 are unemployed (through job loss or layoff) and 1 is semi-retired, working occasionally as a human resource consultant. Of the 8 re-employed individuals, 6 people found full time work in the service sector (which includes retail and distribution) while 2 people found part-time service sector jobs.

Table 14 Respondent's Principle Work History

<i>Assigned Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Principal Work History</i>	<i>Current Work Experience</i>	<i>Preference for Type of Work</i>
Females				
Micheline	30	• various mfg. establishments - limited line work, mainly clerical	• lumber yard - inventory control clerk (6 months)	• non-mill
Nicole	31	• LSF** 5 years, other textile and apparel (5 years) - weaver	• retraining - education in office and accounting work	• non-mill
Donna	32	• Courtaulds, tot. 13 years - office 'floater' (clerical)	• volunteer computer networker - children's agency (1 year)	• non-mill
Ruth	39	• Allied Signal Acorospace, 10 years - electronics assembler	• retraining - education in office and accounting work	• non-mill
Monique	43	• LSF 20 years - clerical and payroll duties	• payroll clerk - social service agency (3 years)	• non-mill
Sylvie	45	• LSY** 11 years, LSF 5 years - office 'floater' and clerical	• accounting and clerical work - social service agency (3 years)	• non-mill
Anne	49	• SETEC & various electronic (15 years approx); Marconi 6 years - electronic assembler and 'gopher'	• retraining - grade 12 upgrade programme	• non-mill
Males				
Scott	34	• Domtar, 7 years - sheet cutter	• sheet cutter - paper mill (recalled after 1 year layoff)	• non-mill
Peter	39	• Courtaulds, 17 years - Fibre department, line work	• cook - senior's home (2 years)	• non-mill
Denis	40	• LSF - 18 years, Production foreman and division supervisor	• programme manager - social service agency (3 years)	• non-mill
Pierre	45	• LSF, 22 years - textile technologist	• court clerk - regional court (1.5 years)	• no preference
Jean	45	• LSF, 26 years - machine operator and fixer	• laid off - equipment manufacturing (1 year)	• mill
Marc	49	• various manufacturing and mill work, 25 years - line & assembly jobs	• deliveries manager - lumber yard ('on call' basis, 2 years)	• no preference
Tom	49	• LSF, 24 years - machine operator and fixer	• unemployed - occasional labour (2 years)	• mill
Bill	62	• Courtaulds, 34 years - Human Resource Management & VP	• semi-retired - human resource consulting (3 years)	• mill

* LSF = Long Sault Fabrics (Division of Dominion Textiles)

**LSY= Long Sault Yarns (Division of Dominion Textiles)

Concerning the issue of **occupational attachment**, each of the three women who moved from full time work in secondary sector to the tertiary sector showed a strong degree of continuity in the nature of their work. Both Sylvie and Monique, who had performed payroll, general clerical and bookkeeping duties in the textile industry, found clerical-

accounting jobs in a social service agency. Micheline, who had started at line work in a thermal glass factory and moved into inventory control and office work before the plant shut down, found an inventory control job at a hardware and lumber store. The men who moved from industry to service occupations showed considerably less occupational attachment than the women. For example, Peter moved from production work in textiles to being a full-time cook in a nursing home; Pierre, a former middle manager and textile technologist found a new job as a court clerk; and Marc who once performed line work in plastics production found a part time job organising deliveries in a furniture and lumber store. A former plant manager in textiles, Denis, showed the greatest degree of occupational attachment in finding a programme management position in the same agency as Sylvie and Monique.

The issues of **job satisfaction** and **status** among the group provoked an interesting range of responses. From questions about preferences for various types of work, descriptions about their jobs and the organisation of work in their sections, it was possible to make some inferences about gender and divisions of labour. It was also quite clear from people's responses whether they enjoyed performing their jobs or not.

It is interesting to note that most people interviewed, whether they were employed or not, indicated a general preference for 'non-mill work'. Thirteen of fifteen people (9 employed full or part time and 4 retraining or unemployed) indicated that, despite a drop in income, working outside of a mill environment was preferred. The reasons generally cited included being able to spend more time with their families; reduced stress levels; and decreased commuting time to work. Of the three remaining people who preferred mill-work, two were unemployed and indicated a strong attachment to their previous mill job, and one was semi-retired. All of these individuals were male, and between the ages of 45 and 64 years. Commenting on their preference for non-mill work, people tended to be adamant:

By the time the plant came to close, I had had enough anyway. The social aspect of industry is not very good. There's no compassion or loyalty there, it's a really backstabbing kind of world. It really sucked. I was totally unhappy and my job wasn't

satisfying anymore. It was like, 'do what you're told, and don't ask questions'. I'm making less money here, but I love it. You're more like a human being...people treat you different. - *Sylvie* (former office clerk, Dominion Textiles).

I was bored with my job. Yes, it was a good place, I was making nice money - a good pay cheque - but there were days I could have stood on my desk and screamed my head off I was so bored...If you offered me my job back tomorrow, I would say 'no'!. - *Ruth* (former electronic assembler, Marconi).

It's pretty mindless in the mill. Sometimes there's a lot of pressure, but its not like I'm doing it for 'job satisfaction' - *Scott* (sheet cutter, Domtar).

Not only do these comments address a preference for non-mill work, they also reflect on the *quality* and *nature* of employment within a factory setting. Here, it was possible to gain insight into gender and status issues - by the way people described their work in relation to operations within their section. Ten of the people interviewed were former textile employees - seven having worked in Dominion Textiles which shut down the fabrics division in Long Sault in 1992 (the yarns division is still in operation) while the other three worked at Courtaulds (which closed its doors in 1992). In addition to textile workers, two people worked in electronic assembly plants (Marconi and Allied Signal Aerospace); two in Glasec (thermal glass manufacturing) and one continues to work in the paper mill, Domtar.

In terms of **occupational structure**, the respondents all indicated a clear division in 'perceived status' between 'staff' (management and office workers) and 'mill hands'. The former textile workers in particular confirmed that staff and mill hands rarely 'mixed' - inside or outside of the plant. All of the former textile workers described clear gendered divisions both in the location, and type of work performed throughout the mill. Table 15 divides the complex plant operations into simple occupational groupings based on office ('staff') work, and production ('mill') work. These two main groupings are further subdivided into 'clerical or management' and 'line work or production management' positions.

Table 15

General Occupational Groupings in Mill Operations

	Staff Work Clerical	Management	Mill Work Production Work	Managment/Supervisor
Females	3	0	1	0
Males	0	2	3	1

Individual testimony suggested that divisions in status were perceived among 'staff' between management and non-management. While this is not surprising, the female 'staff' interviewed expressed a high degree of consciousness over the lack of female managers. Male 'management' did not express a similar awareness. In these cases, 'gender and status' issues were defined in terms of levels income and work responsibility. Although the women interviewed felt that they had been valued in their work, and often exceeded their official job descriptions in the range of duties they performed, they often suspected their incomes to be lower than their male co-workers.³⁰

Interviewer: What was the set up like in your office?

Sylvie: There were 3 girls and 1 cost accountant who was also the office manager.

Interviewer: Was the manager a man or a woman?

Sylvie: HA! A guy, definitely a guy. There were *no* women in those positions. Until the last year as the plant was shutting down, there was *one* woman.

Among **mill hands** however, gender and status issues were defined more in terms of physical attributes. For example, in some cases intelligence was perceived to be a gender issue, as was the ability to 'work hard' or persevere at a complex job. Based on the gendered nature of production work, women and men tended to be located in different parts of the mill. In textiles for instance, women tended to be weavers (in the weave room) and men did 'heavier' machine work (in the 'card room'). Despite long hours of concentration, operating machines and standing on their feet, weave work was perceived as much easier

³⁰ In some cases the women interviewed were very specific about payroll differentials given that in three cases, they were involved in payroll operation.

than 'men's work' in the card room (which also involved long hours of standing and machine operation). When questioned about the type of work he did, Tom, a former machine maintenance worker for 24 years replied:

Guys were always in the card room, and girls in weaving and spinning. One year there were a couple of girls in the card room, but that was it. They couldn't do the machine work. You had to stick with it you know. Well...there was *one* girl who did maintenance in the weave room. She was the only girl smart enough to do it. But *never* in the card room!

- *Tom*

At Courtaulds, where the textile work revolved around cellulose fibres rather than fabrics or yarns, the female-male division of labour was in many ways similar to that at Dominion Textiles. A former senior plant manager provided the following insight:

Bill: The floor workers were *all* men. The company *never* hired women to do production work because it was dirty and there were always fires.

Interviewer: Did women work there at all?

Bill: Yes, the lab workers were pretty well all females. And there were girls in the office. Well, eventually I hired a few women for the floor one summer - just for the summer, not regular full time. She tried to stay on, but it didn't work out. That was the only problem we ever had with temporary employees.

Interviewer: What happened? How did the men react?

Bill: All hell broke loose! For one thing, the washrooms for the girls were all the way at the other end of the plant, so the girls would have to walk by all the production lines...there were a few altercations what with the men swearing and carrying on...spoiled boys really...

Outside of textile mills, work arrangements in other types of firms appeared to be similar in some respects. When asked about her work at a thermal glass company, Micheline (who did short term production work there) said:

There were 57 guys and 2 girls - me being one of them. I was on the floor, and the other girl was in tiling - way across the plant in a little room all by herself. I think the guys were more afraid of me than I was of them, though. Especially with that government rule about hiring so many women per men. They didn't even want to look at me.

- *Micheline* (former general production and assembly worker, Glasec)

In many aspects of operation therefore, gendered divisions of labour exist and are clearly defined within a manufacturing setting. The picture emerging is that these divisions are perpetuated by a pervasive and complex series of routines in work (including language) that contribute to feminine and masculine qualities in the process of production. For example, female workers - regardless of occupation - were usually referred to as 'girls' by both sexes whereas male workers were consistently referred to as 'men' or 'guys'. It could be argued for example, that this habitual and unconscious use of language - referring to adult women as 'girls' - contributes in an incremental way to women's inferior (perceived or real) status in mill work and the wider labour market. Further, the 'value' of work (assessed in terms of pay, responsibility, physicality and skill) also appears to have gendered dimensions. The data in Table 16 shows average wage rates for selected industrial and office occupations in Cornwall in 1995. These occupations are generally indicative of 'staff work' and 'mill work' (as outlined in Table 15).

Of the seven women interviewed, 4 had worked in textile industries, two in electronic firms, and one in 'various' industries. Among the 'textile workers' three had been office clerks - bookkeepers, accounting or general 'floaters' - and one had been a weaver. In the case of electronics employees, both had been line (assembly) workers.

Note also that the lowest paid occupations in industry are 'assembly line worker' and 'sewing machine operator' and in office work, general clerks, receptionists and bookkeepers make the least money. Although the data is not broken down by sex, the interviews allow some generalisations about the types of jobs women and men perform in industry. To begin with, the figures substantiate women's perceptions that they tended to be paid less than their male co-workers, who were more likely to be classed in 'management' or 'skilled' production work categories. Further, in the case of the three women who worked as bookkeepers, general clerks or receptionists - their experiences indicated that despite not being in management their work loads, knowledge and responsibility were often equivalent to, or exceeded their male supervisors in 'management' roles. Two issues arise from the interviews and data concerning: (1) the extent to which women (in general) have less human capital than men (in general) and therefore occupy

Table 16 Average Wage Rates for Selected Occupations in the Secondary and Tertiary Sectors, Cornwall 1995

	Avg. Start Wage	Avg. Max Wage
Industrial Occupation:		
Assembly Line Worker	8.61	13.53
Foreman	12.40	19.23
General Labourer	9.66	13.36
Machinist	13.00	16.52
Maintenance Worker	11.39	12.30
Millwright	16.26	18.66
Sewing Machine Operator	7.70	10.85
Welder/Fitter	13.30	17.60
Office Occupations:		
Wage Accountant	14.82	21.37
Bookkeeper-Accounting	11.36	14.15
Draftsman/ Woman (General)	13.84	17.00
Office Supervisor	13.62	14.90
General Manager	17.03	30.58
Finance Manager	15.30	22.40
Manager, Merchandise	17.08	21.69
Purchasing Manager	22.48	28.16
Receptionist	9.50	11.00
General Office Clerk	11.07	13.07
Transportation Occupations:		
Truck Driver Helper	10.00	12.19
Shipping Clerk	11.40	12.11
Bulk Milk Truck Driver	13.83	15.67
Dockman	10.00	13.00
Front-end Loader Operator	12.35	16.16
General Truck Driver	11.08	14.00
Construction Occupations:		
Carpenter	11.87	14.87
Construction Labourer	8.90	12.60
Electrician	16.00	19.18
Painter	9.45	13.96
Plumber	14.12	18.17
Drywall Applicator	13.92	15.34
Service Occupations:		
Public Health Nurse	17.51	20.19
Bartender	6.70	7.50
Cook/Chef	10.00	12.50
Maid- Housekeeper	8.84	10.47
Registered Nurse Assistant	13.44	14.74
Waiter/Waitress	6.60	7.34
Travel Agent	10.00	15.50
Medical Secretary	10.40	14.60
Retail Occupations:		
Cashier	7.04	14.87
Retail Manager	11.62	14.49
Sales Clerk	6.92	9.50
Grocery Clerk	7.61	9.98

source: City of Cornwall, Economic Development Office (November, 1995)

lower status/skilled/paid jobs than men, and; (2) the extent to which certain occupational categories are gendered in terms of wage and responsibility to justify women's inferior positions. For instance, how different is the actual skill and content of a job as a 'sewing machine operator' from a 'general labourer' or 'machinist'? And, who makes these decisions?

So far, a couple of interim conclusions can be drawn from the analysis. First, theorising about the *gendered processes of production* demands an awareness of how capital organises productive operations (such technology, occupational mix, plant location, resource requirements), combined with looking at how women and men are assigned to, and experience different roles and responsibilities within that productive organisation. The social processes of production therefore are not simply a combination of economic and social forces, but are also political in nature. The creation and maintenance of 'gendered' types of work involves conscious decisions on the part of capitalists and managers to attribute masculine and feminine qualities to different phases of production.

Second, the **pattern of job change** among this small group showed great similarity to extensive studies on deindustrialisation and labour restructuring in Lancaster, England between 1960 and 1980 (Dex, 1987; Dex, 1991). A longitudinal study of over 300 women in a twenty year period showed that: (1) women who were clerical workers in the manufacturing sector, tended to stay within this occupational grouping after moving to the service sector; (2) skilled and unskilled factory workers who changed sectors (obviously) changed occupations and tended to experience a downward mobility. The drop in occupational status and remuneration was usually greater for skilled workers; and (3) in general, women's change in industrial sector is less likely to make a difference in their experience of employment since they show greater occupational attachment than men.

Referring again to Table 16 and the experiences of the interview group, the relative change in status and income for a male machinist (like Peter) who had earned, for example, between \$13.00 and \$16.52 per hour in a mill and then found a new job as a cook making between \$10.00 and \$12.50 per hour, is greater than for a woman (Monique or Sylvie)

who maintains her occupation and approximate pay in another sector. Even for an individual like Denis, who was a division foreman in Dominion Textiles (and earning up to \$19.00 per hour) and was reemployed in the public service sector as a Programme Supervisor, there there was a substantial drop in pay (office supervisors making between \$13.00 and \$15.00 per hour), if not status. In terms of occupational status, overall wage and skill structure and remuneration therefore, deindustrialisation may have a greater relative impact on men than on women.

In some ways, these findings argue against the 'feminisation' hypothesis in the sense that industrial and labour market restructuring do not necessarily open up non-traditional 'men's jobs' for increasing numbers of working women. Table 17 gives some indication of the direction of change in the top five male and female occupations for 1986 and 1991. While the positional rankings remain fairly consistent for women and men, there are some important differences between the two census years. Looking at the data on males, fewer men are in management positions and machining. Increases are noted in service occupations, product fabricating and processing jobs. Females on the other hand, became more concentrated in clerical, service and sales jobs - areas where they have traditionally dominated. And, fewer women occupied management positions in 1991 than in 1986.

The data suggest that occupational resilience and concentration in 'traditional' areas is becoming more pronounced for women. In contrast, male dominance in certain jobs (management, machining, construction) is decreasing at the same time their representation in service and processing occupations increases. The evidence also indicates that restructuring facilitates a continuity and concentration of certain aspects of existing gendered divisions of labour, and, that if anything, men (who traditionally dominated much of the skilled and unskilled mill work) may be: (a) 'harmonising down' in their employment experiences, and/or (b) susceptible to structural unemployment, and leave the active work force altogether. This does not mean they are competing for 'female jobs', but rather, are moving into areas of employment characterised by 'new work relations' (non-standard contract arrangements; flexible hours; self employment; part-time hours; fewer

Table 17 Top Five Occupational Categories for Women and Men in Cornwall 1986 and 1991

Males - Top 5 Occupations	1986	Males - Top 5 Occupations	1991
#1 - Managerial	17.2%	#1 - Managerial	12.4%
#2 - Machining	15.9%	#2 - Product Fabricating	10.1%
#3 - Construction	12.4%	#3 - Service	9.9%
#4 - Service	8.1%	#4 - Construction	9.9%
#5 - Processing	7.8%	#5 - Processing	8.6%
Females - Top 5 Occupations	1986	Females - Top 5 Occupations	1991
#1 - Clerical	25.7%	#1 - Clerical	29.7%
#2 - Medicine & Health	14.8%	#2 - Medicine & Health	17.1%
#3 - Service	13.1%	#3 - Service	9.6%
#4 - Sales	9.2%	#4 - Sales	9.5%
#5 - Managerial	8.7%	#5 - Managerial	8.3%

source: Statistics Canada (cat. nos. 95-338, 94-112)

social benefits) or 'less desirable' jobs which, in the past, were dominated by casual labourers or newer work force entrants (youth, women, immigrants). These notions are partially borne out by comparing employment income by sex and work activity and income groups by sex (see Tables 18 and 19 below).

Table 18 Employment Income by Sex and Work Activity, Cornwall 1985 and 1990 (expressed in \$1990)

Work Activity	1985		1990		Changes 1985 to 1990	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Tot. Employment Income Earners	9365	12650	10005	12280	640	-370
Full Time, Full Year						
• number	3910	7940	4645	7820	735	-120
• percent	41.7	62.7	46.4	63.9	4.7	1.2
Average Income (\$)	22747	35281	22958	35684	211	403
Part Time, Part Year						
• number	5730	4610	5720	4525	-10	-85
• percent	61.2	36.4	57.2	36.8	-4	0.4
Average Income (\$)	9162	14801	9595	14870	433	69

source: Statistics Canada (cat. nos. 95-338, 94-112)

Table 18 shows that there were more female income earners in 1990 than in 1985 - the opposite trend characterises total numbers of male income earners. Female participation in full time employment rose about 5%, whereas male figures stayed virtually the same (contributing to an overall relative improvement for women in this category). Measured in terms of income however, women employed full time saw a marginal decrease in their wages compared to men. The total numbers of men involved in part time employment dropped between the census years, but the overall percentage remained fairly constant. In contrast, fewer women were represented in part time employment in 1990, and the overall numbers were stable. Women working part time saw an increase in their wages relative to men of about two and half per cent.

Referring to income statistics in more detail, Table 19 outlines income characteristics by sex and income group in 1985 and 1990. The categories for 1985 have been adjusted to 1990 dollars to reflect the 26% increase in the cost of living over that time period. Given the discrepancies in the 'dollar value' of the income ranges between the years studied, the 'income category' (number 1 being the lowest, and number 11 being the highest) are compared.

The pattern for women shows an increase in relative numbers in the top six income categories, and a relative decrease in the bottom five categories. The picture for men is more varied. The bottom two categories were virtually unchanged and fewer men were represented in categories three through six. While there were more men in the seventh income range, there were fewer in the eighth and ninth and more in the highest category. In other words, there were fewer men in the upper middle income ranges in 1990 than in 1985; fewer in the lowest six income categories and more in the top income range (this last statistic is difficult to verify because of the non-standardised income ranges, but given the overall pattern it is a logical suggestion).

Interpreting these statistics with caution, the overall employment and income picture for men during the period 1985 to 1990 took a slight downward turn when compared to the gains made by women in total and relative work force representation and to a lesser

**Table 19 Income Characteristics by Sex & Income Group, Cornwall
1985 and 1990**

Category number	% Representation 1985		Total with Income 1985 Income Groups	Category number	% Representation 1990		Total with Income 1990 Income Groups	% Representation 1990		Change 1985 to 1990	
	FEMALE	MALE			FEMALE	MALE		FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE
1	Under \$1,180	3.9		1	4.9	3.3	Under \$1,000	4.9	3.3	-2.8	-0.6
2	\$1,181 - 3,784	5.7		2	6.9	5.3	\$1,000 - 2,999	6.9	5.3	-3.2	-0.4
3	\$3,785 - 6,308	5.1		3	7.1	2.7	\$3,000 - 4,999	7.1	2.7	-2.4	-2.4
4	\$6,309 - 8,832	5.8		4	6.9	3.7	\$5,000 - 6,999	6.9	3.7	-3.4	-2.1
5	\$8,833 - 12,618	10.1		5	11.6	6.2	\$7,000 - 9,999	11.6	6.2	-8.5	-3.9
6	\$12,619 - 18,928	11.5		6	23.9	12.3	\$10,000 - 14,999	23.9	12.3	6.8	0.8
7	\$18,929 - 25,238	8.7		7	11.8	9.9	\$15,000 - 19,999	11.8	9.9	1.7	1.2
8	\$25,239 - 31,548	11.9		8	9.7	9.8	\$20,000 - 24,999	9.7	9.8	3.4	-2.1
9	\$31,549 - 37,858	10.6		9	6.5	9.5	\$25,000 - 29,999	6.5	9.5	3.1	-1.1
10	\$37,859 - 44,168	10.2		10	6.3	16.5	\$30,000 - 39,999	6.3	16.5	4.4	6.3
11	\$44,169 +	16.4		11	4.39	20.8	\$40,000 +	4.39	20.8	0.69	4.4
	avg. income (\$)	26957			15093	26377	avg. income (\$)	15093	26377	667	-80
	median income (\$)	24460			12003	23338	median income (\$)	12003	23338	967	-1122
	Ontario avg. income (\$)	31732			19303	33036	Ontario avg. income (\$)	19303	33036	2365	1304
	Ontario median income (\$)	27475			15090	28112	Ontario median income (\$)	15090	28112	2068	637

source: Statistics Canada (cat. nos. 95-338, 94-112)

extent earned income. In general and in terms of insight into labour adjustment experience by sex, the most telling statistic for women and men may be the total numbers of employment income earners - showing diverging trends for women and men - and the variations in male income between 1986 and 1991.

The structuring of gender however, is more complex than labour market explanations allow. It is at the **intersection of work and life 'outside' of work** that another layer of structuring forces is exposed. Six of the seven female respondents had children (five were married, and one was single) and said they assumed primary responsibility for child care - including organising baby-sitting and/or after school care. Many of the women suggested that their job or income prospects were 'sometimes limited' given their family responsibilities. No men expressed a similar concern.

You know...sometimes I wish I were a guy, because guys always seem to have someone to look after them, and their kids. And all they have to worry about is making a buck, going out there and bringing money home. I mean, I know that's tough too, because I do it. But when you have *both* sides to look at - your job and your family - it's really hard. Like when they ask you to do a couple of hours overtime. Well then, you have to hurry up and try to find somebody to pick up your kids and look after them and make sure they have supper. - *Donna* (former general office clerk, Courtaulds).

Questions concerning the amount of housework done, cooking meals, helping children with homework or school activities and food shopping revealed that all the women who had been, or were presently married, felt that they did 'more than half' of the domestic work. When asked if these circumstances had changed once they found a new job after being laid off, all three of the women (Monique, Sylvie and Micheline) who found full time jobs in the service sector indicated that family responsibilities had 'more or less stayed the same'.

In describing their daily activity patterns and responsibilities (both paid and unpaid) women's testimony showed a higher degree of integration between the productive and domestic economies than did men's testimony. For instance, in recounting activities for a typical week, it was evident that women performed domestic duties from their place of employment more so than their male counterparts. Calling about babysitting arrangements,

making appointments and shopping at break times (usually for groceries) were commonly reported activities for women. These findings can be used to question the artificial separation of 'public' and 'private' spaces in theorising about gender, work and home life. It was also clear, that despite job changes, women still tended to perform these integrated tasks more than men. The continuity of work experience therefore not only includes paid work, but also non-paid work performed in- and outside of the household environment. Contrary to feminist literature on new work relations in the post-Fordist era (McDowell, 1992; Moss, 1994 and 1995; Staeheli and Lawson, 1995, *inter alia*) evidence from this study did not support the notion of an intensified double burden for women (in terms of hours spent doing household, child care or other domestic work). If anything, married women whose husbands lost jobs in the manufacturing sector (particularly if they were involved in shift work) indicated that, while they still did more than half of the household work, the time spent performing domestic duties decreased.

Traditional assumptions about women and divisions of household labour and gendered divisions of paid labour involve the following assumptions: (1) family responsibilities limit the number of hours women can contribute to a job; (2) women are encouraged to maximise job characteristics other than earnings or status (e.g. flexibility; convenient location) and; (3) discriminatory structures in the labour market institutionalise women's secondary productive role in limiting the type and availability of work. However, the results of this study contradict these notions of household responsibility and employment attainment. According to the data from this study (Tables 9 and 10 in Chapter Four) the participation gaps between women and men in the labour force decreased in the second half of the 1980s, as are female unemployment rates. Women are increasingly better educated and their average incomes improved during the second half of the 1980s relative to male incomes.

The combination of statistical evidence and individual testimony supports the notion that we re-evaluate our understanding of the role of domestic work in limiting women's occupational attainment and reinforcing gendered divisions of labour. Deindustrialisation in Cornwall has reduced the number of jobs *in general*, and manufacturing jobs in

particular which may have an impact on the importance of women's productive role. That this is related to changing gender roles and responsibilities in the paid and unpaid economies is partially supported by interview data.

In terms of broadening the understanding of 'feminisation' in Cornwall's economy, two comments can be made. Employment statistics for Cornwall support the idea of feminisation in so far as more women are participating in paid labour than ever before. Given evidence of female occupational resilience (in lower status jobs), the notion of feminisation may best be applied to this case study if the term includes an understanding of continuity in occupational attainment which is not necessarily linked to an intensification of women's double burden. It is this latter point that cannot be inferred from aggregate data alone, and requires further investigation. The limitation of using 'feminisation' to describe and evaluate employment trends lies in the lack of attention afforded to changes in men's occupational attainment and employment adjustment strategies. The balance of female and male occupational and employment trends and experiences is central to understanding how gendered divisions of labour are simultaneously reproduced and changed in the context of deindustrialisation.

Drawing on these findings, the next section aims to make connections between the patterns of job change, the nature of 'gendered' occupations, and the continuity of women's position in the labour force. In speculating on these links, a discussion of 'job' and 'gender' models as ways to explain the structuring of the changing labour market will be addressed.

5.3.2 Industrial Change and Labour Market Restructuring - 'Job' or 'Gender' Models?

Testimony in the previous section touched briefly on the intersection of 'work' and 'life' as an area where labour market forces and reproductive/home responsibilities combine to influence women's work experiences. The goals of this section are twofold. First, the issue of 'gender roles' and job change will be explored from the female *and* male perspectives with a view to learning more about how women and men adapt differently to a

restructuring labour market. The focus here will be on how people identify with their jobs and on changing perceptions of 'work' and 'gender'. Second, while the question of 'job versus gender models' has received considerable attention in the literature as a means of analysing *women's* changing employment circumstances, the issue is less often discussed as a way of explaining how men are adjusting to new work patterns. An attempt will be made therefore, to discuss the implications of these two models for males and females in the interview group.

To gain better insight on links between job identification and changing notions of 'work' and 'gender', each candidate was first asked to give a detailed description of: when and how they heard about their job loss; how they reacted ('shocked', 'really surprised', 'not surprised', 'expecting it'); if applicable, how their spouse reacted; and whether they experienced any life style changes (such as reduced disposal income, personal or marital stress, changed accommodation, inter alia). Whereas all interview participants were able to provide comprehensive and clear information about the experience of job loss through plant shutdowns, 4 of the 8 men provided (unprompted) detailed descriptions of the time of day they discovered the news, the number and names of people they were with at the time, and were able to 'reproduce' the conversations they heard or shared with co-workers. Two of the seven women provided this combination of detail (unprompted), although when asked, 6 of the 7 were able to name the day or week in the month they found out they had lost their jobs.

Although there were no married couples within the interview group, 3 of the 15 individuals worked with a spouse at the same plant, and therefore lost their entire household income at the same time. Two more people stated that after they lost their jobs, their spouse (working at a different plant) also lost their job within a two month period. Therefore, one third of the total sample experienced sudden and drastic changes in employment, income and lifestyle which created considerable stress in their home lives. With only one exception, it seemed to make no difference whether a person was in a management, office or production related occupation when it came to finding out that a mill was shutting down.

Interview testimony did not reveal any appreciable differences in male or female reactions to the stress of job loss through a plant shutdown. Whether or not a spouse continued to work, everybody indicated that money was tight and luxury expenses (holidays, eating at restaurants, new clothes, entertainment) were reduced or eliminated. One woman stated that her marriage broke up given the additional stress of her job loss, and one man lost his house when the family could no longer manage the mortgage payments. What was noticeably different was the fact that men tended to *personalise* the experience of plant shut-down and job loss more so than women.

Interviewer: How did you find out the plant was shutting down?

Tom: One morning, I went into work just before my shift, and my foreman, Denis come out to us and said, "you, you, you and you - into my office". So we went, and I says, "what's wrong Denis?". Then he says, "as of May 18th, this plant is shutting down - you're out of a job". I couldn't believe it. We just sort of stood there. "You mean I don't have a job?" I says. "Everybody?". He tells me, "that's right, everyone".

When asked 'how did you find out the plant was shutting down?', five of the eight male respondents personalised their stories using phrases such as. "I lost my job", "I was let go" or once, "we were all fired". Women tended not to take this approach in explaining their experiences, and were more likely to unfold their testimony in terms like: "the plant shut down" or "we were told about the plant closing".

At a superficial level, this type of testimony appears to substantiate human capital theories that men identify more strongly with the labour market and their 'work'. The human capital explanation for labour market identification and occupational sex segregation postulates that dual demands on women's time make them less attached to the labour force, and less likely than men to have a strong personal attachment to their paid work (Roos, 1985). It is particularly tempting to draw this conclusion if we *start* with the assumption that male employment patterns are better explained by job models, while female concerns with employment are more influenced by family responsibilities and therefore better characterised by gender models. Upon reflection however, it may be more accurate (and open-minded) to suggest that there are gendered 'coping mechanisms' or strategies in

dealing with job loss.

Given the greater degree of occupational attachment among women in the sample, it was logical to discover that the men who were re-employed in the service sector - usually in very different occupations than performed in a manufacturing setting- where more likely to discover 'some difficulty' in adapting to the new environment. An example of this was provided by Peter who worked on an all-male shift in the almost exclusively male Fibre Department at Courtaulds for 17 years (one woman was hired on his shift temporarily in the last year of his employment). After nearly two and a half years of upgrading his education, and attending college courses, he found a new job as a full-time certified cook in a retirement home. When asked about what it was like to be 'the only guy' in his new work environment, Peter stated:

What a change! It's weird. I don't know how to explain it. They (women) react differently to things. When I went in there, I found out it was a lot of little cliques. When you go into work with men, you might talk a bit with the guys on your shift, but with women, it's a lot different.

Interviewer: But you get along okay?

Peter: Oh yeah. Fine. I enjoy the work more than at Courtaulds. It's cleaner, better hours - no shifts. But, yeah, it was *really* different.

All of the women interviewed, whether they were employed or not, expressed a strong desire to participate in the labour force. All of them left high school to find work, or worked immediately after receiving their secondary school diploma. There was no evidence to suggest that women had less perceived attachment to the labour force than did men. Despite the fact that women did 'more than half' of the domestic work, maintaining a family was not perceived to be an obstacle to gaining paid employment. Nor was the issue of being a 'woman in an industry town' an impediment to finding 'a job'. Indeed the participants felt that before all the plants began closing, the larger textile, apparel and electronics firms had readily hired women. However, four of the six females suggested that 'being a woman' might limit the *type* of jobs that were available to them - in

manufacturing and non-manufacturing enterprises.

I had *no idea* it was so hard to get a job. I just figured, if on Monday, I'd decide to get a job, then I'd have one by Tuesday...The township had a job for a 'construction labourer' - stuff I can do, weeding on the side of the road and using lawn mowers. I applied, and they wouldn't even call me. Another time, there was an ad in the unemployment office for roofing. I've *done that*, what with my husband being in construction. I didn't get a phone call *again*. So I went back to UI and I asked, "How do these people make their calls? Do they look at if I'm a woman or not". I wasn't angry, I just wanted to know. I never got any answers. I went back to both places to see who they had hired, and they had hired men. Even for the side of the road using a whipper snipper! It was very frustrating. - *Ruth* (former electronic assembler, Allied Signal Aerospace).

When you look for jobs, it's *always* a male who hires. They make the decisions...I think all the good, high tech jobs mostly go to males, and the women can still find work but it's usually clerical stuff, and in banks. All the guys fight over 'these jobs' and all the women fight over 'these jobs' - the two don't mix. And I'm trying to get into a mostly guy field. I have the education so I don't know why I never even get a call. - *Donna* (former general office clerk, Courtaulds).

In one case, Anne (a former electronics assembler) found her job prospects particularly limited given that she was 49 years of age, and did not want to 'end up as some secretary somewhere'. Instead, she chose a re-training programme in computers and is trying to gain experience in social service delivery. Her path has been particularly difficult given 'institutional prejudice' about age *and* gender:

When I first wanted to come back to school, I went to see a counsellor. He told me I should be a secretary because "we can always use a good secretary". That *really* pissed me off. I don't want to do that! I took it like, "listen lady, you're too old to do anything else, you may as well finish there". I was really mad about that. I told him I want to be a teacher's aid and work with kids in school or maybe get into social services or something, but I doubt I'll get to. - *Anne*

The overall picture emerging given: (a) the resilience of women's occupational attachment (despite sector shifts); (b) the continuity in their work histories and; (c) their expressed preferences for full time paid work suggests that the 'job model' is more useful in understanding female employment patterns and sources of gendering in the labour market.. In other words, in the case of Cornwall, **labour market forces appear to be more significant than domestic or life cycle events in structuring the type and nature of work women perform.** 'More significant' does not imply that

women's lives and priorities were neatly divided into one model or the other. The issue here is not one of separation, but rather of emphasis.

This is a crucial point. In reality, labour market and domestic forces present contradictory choices and opportunities, *particularly* for women. How women resolve these conflicts provides insight into the mechanisms (daily choices and activities) that help define the construction of gender in terms of paid and unpaid labour. Therefore, the process of deindustrialisation will not *necessarily* change women's position in the labour market, nor alter their 'domestic burdens. Women's testimony revealed that even when husbands were perceived as helping out more given a change in their employment patterns (notably the cessation of shift work), they did not feel this had any impact on the *type* of work they performed, or, for the women who had full time work, allow them to take on a few extra hours.

Similar to the responses given by women, all of the men interviewed expressed a willingness and preference for full time employment. None of the men felt that 'being a man' had any influence on the *type* of work they were willing to try, or, on their employment prospects in general. If they were not working, 'the economy' (ie. a generally bad economic environment) was cited as the reason. Domestic responsibilities were not cited as factors limiting employment opportunities. Both Tom (age 49) and Jean (age 45) were unemployed at the time of the interviews, and were concerned that their age might represent an obstacle to finding employment (a similar concern was expressed by Anne age 49, who was the oldest female worker interviewed). Marc, age 49 and working on an 'on-call' basis for a furniture and lumber store, also expressed some concern about his age, and the difficulties of finding full-time work.

The majority of men (five of eight) and women (all six) interviewed expressed general concern about their educational qualifications and finding work. The respondents indicated that without a minimum of grade twelve or a certificate technical course from a community college, their chances of being hired to work in a mill or other job was limited. The 'new economy' emerging in Cornwall (both within and outside of manufacturing)

demands better educated and more skilled workers - a change from the days of the 'old order' when jobs were virtually guaranteed to family members if a father, mother or relative worked in a mill:

My dad has worked in Domtar for 30 years. It's really like that eh - when your dad works there, you work there. Before, it was automatic. Its like they owe you a job. Anyway, that's what *used* to happen. Now, its not like that as much...but people still have the mentality that they are owed something.
-*Scott* (sheet cutter, Domtar)

I was a bookkeeper at DT [Dominion Textiles], but I didn't have an education or anything. I went to high school, but no college or university which was more than acceptable at that time unless you wanted nursing or teaching. I had no skills. The guy who hired me didn't care about my resume. I was hired as a switch board operator then moved into accounting and sort of made it up as I went along. That would never happen now. - *Sylvie* (former clerk and bookkeeper at Long Sault Fabrics and Yarns).

I found it hard when I lost my job - trying to adjust to something else. You become dead wood. You're lost. I was there [Long Sault Fabrics] since I was a teenager. You didn't need grade 13 or 3 years of university to work at DT. Work for me is everything. I like to work and have some kind of schedule to rely on. I couldn't just retrain as a typist or something. - *Jean* (former machine fixer, Dominion Textiles).

I think my age is the problem really. I'm going on 50, but I got a lot of experience. Like, I went up to the Waste Company and asked if they were hiring, and they said, "yes - do you have grade 13?". So I said, "why do I need grade 13 to pick up garbage?". They told me "that's just our policy now". - *Thomas* (former machine fixer and over hauler, Dominion Textiles)

When they lost their jobs through plant shut down or layoff, only one of the eight men had a job waiting for him, and that was in the same textile company which was still operating in Magog, Quebec. Of the seven married men, four who were re-employed full or part time in the service sector, said they did 'a lot more' housework and child care activities than when they worked in manufacturing jobs. At the time of his interview, Peter, who did shift work for 17 years at Courtaulds, was babysitting his children and a

neighbour's children while waiting for his wife to return from work. He was feeding his 16 month old baby and starting to prepare dinner when he admitted, "I never knew there was this much to do at *home*!". While Peter may not be typical of the men in the interview group, this example illustrates the fact that a restructuring labour market may present men with new 'gender' responsibilities relating to domestic life, and that these responsibilities may influence *their* employment experiences. Changing notions of 'male gender' as linked to new patterns of employment is an area requiring further research.

Another factor involved in unravelling the connections between male 'work' patterns and their domestic lives relates to the way men express themselves when talking about gender issues. As a rule, the women interviewed were far more vocal in expressing their opinions on gender relations in the labour force and at home. Men were not as vocal, but, in studying the interview tapes and transcripts, it became clear that their comments and experiences concerning changing gender roles at work and home were framed differently. Often, they would discuss how other men they knew were adapting to changes in employment and lifestyle, and then refer to themselves. Even in cases where it appeared that the men did most of the housework (given that they were unemployed or employed part time when they were interviewed) they seemed less willing than did women, to take credit for it. These findings may have significant implications for research into work and gender. Because interviewing women about domestic matters is the norm in social research, *female* experiences and manners of expression are accepted as the way we do gender research. In other words, the very manner in which life history research is conducted and interpreted may, in some ways, be unconsciously biased against discovering male experiences. The act that the interviewer was female may also have had an impact on male comfort levels' in answering questions about their domestic and personal lives.

In terms of explaining male employment experiences, the 'job model' is more useful than the 'gender model' - although this is not to discount the significance of domestic forces in men's lives as shaping gender roles (particularly for men who have moved from the manufacturing to service sector). The findings from this study point to the need to explore in greater detail the links between male adjustment strategies, the

construction of gender roles and the intersection of productive and domestic work.

The nature of the interview data necessitates a certain simplicity in the analysis and formulation of conclusions about 'job' and 'gender' explanations of occupational sex segregation. In general, the inability of the 'gender model' - based on life cycle and domestic events - to account for the continuous nature of many women's occupational patterns in this study points to the job model as a possible explanation for sex segregation. This model was less useful however, in providing insight into reasons *why* the women interviewed tended to remain concentrated in certain types of jobs despite a profoundly restructured labour market in Cornwall. This problem might be addressed by developing a 'job model' that accounts for external (macro-economic, wide scale) structuring of gendered divisions of labour, and internal (intra-industry) factors contributing to segregation. For example, the external market shapes patterns of participation by limiting entry-level positions for women into the competitive labour market. Once they have achieved this entry, the 'internal' job market takes precedence in the allocation of jobs and the determination of wages. Therefore, not only is there discrimination in initial access, but this is complicated by personal characteristics and the characteristics of the occupations and firms in which people labour. Acknowledging the existence of multiple job markets, and exploring their dynamics, may provide greater insight into the complexity of individual experience and contribute to theoretical innovations about work and gender. In the case of Cornwall, the nature of these multiple job markets have been affected by the process of deindustrialisation and the apparently limited nature of service sector development. Exploring the nature of multiple job markets may also facilitate theoretical links between 'macro processes' (external labour market forces and aggregate trends) and 'micro processes' (internal labour market forces shaping individual experiences) in the course of better understanding gendered divisions of labour.

In analysing the interview data, it was more instructive to look at the respondent's lives as in terms of **layers of events and processes**, rather than spheres of activity. The inherent tendency in using 'job' or 'gender' explanations of labour force patterns is to enforce an artificial 'bi-polar' understanding of complex activities and behaviour.

Women's complex activities and use of 'productive spheres' to perform 'reproductive duties' illustrate this point. In contrast, thinking in terms of 'layers' helps establish links between mechanisms contributing to gendered identities defined at the individual level, with the broader processes of economic and social change. Here, we see the interaction of individual viewpoints and experiences with 'macro level' data on structural changes in employment. It is the intersection of these analyses that is particularly important in expanding our knowledge on restructuring, work and gender.

5.3.3 Employment, Gender and 'the Future' - Perceptions of Change in Cornwall

The nature of the analysis presented so far implies that industrial and occupational patterns determine employment patterns, and that the economic phenomena recorded in the various data sets (statistical and interview) constitute a complete causal system. Clearly, this is not the case as literature on locality studies (Bagguley et. al., 1990) has shown that changing occupational structure and patterns of work will affect the transformation of a local political environment. Political struggles (such as legislative changes concerning pay equity; promoting better working conditions and pressure to improve government subsidised day care, inter alia) are also important in restructuring labour market opportunities, particularly for women. These factors however, are difficult to incorporate into data sets and causal frameworks. It is also the case that the average individual's knowledge of legislative change in employment is usually limited (Massey, 1994), making it difficult to ask questions in an interview on specific 'political issues'. Despite these obstacles, a general understanding of 'community' and perceptions of change by residents provides insight into how a particular place is a product of its position in relation to wider forces, and how this place makes an imprint on these wider forces. In developing a geography of regional change, it also adds another dimension to the ways in which we question local variations of industrial restructuring.

Given that 'gender' is an intensely political issue, it is surprising that relatively few attempts have been made to incorporate an appreciation of political struggle into life history

studies linking restructuring, employment and gender. Differences among women and men, for example in employment and occupation influence the way they relate to particular political struggles, including those around gender itself (Massey, 1994). It remains to be seen whether or how these differences will influence opinions about community change, the future outlook of the community, and necessary 'political activities' aimed at improving the community's development prospects. This section initiates discussion on these issues. Further, in terms of defining community based policy options for economic redevelopment, it is important to get a sense of people's views on 'what has happened' and 'what can be done'.

To help make links between gendered employment experiences and patterns of change, the similarities and differences between female and male 'political visions' were identified. This was accomplished by asking the respondents a series of standard and open-ended questions concerning: major changes they had observed in their neighbourhood and community in the past 5 years; reasons why they thought many of the mills were shutting down; their patterns of participation in community events, organisations and services before and after their job change, and; 'what they would do to help Cornwall if they were mayor'. The questions were simply constructed so they would be easily understood and answered. Any conclusions drawn therefore, will be modest given the nature of this 'political' analysis.

Thirteen of the interview participants lived in the city of Cornwall, and two lived outside of the city (but within the census area) in the village of Summerstown. The first question asked concerned any observed changes in their neighbourhood and community in the past five years. All of the city dwelling residents suggested that crime rates had increased - particularly the incidence of 'break and enter' and car theft. Six of the seven women said they no longer felt comfortable 'walking alone at night' - the exception was an individual who lived in Summerstown.

The concern with rising crime and unemployment did not however, translate into a general desire to move from Cornwall. Fourteen of the respondents were long-time

residents of the area (30 years or more, or, had generations of family history in the city) and only four said they had considered moving a serious option after they had lost their job. When asked if 'they, or their spouse got a really good job in another city - would they move?', 10 of the 12 married respondents suggested they would. Men were just as willing to move if their wives got a 'really good job', as wives were willing to move to improve their husband's standard of employment. Brockville and Kingston were the most frequently cited destinations for a potential move, most people wishing to avoid 'big cities' like Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto.

In general, comments concerning change - which was defined mainly in terms of mills closing - in Cornwall were negative. Only one person cited some positive change in the city - the redevelopment of the waterfront, and more outdoor festivals in the past five years. With the exception of women no longer wanting to walk alone at night, male and female opinions about economic and social change in Cornwall showed a high degree of similarity.

Most people correlated the beginning of major plant shut downs with socio-economic decline in the city. The North American Free Trade Agreement and 'unions' were thought to be the reason why plants were shutting down. Many of the women and men who had worked in the textile industry in particular commented on the higher price of Canadian labour as an important factor in plant shut downs.

I got a feeling two years before the plant shut down that things were bad. Listening to the news, everything is going to Mexico, with free trade... We had people from Belgium, Italy, Pakistan and Sri Lanka come to get information about how our plant was run. You didn't have to be a genius to see our jobs were going to disappear. - *Jean* (former machine over hauler, Dominion Textiles)

It's free trade that killed us. If you can buy a shirt from some other country for \$4, are you going to pay us \$24 for the same shirt? Free trade just kicked the shit out of Canada as far as I'm concerned. When I dismantled all the machinery, not much of it stayed in Canada. It all went to Mexico, or Ireland or down to the States. - *Tom* (former machine 'fixer', Dominion Textiles)

When asked more specifically about reasons why *Cornwall* in particular seemed to be struggling with economic and social change, opinions varied widely, and a some gendered patterns in viewpoints emerged. Men, more often than women suggested, that smuggling and 'the Indian reserve' were a major deterrent to new industries locating in the area. Four of the seven women were concerned that their children were not getting 'the right kind of education', and would not be able to get jobs. Four of the eight men thought there was 'too much government' or 'too many people getting welfare'. Only one woman expressed these concerns. Three men cited 'mother's allowance' as a reason why people were not working, and drew connections between single mothers and different aspects of social change and breakdown. Their concerns lay in the fact that too many people seemed to be 'getting a free ride' and nobody wanted to work anymore. In part, the opinions of these men were linked to the fact that their unemployment insurance benefits were limited, despite having paid into the social welfare system for decades. They felt it was unfair that individuals could reap benefits from their labour despite making no apparent contribution to the social welfare system.

When asked how employment change had affected their patterns of participation in community life, two women said they were 'more involved' when they were between jobs, than when they were re-employed. This pattern was not evident among male respondents. Four of the seven women were actively involved in church groups, their children's schools or other social services. Of her own accord, one woman took homeless teenagers in off the street and gave them temporary refuge while other arrangements were being made for their accommodation. Two of the eight men in the interview group were actively involved in community activities - one through his church, and the other through a community sports association. While the interview sample is far too small to make generalisations about male and female participation in the community, it appeared that women were: (a) more active than men in community events; (b) participated in a greater variety of activities, and; (c) had maintained their participation despite job changes.

Some of the most detailed and interesting material on 'political vision' was generated by the question: 'if you woke up one morning and were mayor, what changes

would you make to help Cornwall get back on its feet?'. Nine of the fifteen participants (roughly equal numbers of women and men) said they would try to get large industry to return to the city - those same mills that had shut down their operations. Four people suggested that 'new types' of industry should be encouraged - more 'high tech' firms. Two people thought that Cornwall was on the verge of 'shutting down' - that no matter what course of action was taken, the city would never recover its former prosperity. General sentiment about the future was guarded - most people hoped things would change, but were not overtly enthusiastic.

I used to have the mentality that things would never change when I was working at Courtaulds - but now that I've been through a shutdown, my thinking is anything can happen. I think there's a future here, but things are going to have to change. - *Peter*

Nothing is permanent in this town anymore. After I got laid off the first time, I realised the best thing I could do is just save a lot of money, and be prepared for whatever. It's amazing, a lot of guys in there [Domtar] just go from week to week. But I know what's out there. This is a sunset area - no plants are locating here. Just like the American northeast, this place will dry up. - *Scott*

Lifetime jobs will *never* happen again. All the mills will be run different different now. Lots of people in my company were drawing pay cheques for nothing. Cushy jobs are gone. Now, you'll have to do your job, and a little bit of another guy's job and be more useful. And education too. Plants are looking for grade 12. You can't even get an interview without grade 12. - *Ruth*

Concerning necessary future change, women tended to be more explicit about their children's educations than were men. Where men tended towards 'learning a trade', women thought their children would have to leave Cornwall to get 'a good education' and a job. Opinions about the present city administration were clearly divided along gender lines. Five of the seven women thought the current mayor was 'not very helpful', while five of the eight men thought that the present administration was 'okay' but should work harder. A strong degree of disillusionment with the political process and politicians in general was evident among all members of the sample. Lack of opportunity to express their opinions, money wasting among bureaucrats and an inability to contribute to community planning were universal concerns.

You know what the problems is? They *all* talk too much. They say one thing, and do something else. There is a lot of wasted money in government you know. Like why do you always need those fancy dinners when people come to town? People should have to pay their own way - even the Queen. Anyway - in my mind, you're going to reach the same conclusions on peanut butter sandwiches as you will on caviar, so just get on with it! It's time to do something for the regular people. - *Anne*

While it was difficult to form any clear conclusions about restructuring, gendered views of community change and 'political vision', several trends emerged from the data. First, that women tended to be more involved than men in some kind of community activity despite employment change. Indeed, some women *increased* their level of community activity when they were without paid employment. Second, the propensity towards mobility was very low among those interviewed. Despite economic hardship, people seemed 'rooted' to their community and expressed a desire to restore it to a greater degree of prosperity. Both of these elements could represent valuable resources if nurtured and exploited in the process of community re-development. Finally, a general comment about the importance of 'community reproduction' as central to any redevelopment strategy is necessary. In the concern to maintain 'adequate' standards of living, public policy must not overlook the importance of how communities are reproduced - through caring, procreating and nurturing. That women have traditionally performed the majority of nurturing tasks (Moore Milroy, 1994) is important in identifying ways to ease the burdens of working women and maintain community social fabric through improved social service delivery. Social standards and programmes must be developed and maintained so that people - particularly those susceptible to economic marginalisation - are not further isolated by economic restructuring.

5.4 Conclusion

Rather than repeat the main arguments of each preceding section, concluding comments for this chapter address how personal history data can be used to better understand the complexities of restructuring, gender and employment patterns. First, personal history data adds much valuable material to the analysis of employment patterns in

that it highlights how individuals *experience* change. It highlights variations and similarities between 'macro trends' and 'micro diversity' - forming a more comprehensive framework with which to understand spatially uneven development. Also, personal testimony helped clarify or 'contextualise' the content of key processes such as feminisation and gendered divisions of labour. The case study on Cornwall pointed to the fact that 'feminisation' involves several contradictory and interrelated processes.

Consistent with broader scale trends, more women are involved in paid labour and they are better educated. But, as is also the case according to national level data, this has not been translated into greater representation in non-traditional and 'higher status' jobs for women in Cornwall. The *reasons* for this likely stem from a combination of factors best uncovered through interpreting individual experience. First, in a traditionally manufacturing-based city experiencing rapid deindustrialisation, new opportunities of this nature may simply not exist for women (or men). Second, life histories support the notion that labour markets are discriminatory in how jobs are allocated to women and men. Less evident from the data were connections between domestic and life cycle factors as shaping employment experience. And third, given the rapid rate at which profound structural change occurred in Cornwall, people may not have had time to adjust their expectations as to what kinds of jobs they would prefer or feel qualified to perform. Related to this point is how a *dynamic* and restructuring labour market redefines and reproduces 'gender' in the *ongoing* process of adaptation. Where aggregate data presents a 'snapshot' view of dynamic social processes, interview data can be used to highlight points of departure from macro trends and identify potential directions of change in these processes. Here we see a variation of the idea of 'lag time' between technological change (in industrial base and productive process) and cultural adaptation (in how the labour market structures gender in allocating jobs).

The central contradiction between macro trends and micro data revolves around the fact that while selected indicators suggest female workers are 'improving' their relative labour position in certain *quantitative* ways (measured by income, overall participation rates, reduced unemployment) it is not clear from the case study whether they are making

many *qualitative* improvements (assessed in terms of occupational segregation and resilience; movement into non-traditional employment sectors and overall satisfaction). Interview data also highlighted the fact that more research into the 'male experience' of 'adjusting down' in the labour market might provide valuable insight into emerging gendered patterns of employment - particularly in the service sector which is growing in absolute and relative numbers of male and female workers.

The observed 'downward adjustment' of the labour market suggests two general policy directions. First, governments may avoid direct interference with market forces and allow the labour market to restructure with minimum public regulation. Lack of action may be justified in the overall pursuit of greater wage competitiveness in a globally integrated economy. Alternatively, as more women *and* men become concentrated in 'lower status', lower paid and less stable service and production work, governments can take action to improve the quality and value of these 'traditionally' less desirable jobs (by introducing benefits to part-time work; creating more favourable terms for receiving unemployment insurance; improving access to child care, inter alia). This latter route is preferred in the interests of decreasing social and economic marginalisation, which in the long run, has a positive impact on collective measures of well being at all levels of social organisation.

Related to notion of 'downward' economic adjustment - in this case study experienced most acutely by men who had skilled or semi-skilled jobs in manufacturing and then moved into tertiary sector employment - is the paucity of information on how 'male gender' is changing given restructured labour markets. More research needs to be done on how men are coping with changed employment patterns; how their gendered identities are reproduced in the context of new work and domestic relations; and how these changes may be affecting *female* work opportunities and notions of 'gender' in the productive and reproductive economies.

Concerns about empirical data and the study of gender highlight the issues of research method and values. At the aggregate level (especially with census data), there are relatively few variables concerning life cycle characteristics and 'non-productive' work.

This may conceal the complexities of female employment patterns more so than male patterns, and limit our view of the interconnected processes of employment and life in studying gendered divisions of labour. In part, these gaps in knowledge about experience and process are offset by **integrating** micro-analysis with macro data in the study of restructuring and regional change. To be avoided however is the false assumption that personal history information can, by itself be used to explain changing employment patterns. It was shown, for example that the 'gender model' was of limited use in explaining the existence and reproduction of gendered divisions, and patterns of women's occupational resilience. Structural factors in the labour market are more important in determining male and female employment patterns. Any conclusions about method in this research involve the fact that **personal history analysis is at its strongest when used together with a data set on structural change in order to maximise the number of variables used in developing a causal and explanatory framework.**

Associated with research methods are research values which govern the way data is gathered and interpreted. To begin with, the research approach was biased in the sense that assumptions were made about the value of life experience for better understanding 'female gender'. These same assumptions were not made for men in the research design, and it was not until interviews were being conducted that the question of adjusting the approach to questions for men arose. One can conclude from this research that there is a **need for life history research on gender to be developed to better capture the experiences of men and changing male gender roles in the context of restructuring.** Further, interpreting data - particularly qualitative information (and to a different extent, quantitative data) - involves value judgments about what is important and useful. In this case, a combination of open-ended and standardised questions were asked as means of contextualising statistical trends. To a certain extent, rich and diverse personal testimony was edited and structured around relatively 'narrow' themes in forming explanations about gender, work and economic change. At many times during the interview process, **the researcher was reminded of how easy it is to make judgments about experiences based on personal and research agendas.** A

conscious effort was made to identify 'middle class' values in reacting to and interpreting 'working class' experiences. This reflexive approach to personal history research was facilitated by keeping and referring to journal records about each interview experience as a means in the course of interpreting the information.

The following chapter offers a critical review of the main theoretical concepts and methodological issues identified throughout this thesis. Some concluding comments are also made about the specific nature of restructuring in Cornwall which have implications for regional development theory in geography and policy formation in the context of the *St. Lawrence Project*..

CHAPTER SIX

Discussion and Conclusions: Reflections on Method, Findings and Policy

6.0 Introduction

Rather than review the contents of each chapter, this concluding section has three principal sections structured around discussions of method; the implications of the empirical findings, and identifying policy options for the redevelopment of Cornwall. Where relevant, specific comments concerning topics of future research are made in the context of each section's principal conclusions.

6.1 Reflections on Method: Gender and a Geography of Regional Change

The central strengths of the research design and methodological approach in this study revolved around the integration of material on the nature and sources of the structuring of the labour market with the experiences of that structuring for individuals. This facilitated: (a) building an understanding of restructuring events that linked micro diversity with macro processes, and; (b) an approach to restructuring studies that breaks down the restrictive boundary differentiating 'qualitative' from 'quantitative' research. Developing pluralist approaches to geographic research allows investigation to reach beyond the socio-statistical level, to the level of uncovering 'process' in geographic

theorising and research. Particularly in the study of gender - a socially, economically, culturally and politically constructed and contested category - flexibility of research techniques is vital. In recognising the heterogeneity of labour markets and complexity of gender constructs, developing more flexible research techniques helps us move towards a greater concern with how we frame research questions and form explanations. The rest of this section focuses on two main themes - lessons learned about identifying processes linking micro level events with macro level trends, and the value of a feminist approach to studies of restructuring.

First, the approach taken in this study - using personal history analysis to see how global trends were 'recorded' in individual experience - provided valuable insight into the mechanisms shaping and reproducing gender constructs in the productive and reproductive economies. From a comparison of male and female unemployment and participation rates at a variety of spatial levels, and an overview of occupational participation by sex in Cornwall between 1986 and 1991, the dominant statistical trends observed included: rising relative female participation in the labour force; decreasing female unemployment rates; and continued concentration of women in jobs where they have traditionally worked. It was the **interview data** however, that helped 'make sense' of these trends in terms of how functional specialisation in the local context interacted with people's lives and work histories to reproduce and change gendered divisions of labour. For example, former mill workers (particularly in textiles) explained how the physical layout of their factory contributed to: the separation of male and female workers in the overall production process and to the 'gendering' of certain types of jobs (ie. the assumed inability of women unable to work or fix various plant machinery). The use of language (such as 'girls' instead of 'women'), sex related differences in income, and differences in perceived occupational status associated with particular kinds jobs also represented micro-level mechanisms contributing to macro level events such as the continuity of women's occupational experiences (in clerical and low paid office work).

In linking these 'micro mechanisms' to 'macro processes', interview data pointed to

the '**job model**' as more generally more insightful than the '**gender model**' in explaining how female and male work experiences are differentially constructed. This does not imply that one type of explanation is exclusively preferred over the other, rather the conclusion here is that if we are to better understand the reasons why gendered divisions of labour persist in the context of restructuring, the *emphasis* lies in how the labour market structures male and female opportunities and gendered work identities. Related to this point is the need to explore more fully the idea of changing 'male gender' in the context of life history research and deindustrialisation. Therefore, in terms of future research on methods, it may be interesting to investigate how gender is differentially interpreted by women and men in the context of personal work histories and talking about their lives.

The second set of issues discussed in this section on methods (and relevant to concerns with making links between macro and micro processes) concerns the **type and quality of data** appropriate for this research design. Numerous studies have been conducted (cited in this research and elsewhere) speculating on the *impacts* and *significance* of an increasingly feminised work force for national economies, families, social services and gender relations. As noted above, the problem for researchers lies in dissecting macro trends in terms of their complex constituent parts, and speculating on the processes and mechanisms that link them to individual and local experience. Until recently there has been a paucity of data sources outlining macro-level factors on the 'female' experiences of paid work and life (which are by no means homogeneous but *are* gendered). Among other things the reason for this stems from how contributions to social well being (which includes economy and polity) are defined and valued. That this has impeded progress into research *for* women (aimed at equity) as opposed to research *on* women (ie. counting them) is a problem being addressed by feminist and other researchers. Research *for* women aims to understand and make positive changes to various gendered constructs which contribute to inequality between women and men. This means that female and male experiences relating to work and life needs to be better documented as a precursor to understanding 'social process'.

Part of this improved documentation involves the integrative use of quantitative and qualitative data (referred to in detail in Chapter three). It also involves the explicit recognition, as part of the research process, of the strengths, limitations and implications of using certain types of data. This study sought to combine quantitative data and inferential statistics, with qualitative interview data as a way to expose gaps in our understanding of how macro trends of 'feminisation' are played out at the local level. Crucial to this process was understanding how local mechanisms shaped gender constructs in work and life and formed an integral part of the overall social processes of production. The critical interpretation of statistical information helped generate important research questions and identify alternative methods that could be used to explain the processes influencing gendered divisions of labour. Taking the other point of view, individual experiences were evaluated and linked to broader processes of change by looking at dominant directions of labour market restructuring. In terms of feminist research objectives - aimed at empowerment and exposing subjugated experiences and knowledge - another key lesson learned here is that *feminist research, in challenging how we study and explain 'gender', expands our knowledge of social processes through the act of theorising.*

To conclude this section, some comments concerning **feminist approaches** to the geography of restructuring and employment are made. To begin with, feminist geographers have gone a considerable distance to challenging the definition of 'what is geography' and hence, appropriate topics for research, by adding the previously neglected areas of 'women' and 'gender' (McDowell, 1992; Massey, 1994; Women and Geography Study Group of the IBG, 1984; Mackenzie, 1989). For the very reason that it is fundamentally challenging, choosing to 'study gender' is both an intellectual *and* political act - one that is not without its own difficulties.

One of the reasons for the long-time exclusion of women's lives and gendered research from geographical study - and a problem encountered in this research - lies in the lack of comprehensive statistical data on their 'hidden' activities (hidden to statisticians, not to women), and in methodological issues concerning how to integrate different types of

data explaining gender constructs and processes. In terms of using census data, women are often 'lumped in' with their families or households in the process of 'counting', and their unpaid labour has long gone unrecognised in the national census (much work still remains to be done in this area). Alternatively, 'women's work' has been slotted into public-private dichotomies which, while raising the 'profile' of women in social research, does not necessarily lead to the kind of fundamental re-theorising of the content of analytical categories and documentation of experiences advocated in this research. Further, it can be difficult to rationalise a concern with 'individual domestic activities', particularly in fields like industrial and regional geography, given that mainstream geographic methods are not designed to accommodate this spatial scale. Concern with gender relations is sometimes reduced to 'women's issues' and data used to explore these experiences (for example personal history interviews) can be criticised as being 'political', 'loaded' or 'subjective' (read: 'not respectable'). Relevant to this study, the inclusion of 'gender' in a geography of restructuring raises difficult questions about classifying female and male employment experiences (which are constructed differently) and analysing and comparing them at different levels of spatial aggregation.

Theorising, choosing methods and gathering data appropriate to the study of gender have contributed to questions about the constitution of geography as a discipline - what we know, how we know it and what difference this makes to the type of research in which geographers engage, and to the policies they develop. Throughout this study, arguments have been made for the importance of explicit self understanding in the course of developing social theory. A fundamentally political act in acknowledging personal subjectivity in the research process, this self understanding should be extended, challenged and verified in the continual process of refining explanation. The attempt to develop, and engage in reflexive theorising represents a central intellectual and political challenge in this study on geography and regional change.

6.2 Reflections on Empirical Research: Restructuring, Gender and Employment in Cornwall

The concepts of '**feminisation**' and '**harmonising down**' in reference to economic change, deindustrialisation and women's increased labour force representation highlight the complexities of spatially uneven development in formulating a gendered geography of regional change.

In the case of Cornwall, it was discovered that the *rate* at which the labour market is feminising is *slower* than that for Ontario or Canada. Examining the occupational structure over time also showed that women are not necessarily improving their labour market position in the sense of moving into non-traditional, higher paid 'good' occupations. In Cornwall, these types of jobs were associated with management positions in manufacturing - the sector hardest hit by plant closures and job losses since the implementation of Free Trade. And, in terms of men 'harmonising down' into traditionally female areas of employment as their unionised manufacturing jobs disappear, evidence was inconclusive. Interview data revealed that the tendency for men to move into non-traditional areas of employment (in low paid, part-time service sector jobs) was likely a product of: (a) age combined with the willingness to retrain or acquire new skills; and (b) the simple availability (or lack thereof) of work in Cornwall.

The importance of **regional functional specialisation** in explaining gendered employment patterns was highlighted by using occupational location quotients and comparing the correlation of male and female unemployment rates at a variety of spatial scales. In terms of examining the dynamics of feminisation, these tests underscored the need to define micro processes of change in the context of global restructuring forces. In other words, the interpretation of gendered divisions of labour is best accomplished at the level where people live and in the context of local conditions.

The local conditions in Cornwall are dominated by **deindustrialisation in an**

old order economy. Drawing on interview data with former employees of manufacturing establishments, it was argued that the reasons behind deindustrialisation are manifold and include: the loss of locational advantage given continental free trade; worker apathy and indifference towards company production efficiency and standards; higher Canadian wages relative to those in the United States; the inability of major employers (particularly in textiles) to compete with newly industrialising economies (notably in Asia) producing the same goods, and; in some mills, lack of technological innovation.³¹

While the nature (or at this point, existence) of a 'new' and emergent economy in Cornwall is not clear, the labour force is restructuring according to some broader scale trends. First, the need to 're-train' or upgrade educational qualifications was identified as a general concern and priority among the interview participants (who were either looking for work, or had found new employment). This is consistent with national and provincial trends towards a more competitive and more skilled work force. Second, general uncertainty about the economic future and the tenure of employment was clearly expressed by all members of the interview group. Again, this is consistent with the emergence of post-Fordist production regimes, flexible specialisation and new work relations (often based on lower pay, less stability and fewer benefits). In order to explore the significance of these trends in the Cornwall economy, future research could be directed toward an analysis of: (a) the type, scale and origin of new industries locating in Cornwall; (b) the conditions of employment involved in these new establishments, and; (c) the occupational and skill structure of production broken by sex, age and relevant cultural factors. Finally, evidence from the Cornwall case supported the notion of occupational continuity among women, which reflects national and international labour force trends. And, in terms of better understanding the emerging dynamics of gendered divisions of labour in the 'new economy', more research into the marginalisation of men - particularly in smaller deindustrialising communities like Cornwall where employment opportunities are limited - may provide some insight into changing gender roles and relations in the work place and

³¹ Although, in the case of Dominion Textiles, a former production manager indicated that renovations at the plant and the installation of new machinery in the late 1980s, made Long Sault Fabrics one of this continent's most technologically advanced textile mills.

the home.

In summation, one of the overall aims of this research was to emphasise the need for a better theoretical and practical understanding of the mechanisms underlying distribution outcomes related to gender and employment. More than trying to 'add women on' to industrial geographic literature, this study has advocated an approach to empirical investigation where the socially created gender structure of society is *explicitly* accounted for in analyses of regional change. Further, not only is the organisation of production and social composition of the labour force restructuring, the geography of economic activity is also being transformed. For communities like Cornwall, the consequences of these dynamics have included rapid deindustrialisation, high unemployment (recall that in the three year period leading up to 1992 1,500 manufacturing jobs were lost where after employment stabilised at around 5,000 jobs in manufacturing) and manifestations of social and community distress. The challenge is, in the context of broader forces of change, to identify economic and political options aimed at mitigating the most acute effects of economic and social adjustment while trying to promote a strategy of sustainable and humane community redevelopment.

6.3 Reflections on Policy - Implications for Community (re-)Development

In some ways, Cornwall is really limited...you know, behind the times. Because of the industries and stuff. And, people don't like to change and move around - where would you go? But it's a good place. There's a lot of help out there if you need it. Nobody's going to come to your door with a job, but if you really look for something...well, things turn up. - *Ruth* (former electronic assembler, Marconi)

The future is scary for the kids...and not just in Cornwall. Even if you find a job - it's not like it used to be when you were there for a long time. Now you never know...is it going to close next year? How long will you be there? Like, am I going to have a job in March? That's my biggest fear for the future. I worked at the same place for twenty years, so it's hard for me to handle. - *Monique* (former clerk, Long Sault Fabrics)

In discussing their future, the interview participants voiced concerns of general relevance to any person in any community concerned about their jobs, their families and their living environment. The policy challenge facing Cornwall, and decision makers at the local, provincial and national levels is (re-)build a stable, humane and equitable community *and* still have economic growth. This section discusses some general policy directions - based on empirical research and on ideas about radical structural change - relevant to regional and national development development in Cornwall and Canada. In so doing, it hopes to contribute to some central concerns of the 'St. Lawrence Project'³² involving community-based and sustainable development of Cornwall.

6.3.1 The Implications of Empirical Evidence for Regional Development Policy and Future Research

Of primary importance in understanding the impacts and uneven nature of restructuring is the question of scale. The statistical analyses presented in Chapter 4 (particularly the R^2 tests predicting the relationship between male and female unemployment and also tests analysing occupational location quotients at a variety of scales) demonstrated the need to formulate regional development policy based on a knowledge of local conditions and experience. The interview data, on the other hand, revealed how men and women differentially experienced employment and occupation change within their communities in the context of 'deindustrialisation' which is linked to broader level economic restructuring.

Policy formed on the basis of trends at one level of statistical aggregation can be misleading - a case in point being the high level of correlation between male and female unemployment rates among Canadian census divisions, and a very low correlation among these rates among Eastern Ontario census subdivisions. The implication is that community

³² Ecosystem Recovery on the St. Lawrence Project, an ongoing research effort managed through the Institute for Research on Environment and Economy at the University of Ottawa. The project has a three year term which began in 1993 and ends in 1996. Among other things, the goal of the *St. Lawrence Project* is to develop a series of policy guidelines to promote community-based and sustainable re-development of the Cornwall region (see Chapter Three, section 3.4).

development strategies must be tailored to local conditions, and that regional policy might best be approached from the 'bottom up' rather than from the 'top down'. Related to this point is the need for regional policy to be flexible, given that the processes of restructuring are temporally and spatially uneven. This is central to understanding the dynamic relationship between gendered divisions of labour and restructuring labour market conditions. Gendered divisions of labour - linked to the fluctuating social processes of production - are both place specific and variable over time as conditions of production change. In Cornwall, evidence pointed towards a regional functional specialisation in manufacturing related occupations, but also suggested that this specialisation (and hence occupational structure) was declining as the economy 'deindustrialises' and more people move into tertiary sector jobs.

Building on this evidence, future research and policy development might be directed toward examining other cases of community restructuring to see how adjustment processes in different regions compare given the uneven dynamics of economic change. For example, returning to the tests predicting female unemployment rates at various spatial scales (section 4.2.2, Chapter 4) - it would be interesting to examine the *reasons why* communities (other than Cornwall) may display highly variable or highly similar unemployment and/or labour participation rates between women and men. Gendered unemployment rates could be linked to the nature of regional economic activity; reflect the differential abilities of women and men to adapt to change; be linked to the feminisation of labour inherent in the local restructuring process, or; some other factor not discussed. These type of regional comparisons would not only inform appropriate development policy, but would also create a better understanding of how different communities and regions within the country are responding to global forces of change.

Another potentially interesting dimension to investigate in the context of this study includes the importance of language and culture in understanding the links between the spatially uneven forces of restructuring and locally experienced processes of social reproduction and labour force change. For example, close to 30% of Cornwall's

population speaks French as a mother tongue. Cultural and linguistic identities may have an impact not only on employment experience and opportunities but also on the willingness to move from the Eastern Ontario-Western Quebec region where French is spoken, to find employment in other areas of Ontario, Canada or the United States where French is less readily spoken. Further, it may also be interesting to study whether the interpretation of gender roles and relations are culturally specific within the Cornwall area, and how that may affect individuals' experiences in the context of socio-economic and community restructuring.

6.3.2 Towards an Alternative View of 'Development'

As a general preference, **the starting point for any regional development policy should be that promoting productivity requires more, not less, social security.** In terms of this project's analysis of gender and employment 'more social security' includes improved child-care programmes for working women; better assistance for unemployed and retraining workers; sufficient early pension schemes for older workers who have difficulty finding re-employment after plant shut-downs; and, extended health, social service and family benefits for displaced workers. In a society concerned with developing long-term productivity and greater socio-economic equity, the burden of economic dislocation and unemployment in places like Cornwall needs to be spread out over all the citizens of a society rather than loading it on the workers of a particular community or company.

The responsibility lies with citizens, communities and government to promote a development approach where changes in industry and policy are mutually reinforcing of social and economic good. To assure that regional development adheres to these principles, a transformation of the way people participate in important social and economic decisions is necessary. This transformation not only includes 'more' popular participation, but also 'more representative' participation - reflecting for example the growing importance and specific needs of female workers as key decision makers, contributors and producers

in society.

In terms of more specific comments for Cornwall, the discussion of regional industrial policy and community development here is tentative - meant to stimulate debate and present alternatives. To begin with, Cornwall's economic structure is characterised mainly by 'sunset' industries - those products, activities and companies that used to be profitable and advantageously located, and are now either rationalising or abandoning sites because they are no longer profitable, or, profitable *enough*. The recent experiences of deindustrialisation in the city are linked to, among other things, the economic shadow effect, continental free trade and the uneven dynamics of investment and disinvestment.

Developing renewed industrial policy for the region must begin with a detailed account of *how* industries became unprofitable - not only on a company-to-company basis, but also in light of changes going on specific industries themselves in relation to the overall economic system. And, in the interests of promoting greater popular participation in economic activities, these accounts should be conducted by public research groups. The experience of deindustrialisation in communities in the Northeastern United States³³ - particularly those characterised by declining growth industries, similar to the situation in Cornwall - point to two categories of 'sunset' industries: (1) those where the product is truly obsolete or unneeded, and; and (2) those where the company is abandoning a particular site (but not the product per se) in favour of another. In other words, growth rates within that industry may be deemed to be unacceptable to maintain target profit margins and competitiveness. In Cornwall, defining 'unprofitability' is related more to this latter category of sunset industries if we consider as example the case of large textile manufacturers like Courtaulds Fibres (which relocated its plant in the Southern United States) and Dominion Textiles, which concentrated operations in its Quebec-based mills.

Given Cornwall's declining industrial base, the question remains therefore, 'what can be done to make it more attractive (or profitable) as an investment site?'. If regional

³³ see Bluestone and Harrison (1982; 1988)

policy centres on attracting high growth, internationally competitive industries to the area, the underlying rationale for development hinges on the narrow pursuit of profit as the most important criterion of 'economic well being'. This is not the approach advocated here. Instead, an *alternative* competitiveness is proposed based on principles of economic democracy which need to be applied to every level of our productive system from offices and factories to municipal, provincial and national governments. These principles include:

- the determination to work locally;
- the regulation of corporate investment;
- the recognition that economic activity is a social process;
- the opportunity to strengthen labour; and
- creating an industrial base which increases our wealth, options and skills

While this may be accused of being unrealistic or utopian, it is equally unrealistic to hope for the location of 'some big internationally competitive industry' in Cornwall to which hopes for greater economic prosperity are attached. Competitiveness is an expression of an ideology which reinforces the interests of the economic establishment, exacerbates trends towards social and economic marginalisation and does not necessarily enhance the prospects of sustained economic well being. Given the choice, it is preferable to be unrealistic about a development path that is both democratic and strengthens productive capacity.

In terms of promoting principles of economic democracy for regional and community development, there are several reasons why this approach is preferred over competitive strategies. Pursuing the competitive model ignores the economic impacts of restructuring on communities and the role of community input into directing that restructuring. Cornwall is a prime example of a community more or less abandoned by many of its principal industries when its competitive advantages declined or disappeared.

An *alternative* competitiveness based on the principles of economic democracy focuses on democratic control of economic decisions, developing social infrastructure and productive capacity, and is positioned to recognise the importance of communities in

economic life. For example, local development boards could be developed which would have the authority to make companies contemplating closures to justify their actions and to participate in forming alternative plans. Community health and quality of life could be improved by making corporations more sensitive to environmental protection by stopping efforts to externalise as social costs the price of private irresponsibility. Education and training could be integrally linked with developing individual and social productive capacity instead of tied to the business needs of companies - thereby preparing people for democratic participation. Indeed, one of the unifying concerns expressed by the interview group in this study concerned the restrictive nature of education and training opportunities available to displaced workers. For example, re-training courses for workers who had been through a plant shutdown were often limited to the period covered by their unemployment insurance which had a limiting effect on the type and quality of educational opportunities available to them. The older workers in the sample (over the age of 45) also felt that they faced discrimination in gaining equal access to re-training courses - it was perceived that younger workers were admitted more readily to programmes aimed at 're-skilling' or education upgrading. Several members of the interview group pointed out that it was not necessarily the best use of resources to re-train displaced workers by equipping them with a limited range of skills in entry level computer work, administration and clerical duties (skills which were the focus of most adult education courses in the area). The reason for this stems from the perception among the people interviewed that these types of jobs were of limited availability in Cornwall, and the competition for them intense. It might be more appropriate to expand the view of 'human capital' and train people to cope with the social and political challenges presented by economic change, thereby increasing the availability and quality of community resources - an approach which is consistent with the goals of greater social responsibility and economic democracy. Finally, redressing weaknesses in our social infrastructure (such as having better quality and more affordable child care) could be linked to the overall development of individuals (in this case, particularly women) by enabling them to improve their personal productive capacity through work or education.

The point of presenting an alternative strategy of competitiveness is not to discuss whether we should move in this direction, but rather to focus on what institutions and strategies will help us achieve greater democratic development.

APPENDIX

- **Interview Objectives**
(Submitted to Participating Community Agencies)

- **Interview Guide**
(Questions and Themes)

Interview Aims, Structure and Questions

*to: Participating Agencies and Organisations
re: Research & Interview Programme
from: Megan McKenna, University of Ottawa, Geography Department*

A. INTRODUCTION

Interview Themes and Aims: How Are People 'Experiencing' Job Change and How Useful is the Idea of 'Feminisation' in Cornwall?

Statistical analysis shows us that between 1986 and 1991, female and male employment in Cornwall is becoming less specialised in manufacturing, and is tending more towards tertiary activity - thus reflecting overall national and provincial trends. It is also the case that female labour force participation is increasing more rapidly than that for males while male unemployment has risen more significantly than female unemployment over the last two census years.

At first, economists suggested that as men lost their 'good jobs' in a restructuring economy, women would replace them in factories and elsewhere as they demanded lower wages, were less involved with unions and generally more compliant (this is referred to as the 'feminisation' of the labour force). However, statistics for Canada, Ontario and Cornwall do not support these proposed trends. Rather, what we see are two things: (1) fewer men and women working in the city's industries; and (2) a 'tertiarisation' of the city's and region's economy. In other words, men appear to be more involved in 'service' sector employment and women are showing concentrated representation in areas where they have been more 'traditionally' involved. While it is true that Cornwall's occupational profile remains characterised by higher than average participation in manufacturing jobs, this specialisation is being eroded as the city's industries continue to struggle.

Part of this 'tertiarisation' process relates to the increasingly blurred distinction between

manufacturing and service sector jobs. 'Services' are growing for several reasons such as: (1) owing to firms downsizing, jobs normally performed 'in-house' are now be contracted out (eg. cleaning and information services); and (2) the increasing globalisation of manufacturing activities demands a greater number of 'global services' from simple package delivery to corporate lawyers specialising in international commercial law. The growth of services does not necessarily mean our economy is creating 'bad' jobs, but it does mean that the nature of labour and production are changing. It is essential to re-new our understanding of what is going on that we devise new explanatory and policy frameworks.

Indeed, what we may be seeing is a 'harmonising down' of the work force. In other words, rather than women moving 'up' into non-traditional areas of 'better' jobs, men are moving 'down' into traditionally female-dominated occupations in services, sales, administration and lower-status assembling jobs in manufacturing. To a certain extent, this could account for decreased wage disparity and job status between women and men.

The point here is to look beyond the 'numbers' when studying female and male employment trends in a restructuring economy. Not only do women and men react differently to employment change, they also react differently to perceived changes in job type, status and overall 'quality' (hours, benefits, conditions). The reasons for this are many. Primary among them is that along with traditional 'sexual divisions of labour' (men in the factory, women working part time and taking care of the home and family) come 'gendered behaviours'. Gender represents the socialisation of the differences between women and men based on learned behaviour and experience over time. Therefore, in addition to biological differences between the sexes, there are also important 'identity' differences which determine how we see different kinds of 'work' both inside and outside the home.

To some extent, the sexual and gendered division of labour has been reproduced by 'traditional' economic structures - those very structures and relations that are changing so dramatically in places like Cornwall. What I would like to investigate are the following types of things:

(1) if men are 'harmonising down' what impact does this have on 'gendered identities' - like who takes care of the kids, does the shopping and the housework etc? As female income becomes relatively more important to overall family income, how does this change the female working 'status'?

(2) what are the dynamics of male and female employment change? How do the sexes respond differently? How does this affect 'gendered' identities? How does past employment experience affect what men and women see as potential areas of 'new' employment? How do perceptions of 'work' change?

(3) what are the impacts of occupational change on the relations between women and men in the work place?

(4) traditionally, policy makers and academics have divided social reality into the 'private' space of the home and family (reproductive work) and the 'public' space of traded employment (productive work). Does this dichotomy represent things well in the face of a profoundly changing economic and social base? where does 'community work' fit in?

Much is covered by these questions - from a theoretical and practical point of view.

Essentially, what is being questioned is how we see the world and how present descriptions of it are useful or need to be changed in the interests of better public policy aimed at help and re-development. It may be clear from the questions that the researcher does not separate things 'economic' from things 'social' - the two are mutually formed and inseparable.

B. INTERVIEW STRUCTURE AND PROFILE GROUP

Identifying Participants for the Interviews: Building a 'Profile of Local Experience'

Ideally, the interview group will be 15 people (7-8 women and 7-8 men). The aim is to study the concepts of 'harmonising down' and the importance of 'gender' in evaluating regional economic, employment and social change (as outlined above). Therefore, the following type of 'profile' is sought:

(a) working adults who have experienced employment change as result of layoffs (preferably) in some type of manufacturing industry (the more from the same type of industry or even the same company the better, but this is not totally necessary);

(b) preferably at around five years work experience prior to layoff, and now working some place different (full or part time or volunteer). They may also be in a training programme or be apprenticing for new employment. The point is that both the females and males were

working full-time in manufacturing or related industry (this includes mill workers and management) and have had to find some other kind of employment given labour adjustment and restructuring;

(c) individuals can be married, single, co-habiting, separated or divorced - with or without children (a mix of experience here is okay...keeping in mind that a main theme of the interview is gender roles and relations at work, at home and in the community); and

(d) if possible, there should be at least one or two female and one or two males representing more extreme ends of the standard 'age range' of employed people ('younger' being 18 -30 and 'older' being 45+...more or less).

The point is to 'standardise' to some extent for work history - so that stories may be compared and analysed - and make sure people are willing to participate and offer personal insight. The interviews will be in English, but this does not mean Francophones or other language/cultural groups are excluded.

The following 'Questions and Themes' are submitted for your review and to help clarify the 'practical aspect' of what is described above. Please get back to me at your earliest convenience so we can meet and discuss any changes to the interview format or start finalising an interview group.

INTERVIEW GUIDE

I.THEME ONE: 'WORK'

- 1a. Are you working now? Tell me about your present job (includes volunteer work and work retraining programmes). (a) responsibilities (b) hours (c) location (d) pay
- 1b. How did you find your current job?
2. Do you work with a lot of people, or mainly on your own?
3. Do you like what you're doing?
4. What type of job(s) did you have before this one? Where and for how long?
5. Tell me about your last job(s) - (a) responsibilities (b) hours (c) location (d) pay ('substantially lower'; 'roughly the same'; 'substantially higher')
6. In terms of what you **like to do** at work, how does your present job compare to the past one(s)? (a) skills (b) socialising with co-workers (c) personal satisfaction of things performed (d) opportunity to learn new things
7. Does your present employment situation leave you more or less leisure time compared to your past situation? (a) 'more leisure time' or 'less leisure time' in hours per week
- 8a. Do you think it's **better for you** that your job changed? For experience? Pay? Satisfaction? Other reasons?
- 8b. Do you **prefer** 'mill work' or 'non-mill work' ?
- 9a. What type of people do you work with **now** - mostly men or women or about the same?
- 9b. How does the male/female split compare to your work experience in the last place?
10. When you knew that you would have to leave the last place, how did you feel? (Surprised or not? Angry? Expected it? Cheated?)
- 10b. Where you, in your opinion laid-off for reasons other than company change? Like, your age? sex? qualifications or training?
11. Did you take any steps for finding new employment when you got laid off? Did anybody at the company help you out beforehand? Or any friends or family?
12. If married/with partner at time of first lay-off, how did they react? Were they working at

the time? Where? If not - did they try to find work once you knew about your notice?

13. Do you work from your home at all in the course of your employment change?

14. Are you looking to change your present job, or will you stick with it? Why/why not?

15. How do you see things for yourself in the next while in terms of employment? Better/worse or the same? (Respondents define 'better/worse').

16. How do you think the economy in Cornwall will fare in the next few years?

17. Do you think Cornwall/your neighbourhood has changed a lot in the last five years (yes/no)? In what ways? Shopping, houses, neighbourhood quality, less/more crime, new people, community activities and services, work...??... (Respondents define 'changed')

II. THEME TWO: 'HOME & FAMILY'

1. If applicable, tell me about your family life. Are you married? Have children? (age, sex and how many?)

2. Where do you live? House? apartment? Area?

3. How did your family react when you knew about being laid off? Did your partner get a job if they weren't working?

4. With your new job, how much leisure time do you have with your family?

5. Did your employment change mean that you and your partner changed the type or amount of household activities that you do? For example, shopping, dropping kids off, cooking, making appointments with doctors or teachers etc.... Or, is it pretty much the same as before?

6. Since your employment change, has your lifestyle changed a lot? Personally and for your family? (Respondents define 'life style')

7a. Has the presence or age/number of children affected the type of employment you do now?

7b. Did you take time off work when you had children?

7c. Did you go back to your same job when you returned to the work force, or did you try something new? If 'something new' what were the main reasons?

8. Do you notice any big change in the way you deal with your partner/family since your employment change? In terms of responsibilities with the family or home for example?

9. Do you receive help with your home-life through child care, housekeeping etc?

10. Do you help anyone else out with their house work or child care? For work or leisure?

11. Have your changed employment circumstance positively or negatively (or not) affected your relationships at home? With your spouse or children? How? (eg. more or less time for family; taken on more/fewer responsibilities etc).

12a. In terms of things around the house, or related to your family - how many hours per day, or per typical week, do you spend on them? (a) estimate for your partner (b) then estimate as 'more than half' or 'less than half'.

12b. Has this changed (or not) when you changed jobs?

13. Do you feel that it is 'expected' that you do certain household things, or have you ever thought about it?

14a. Can you describe to me a 'typical' daily routine for you and your family? (starting with morning activities, going through the work day, then evening activities when you come home).

14b. What would you change about this routine to make it easier...if you could choose some thing(s)?

III. THEME THREE: 'THE COMMUNITY'

1a. Are you involved in any community, volunteer or charity organisations in Cornwall (sports, clubs, church, political groups, union activities, charity etc.)

1b. If 'involved' how many other women and men are you involved with? And, how do you split up duties?

1c. Are there are other things you would like to be doing in the community if you had a bit more time? Or, are you pretty busy as it is?

2. Has your involvement been affected by your employment change - either in the type of organisation or time you can devote to it? ('more'; 'less'; 'same')

3. If you are not involved, is there something you are thinking about or may be interested in?

4a. Are you from Cornwall? Do you feel a strong attachment to the city?

4b. Do you have other family in the area? (If 'yes' then, how long?)

4c. Would you move if your partner got a 'good job' elsewhere?

5a. When your employment circumstances changed, did you think of moving from the community? Yes/no.

5b. What were the reasons for staying?

6. How do you feel the community has changed in the past five years - socially? economically? politically? not much? other?

7. In your opinion, how is the community (formally and informally) reacting to all the economic change Cornwall has had in the past 5 or 6 years? Has it come together, or is everybody fending for themselves?

8. What are the things that the community needs the most?
9. Why do you think the mills are shutting down?
10. Do you have an interest in how the mayor and the local politicians are running the city? Do you think they are doing a good job?
11. If you woke up and were mayor tomorrow morning, what would you do to help the city get 'back on its feet'?
12. Is there anything else you would like to add about your personal history, or a topic you would like to return to?

IV. CONCLUSION

The above list represents a possible range of themes and questions that could be asked in any interview. Given that the sessions will be around 90 minutes long, a limited number may be asked from each of the three major themes.

The interviews are totally voluntary and *completely confidential*. They can be stopped at any time during the session with no problems at all. Each individual interviewed must give their consent to participate. The interviews will be taped and the only people with access to the tapes will be the research supervisor, Dr. R.A. Roberge, and me.

Everybody who participates in the interviews will have access to the final research results should they want a copy or 'explanation'. Any official or community member who wishes to know more about the research, or would like some kind of 'progress report' is encouraged to ask me about it. Depending on interest, I could hold a seminar and/or publish selected information that may be of use.

REFERENCES

- AMIGONI, D. (1991) Life Histories and the Cultural Politics of Knowing, in S. DEX (Ed.) Life and Work History Analysis: Qualitative and Quantitative Developments (London, Routledge).
- ANDERSON, J., S. DUNCAN and R. HUDSON (1983) Uneven Development, Redundant Spaces?: An Introduction, in: J. ANDERSON, S. DUNCAN & R. HUDSON (Eds) Redundant Spaces in Cities and Regions? Studies in Industrial Decline and Social Change (London, Academic Press).
- ARMSTRONG, P. (1993). The Feminization of the Labour Force: Harmonizing Down in a Global Economy. Draft paper presented to the North-South Institute Conference on Structural Change and Gender Relations in the Era of Globalization, Sept. 30- Oct.1, 1993, Toronto, Ontario.
- BAGGULEY, P., J. MARK-LAWSON, D. SHAPIRO, J. URRY, S. WALBY and A. WARDE (1990) Restructuring: Place, Class and Gender (London, Sage Publications).
- BELKHODJA, A. (1992) Staying Put: Job Tenure Among Paid Workers, Perspectives, Statistics Canada, Winter pp. 20-26.
- BERTAUX, D. (1991) From Methodological Monopoly to Pluralism in the Sociology of Social Mobility, in: S. DEX (Ed.) Life and Work History Analysis: Qualitative and Quantitative Developments (London, Routledge).
- BLUESTONE, B. & B. HARRISON (1988) The Great U Turn: Corporate Restructuring and the Polarizing of America (New York, Basic Books).
- BLUESTONE, B. & B. HARRISON (1982) The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment and the Dismantling of Basic Industry. (New York, Basic Books Inc.).
- BOWLBY, S.R. and L. MCDOWELL (1987) The Feminist Challenge to Social Geography, in: M. PACIONE (Ed.) Social Geography - Progress and Prospect (London, Croom Helm).
- BRADBURY, J. (1989) The Social and Economic Imperatives of Restructuring, in: A. KOBAYASHI & S. MACKENZIE (Eds.) Remaking Human Geography (Boston, Unwim Hyman).
- BRODIE, J. (1994) Spaces for Politics in a Globalised World: New State Forms, New Social Forces. Paper presented at the Harold Innis Centenary Research Workshop: *Global Markets: Do National States Have a Future?* (North York: York University, January 7-9, 1994).

CAMPBELL, B. (1993) Moving in the Wrong Direction: Globalization, the North American Free Trade Act and Sustainable Development. Published by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Ottawa, Canada.

CASTELLS, M. (1982) Crisis, Planning and the Quality of Life: Managing New Historical Relationships Between Space and Society, Environment and Planning A pp. 3-21.

CHAWLA, R.K. (1990) Labour Force Participation: An International Comparison, Perspectives, Statistics Canada, Winter pp. 62-69.

CITY OF CORNWALL (1996) Job Trends Report (Cornwall, Department of Economic Development). February 1996.

CITY OF CORNWALL (1995) Community Profile (Cornwall, Department of Economic Development). Updated version, November 1995.

CITY OF CORNWALL (1995) The Gazette. Quarterly Newsletter of Cornwall Economic Development. Planning Department. Autumn 1995.

CITY OF CORNWALL (1994) Community Profile (Cornwall, Department of Economic Development).

CITY OF CORNWALL (1994) Data Book (Cornwall, Planning Department).

CITY OF CORNWALL (1994) Industrial Directory (Cornwall, Department of Economic Development).

CITY OF CORNWALL (1993) Proposal for Emergency Crisis Funding (Cornwall, City of Cornwall).

COFFEY, W. and M. POLESE (1987) Still Living Together, in: W. COFFEY and M. POLESE (Eds.) Still Living Together: Recent Trends and Future Directions in Canadian Regional Development (Montreal, Institute for Research on Public Policy).

COFFEY, W. (1987) Structural Changes in the Canadian Space-Economy, 1971-1981, in: W. COFFEY and M. POLESE (Eds.) Still Living Together: Recent Trends and Future Directions in Canadian Regional Development (Montreal, Institute for Research on Public Policy).

COHEN, M. (1991) Women and Economic Structures: A Feminist Perspective on the Canadian Economy. Monograph (Ottawa, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives).

CORE, F. (1994) Women and the Restructuring of Employment, OECD Observer no. 186 Feb/Mar pp. 5-12.

COTE, M. (1990) The Labour Force: Into the '90s, Perspectives, Statistics Canada, Spring pp. 8-16.

DEVEREAUX, M. and C. LINDSAY (1993). Female Lone Parents in the labour Market, Perspectives, Statistics Canada, Spring pp. 9-15.

DEX, S. (1991) Life and Work History Analysis, in : S. DEX (Ed.) Life and Work History Analysis: Qualitative and Quantitative Developments (London, Routledge).

- DEX, S. (1987) Women's Occupational Mobility A Lifetime Perspective. (London, Macmillan).
- DRACHE, D. (1993) The Systematic Search for Flexibility: National Competitiveness and New Work Relations, in D. DRACHE & M.S. GERTLER The New Era of Global Competition: State Policy and Market Power (Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queens University Press).
- DUNCAN, S. (1991) The Geography of Gender Divisions of Labour in Britain, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 16, pp. 420-439.
- ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF CANADA (1990) Good Jobs, Bad Jobs: Employment in the Service Economy. (Hull, Quebec)
- ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF CANADA (1978) For A Common Future (Hull, Quebec).
- EHRENREICH, B. (1992) Life Without Father: Reconsidering Socialist-Feminist Theory, in: L. MCDOWELL & R. PRINGLE (Eds.) Defining Women: Social Institutions and Gender Divisions. (Cornwall, Great Britain, T.J. Press Ltd.).
- ENTRIKIN, J.N. (1991) The Betweenness of Place: Towards a Geography of Modernity (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press).
- EPSTEIN, J. T. (1993) The Value of Quantitative Methodology for Feminist Research, in: M. HAMMERSLEY (Ed.) Social Research: Philosophy, Politics and Practice (London, Sage Publications).
- FAGAN, R. H. (1989) Social Relations and Spatial Structures in Global Capitalism: The Case of the Australian Steel Industry, Environment and Planning A 21 (5) pp. 671-673.
- FINCHER, R. (1989) The Social Relations of Localities: Spatial Divisions of Labour and the Local State, Environment and Planning A 21 (5) pp. 674-677.
- FRIEDMAN, A. (1983) Social Relations at Work and the Generation of Inner City Decay, in: J. ANDERSON, S. DUNCAN & R. HUDSON (Eds) Redundant Spaces in Cities and Regions? Studies in Industrial Decline and Social Change (London, Academic Press).
- FUDGE, J. (1991). Labour Law's Little Sister: The Employment Standards Act and the Feminization of Labour. Published by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Ottawa, Canada.
- GIBSON, K (1989) Spatial Divisions of Labour: A Consideration of Their Underlying Dynamics, Environment and Planning A 21 (5) pp. 678-680.
- GIDDENS, A. (1990) The Consequences of Modernity (Stanford, Stanford University Press).
- GIDDENS, A. (1979) Central Problems in Social Theory (Berkeley, University of California Press).
- GILBERT, A. (1988) The New Regional Geography in English and French Speaking Countries, Progress in Human Geography, 12 (2) pp. 208-218.

GINDIN, S. & D. ROBERTSON (1991). Democracy and Productive Capacity: Notes Towards an Alternative Competitiveness. Published by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Ottawa, Canada.

GRAYSON, J.P. (1985) Corporate Strategy & Plant Closures: The SKF Experience. (Toronto, Our Times Publishing, Ltd).

GREEN LEIGH, N. (1995) A Rustbelt Economy's Experience in the Nation's First Services (?) Recession, The Great Lakes Geographer 2 (4) pp.51-66.

GREGSON, N (1986) On Duality and Dualism: The Case of Structuration and Time Geography, Progress in Human Geography, 10 (2) pp. 184-205.

HARDING, S. (1987) Introduction: Is There a Feminist Method?, in: G. BOWLES & R. KLEIN Theories of Women's Studies (London, Routledge).

HARTSOCK, N (1984) Money, Sex and Power. (Boston, Northeastern University Press).

HARVEY, D. (1990) The Condition of Postmodernity (Oxford, Blackwell).

HAUGHTON, G. (1989) Community and Industrial Restructuring: Response to the Recession and Its Aftermath in the Illawarra Region of Australia, Environment and Planning A 21 (2) pp. 233-248.

HENWOOD, F. and S. WYATT (1986) Women's Work, Technological Change and Shifts in the Employment Structure, in: R. MARTIN & B. ROWTHORN (Eds.) The Geography of De-industrialisation (London, MacMillan).

HODGE, D. (1995) Introduction: Should Women Count? The Role of Quantitative Methodology in Feminist Geographic Research, The Professional Geographer 47 (4) pp. 426.

HUGHES, K (1990) Trading Places: Men and Women in Non-Traditional Occupations, Perspectives. Statistics Canada, Summer pp. 58-67.

IMRIE, R. F. (1989) Industrial Restructuring, Labour and Locality: the Case of the British Pottery Industry, Environment and Planning A 21(1) pp. 3-24.

JACKSON, P. and S. SMITH (1984) Introduction, in: P. JACKSON & S. SMITH (Eds.) Exploring Social Geography (London, George Allen and Unwin).

JANELLE, D.G. (1993) Urban Social Behaviour in Time and Space, in: L. BOURNE & D. LEY (Eds.) The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queens University Press).

JENSON, J. (1989) 'Different' But Not 'Exceptional': Canada's Permeable Fordism, Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 26 (1) pp.69-94.

JOHNSON, L. (1994) What is the Future of Feminist Geography?, Gender, Place and Culture 1(1) pp. 103-115.

JOHNSON, L. (1989) Weaving Workplaces: Sex, Race and Ethnicity in the Australian Textile Industry, Environment and Planning A 21 (5) pp. 681-684.

- KIRBY, S. and K. MCKENNA (1989) Experience Research, Social Change - Methods From the Margins (Toronto, Garamond Press).
- KLEIN, R. (1983) How To Do What We Want To Do, in: G. BOWLES & R. KLEIN Theories of Women's Studies (London, Routledge).
- KOBAYASHI A. and S. MACKENZIE (1989) Introduction, in: A. KOBAYASHI & S. MACKENZIE Remaking Human Geography (Boston, Unwin Hyman).
- LAWSON, V. (1995) The Politics of Difference: Examining the Quantitative/Qualitative Dualism in Post Structuralist Feminist Research, The Professional Geographer 47 (4) pp. 449-457.
- LEFEBVRE, H. (1991) The Production of Space D. NICHOLSON-SMITH (Translator) (Oxford, Blackwell).
- LEY, D. (1983) Social Geography of the City. (New York, Harper and Row).
- MACDONALD, M. (1994) Economic Restructuring and Gender in Canada: Feminist Policy Initiatives. Draft paper prepared for the Gender and Macroeconomics Workshop, University of Utah, June 1994.
- MACFARLAND, J. (1993) Combining Economic and Social Policy Through Work and Welfare: The Impact on Women. Paper presented to the Economic Equality Workshop, Ottawa, Nov. 29-30, 1993.
- MACKENZIE, S. (1989) Restructuring the Relations of Work and Life: Women as Environmental Actors, Feminism as Geographic Analysis, in: A. KOBAYASHI & S. MACKENZIE Remaking Human Geography (Boston, Unwin Hyman).
- MACKENZIE, S. (1988) Building Women, Building Cities: Toward Gender Sensitive Theory in the Environmental Disciplines, in: C. ANDREW & B. MILROY (Eds.) Life Spaces: Gender, Household, Employment (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press).
- MACKENZIE, S. and G. ROSE (1983) Industrial Change, the Domestic Economy and Home Life, in: J. ANDERSON, S. DUNCAN & R. HUDSON (Eds.) Redundant Spaces in Cities and Regions? Studies in Industrial Decline and Social Change (London, Academic Press).
- MACKENZIE, S. and M. TRUELOVE (1993) Changing Access to Public and Private Services: Non-Family Childcare, in: L. BOURNE & D. LEY (Eds.) The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queens University Press).
- MAHON, R. (1993) Post-Fordism: Some Issues for Labour, in D. DRACHE & M.S. GERTLER The New Era of Global Competition: State Policy and Market Power (Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queens University Press).
- MARSHALL, K. (1994) Balancing Work and Family Responsibilities, Perspectives Statistics Canada, Spring pp. 26-30.
- MASSEY, D. (1994) Space, Place and Gender (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press).

- MASSEY, D (1989) Reflections on the Debate: Thoughts on Feminism, Marxism and Theory Environment and Planning A 21 (5) pp. 692-697.
- MASSEY, D. (1985) New Directions in Space, in: J. URRY & D. GREGORY (Eds.) Spatial Relations and Spatial Structures (London, MacMillan).
- MASSEY, D. (1984) Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production (London, Methuen).
- MASSEY, D. and R. MEEGAN (1985) Politics and Method - Contrasting Studies in Industrial Geography (London, Methuen).
- MASSEY, D. and R. MEEGAN (1982) The Anatomy of Job Loss - the How, Why and Where of Employment Decline (London, Methuen).
- MASSEY, D. and R. MEEGAN (1979) The Geography of Industrial Reorganization, in: D. DIAMOND & J.B. MCLOUGHLIN (Eds.) Progress and Planning. 10 (Part 3) (New York, Pergamon Press Inc.).
- MATTINGLY, S. and K. FALCONER-AL-HINDI (1995) Should Women Count? A Context for the Debate, The Professional Geographer 47 (4) pp. 427-435.
- MCDOWELL, L. (1992a) Gender Divisions in a post-Fordist Era: New Contradictions or the Same Old Story? in: L. MCDOWELL & R. PRINGLE (Eds.) Defining Women: Social Institutions and Gender Divisions. (Cornwall, Great Britain, T.J. Press Ltd.).
- MCDOWELL, L (1992b) Doing Gender: Feminism, Feminists and Research Methods in Human Geography, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 17 (4) pp. 399-416.
- MCDOWELL, L (1991) Life Without Father and Ford: The New Gender Order of Post-Fordism, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 16, pp. 400-419.
- MCDOWELL, L. (1983) Towards and Understanding of the Gender Division of Urban Space, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 1 pp. 59-72.
- MCKENNA, M. & R. ROBERGE (1995) Restructuring, Regional Specialisation and the Feminisation of the Work Force: The Case of Eastern Ontario. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association of Geographers, The University of Quebec (Montreal Campus) June 4 1995.
- MCLAFFERTY, S. (1995) Counting for Women, The Professional Geographer 47 (4) pp. 436-441.
- MCNIVEN, J.D. (1987) The Efficiency-Equity Tradeoff: The Macdonald Report and Regional Development, in: W. COFFEY and M. POLESE (Eds.) Still Living Together: Recent Trends and Future Directions in Canadian Regional Development (Montreal, Institute for Research on Public Policy).
- MIES, M. (1983) Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research, in: G. BOWLES & R. KLEIN Theories of Women's Studies (London, Routledge).
- MOORE-MILROY, B. and S. WISMER (1994) Communities, Work and Public/Private Sphere Models, Gender, Place and Culture 1(1) pp.71-91.

- MOSS, P. (1995) Embeddedness in Practice, Numbers in Context: The Politics of Knowing and Doing, The Professional Geographer 47 (4) pp.442-448.
- MOSS, P. (1994) Research Design in Feminist Geographic Analysis, The Great Lakes Geographer 1 (1) pp.31-45.
- MURGATROYD, L. and J. URRY (1983) The Restructuring of the Local Economy: the Case of Lancaster, in: J. ANDERSON, S. DUNCAN & R. HUDSON (Eds.) Redundant Spaces in Cities and Regions? Studies in Industrial Decline and Social Change (London, Academic Press).
- PICOT, G. (1992) Workers on the Move: Permanent Layoffs, Perspectives, Statistics Canada, Autumn pp. 18-26.
- MYLES, J. (1993) Post-Industrialism and the Service Economy, in D. DRACHE & M.S. GERTLER The New Era of Global Competition: State Policy and Market Power (Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queens University Press).
- O'NEILL, P. (1989) National Economic Change and the Locality, Environment and Planning A 21 (5) pp. 666-670.
- PICOT, G. (1992) Workers on the Move: Permanent Layoffs (Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 75-001E)
- PLUMMER, K. (1983) Documents of Life: An Introduction to the Problems of Literature of a Humanistic Method (New York, George Allen and Unwin).
- POLESE, M. (1987) Patterns of Regional Economic Development in Canada: Long Term Trends and Issues, in: W. COFFEY and M. POLESE (Eds.) Still Living Together: Recent Trends and Future Directions in Canadian Regional Development (Montreal, Institute for Research on Public Policy).
- PORTER, M. (1991) Canada at the Crossroads: The Reality of a New Competitive Environment. Consulting study submitted to the Honourable Michael Wilson, Minister of Industry, Science and Technology and International Trade Canada, in collaboration with *Monitor Company Canada Limited*.
- PRATT, G. and S. HANSON (1994) Geography and the Construction of Difference, Gender, Place and Culture 1 (1) pp. 5-31.
- PRED, A. (1985) The Social Becomes the Spatial, and the Spatial Becomes the Social: Enclosures, Social Change and the Becoming of Places in Skane, in: D. GREGORY & J. URRY (Eds.) Social Relations and Spatial Structures (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).
- PRED, A. (1984) Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places, Annals of the Association of American Geography 74 (2) pp.279-297.
- RASHID, A. (1991) Women's Earning and Family Incomes, Perspectives, Statistics Canada, Summer pp. 27-36.
- RAY, D. M. (1972) Dimensions of Canadian Regionalism Geographical Paper 49. Policy Research and Coordination Branch, Energy Mines and Resources, Ottawa, Canada.

- ROBERGE, R. and M. MCKENNA (1995) The Restructuring of the Cornwall Economy: A Functional-Spatial Analysis (unpublished draft).
- ROCHELEAU, D. (1995) Maps, Numbers, Text and Context: Mixing Methods in Feminist Political Ecology, The Professional Geographer 47 (4) pp. 458-466.
- ROOS, P. (1985) Gender and Work: A Comparative Analysis of Industrial Societies (Albany, State University Press New York).
- ROSE, G. (1993) Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press).
- ROSE, D. and P. VILLENEUVE (1993) Work, Labour Markets, and Households in Transition, in: L. BOURNE & D. LEY (Eds.) The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queens University Press).
- ROSENTHAL, L. (1991). Unemployment Incidence Following Redundancy: the Value of Longitudinal Approaches, in: S. DEX (Ed.) Life and Work History Analysis: Qualitative and Quantitative Developments (London, Routledge).
- ROWTHORN, B. (1986) De-Industrialisation in Britain, in: R. MARTIN & B. ROWTHORN (Eds.) The Geography of De-industrialisation (London, MacMillan).
- SAUNDERS, P. (1989) Space, Urbanism and the Created Environment, in: J. THOMPSON & D. HELD (Eds.) Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and His Critics (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).
- SAVOIE, D.J. and J. CHENIER (1987) The State and Development: The Politics of Regional Development Policy, in: W. COFFEY and M. POLESE (Eds.) Still Living Together: Recent Trends and Future Directions in Canadian Regional Development (Montreal, Institute for Research on Public Policy).
- SHRYBMAN, S. (1991) Paying the Price: How Free Trade is Hurting the Environment, Regional Development and Canadian & American Workers (Ottawa, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives).
- SKRYPNEK, B. and J. FAST (1993) Trends in Canadian Women's Labour Force Behaviour: Implications for Government and Corporate Policy. Draft paper Department of Human Ecology, University of Alberta.
- SMITH, D. (1987) The Everyday World as a Problematic: A Feminist Sociology (Boston, Northeastern University Press).
- SOJA, E. (1989) Spatializations: A Critique of the Giddensian Version, in E. SOJA Post Modern Geographies (London, Verso).
- SOJA, E. (1985) The Spatiality of Social Life: Towards a Transformative Retheorisation, in: D. GREGORY & J. URRY (Eds.) Social Relations and Spatial Structures (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).
- STAEHELI, L. and V. LAWSON (1995) Feminism, Praxis, and Human Geography, Geographical Analysis 27 (4) pp.321-338.
- STANFORD, J. (1991) Cheap Labour as An Unfair Subsidy in North American Free Trade (Ottawa, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives).

STATISTICS CANADA (1994) Census Communications Project, E-Stat CD Rom, Census Profile 2B 1991 & 1986 (Ottawa, Statistics Canada).

STATISTICS CANADA (1994) Women in the Labour Force: 1994 Edition Cat. No. 75-507E (Ottawa, Statistics Canada).

STATISTICS CANADA (1994) Census Profiles 2B CD Rom 1991 & 1986 (Ottawa, Statistics Canada).

STATISTICS CANADA (1993) Historical Labour Force Statistics (Ottawa, Statistics Canada).

STATISTICS CANADA (1992) 1991 Census Dictionary Cat. No. 92-301E (Ottawa, Statistics Canada 1991 Census of Canada).

STATISTICS CANADA (1992) Occupation According to the 1991 Standard Occupational Classification Cat. No. 92-344E (Ottawa, Statistics Canada 1991 Census of Canada).

STATISTICS CANADA (1991) 1991 Census of Canada - Ontario Census Divisions and Subdivisions, Part B Cat. No. 995-338 (Ottawa, Statistics Canada 1991 Census of Canada).

STATISTICS CANADA (1986) 1986 Census of Canada - Ontario Census Divisions and Subdivisions, Part B Cat. No. 94-112 (Ottawa, Statistics Canada 1986)

STATISTICS CANADA (1982) 1981 Census Dictionary Cat. No. 99-901 (Ottawa, Statistics Canada 1981 Census of Canada).

STATISTICS CANADA (1981) 1981 Census of Canada - Ontario Census Divisions and Subdivisions, Part B Cat. No. 93-x-942, E-576 (Ottawa, Statistics Canada 1981 Census of Canada)

STORPER M. and A.J. SCOTT (1989) The Geographical Foundations and Social Regulation of Flexible Production Complexes, in J.R. WOLCH and M.J. DEAR (Eds.) The Power of Geography (London, Unwin Hyman).

STORPER, M. and R. WALKER (1989) The Capitalist Imperative (Oxford, Basil Blackwell).

SWIFT, J. (1995) Workplace Flexibility, Briarpatch 24 (8) pp.13-22.

TAYLOR, C. (1985) Philosophy and the Human Sciences: Philosophical Papers (2) (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press)

VILLENEUVE, P. and D. ROSE (1985) Technological Change and the Spatial Division of Labour by Gender. Paper presented at a *Meeting of the Commission on Industrial Change*, International Geographical Union, Nijmegen, The Netherlands, August 19-24, 1985.

VOSKO, L. F. (1993) The Last Thread: An Analysis of the Apparel Goods Provisions in the NAFTA and the Impact on Women (Ottawa, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives).

WALBY, S. (1991) Labour Markets and Industrial Structures in Working Women's Lives, in: S. DEX (Ed.) Life and Work History Analysis: Qualitative and Quantitative Developments (London, Routledge).

WALBY, S. (1988) Gender Segregation at Work (Milton Keynes, Open University Press).

WALKER, J (1989) Production of Exchange Values in the Home, Environment and Planning A 21 (5) pp. 685-688.

WARD SCHOFIELD, J. (1993) Increasing the Generalizability of Qualitative Research, in: M. HAMMERSLEY (Ed.) Social Research: Philosophy, Politics and Practice (London, Sage Publications).

WEBBER, M. (1989) Profits, Capital Flows and the Spatial Division of Labour, Environment and Planning A 21 (5) pp. 689-691.

WOMEN and the GEOGRAPHY STUDY GROUP of the IBF (1984) Geography and Gender: An Introduction to Feminist Geography (London, Hutchinson).

YOUNG, K. and L. MILLS (1983) Managing the Post-Industrial City (London, Heinemann Educational Books).