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CED
IN THE NEW ECONOMY

CED and the New Economy: Women

We are pleased to acknowledge the generous financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, grant #538-2002-1003, via the Manitoba Research Alliance on Community Economic Development in the New Economy, a consortium led by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives – Manitoba.

ISBN #0-88627-496-6

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CED AND THE NEW ECONOMY: WOMEN*

The Manitoba Research Alliance on Community Economic Development in the New Economy (referred to throughout this document as the Research Alliance or the MRA) is a three-year research project to examine how communities might overcome obstacles and share in the benefits created by the New Economy. We identified Community Economic Development (CED), a development strategy that emphasizes local self-sufficiency, local decision making and local ownership, as a strategic response to assist communities in taking up the opportunities and meeting the challenges created by the transition to a New Economy.

The Research Alliance brings together academic researchers from the universities of Manitoba, Winnipeg and Brandon; senior government policy makers; and practitioners active in Manitoba's dynamic CED community (and elsewhere). The lead organization is the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives–Manitoba, a community-based research institute uniquely positioned to make such community-university connections. The team's Principal Investigator is Dr. John Loxley, Professor of Economics at the University of Manitoba. The Research Alliance was launched in late 2002, and it funded and oversaw over 40 individual research projects chosen to help meet the larger project's overall goals. This research was conducted by academics, students and community researchers, in many cases working in teams. These projects have been successful, not only in their particular research findings, but also in providing opportunities for students and community researchers to receive practical research training. And they have bridged the gaps between academic disciplines, and between the university and the larger community. While focussing primarily on Manitoba, the composition of the Alliance enables it to draw on experiences from across Canada and beyond.

This publication is one of ten summary publications prepared by the Research Alliance. These publications, which we have come to call "kits," describe the results of our research, and the kits are organized by audience or by theme. It should be emphasized that we are not — nor could we be — comprehensive in addressing these themes. Rather, we have identified a wide range of research results based on the specific research projects that we undertook. The themes and audiences for the kits arose out of the research, as we think these themes are the most effective way to organize the results.

The complete list of kits is as follows:

1. The impacts of the New Economy

* We are pleased to acknowledge the generous financial support of the Initiative on the New Economy of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council; via the Manitoba Research Alliance on Community Economic Development in the New Economy. For further information please see: http://www.manitobaresearchallianceced.ca.

2. The potential of Community Economic Development
3. Government policy regarding Community Economic Development and the New Economy
4. The role of gender in Community Economic Development and the New Economy
5. Aboriginal issues in Community Economic Development and the New Economy
6. Business issues in Community Economic Development and the New Economy
7. Education issues in Community Economic Development and the New Economy (aimed at educators)
8. Urban issues in Community Economic Development and the New Economy
9. Rural issues in Community Economic Development and the New Economy
10. Northern issues in Community Economic Development and the New Economy

These kits, along with the rest of the publications prepared by or for the Research Alliance, can be downloaded for free from www.manitobaresearchallianceced.ca. Much of the research has also been published by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives – Manitoba (www.policyalternatives.ca/mb).

A note on sources

This particular publication is informed by all the research carried out, but in particular the information here has been drawn from the following individual projects:

"Is CED an Alternative to the New Economy? Debates and Theoretical Issues," by Heather Graydon

"Community Economic Development: Improving the Lives and Livelihoods of Women Through Social Transforming Practice," by Sarah Amyot

"Government Policy Toward Community Economic Development in Manitoba," by Lynne Fernandez

The New Economy? Continuity and Change in Gardenton, by Susan Heald

In a Voice of Their Own: Urban Aboriginal Community Development, by Jim Silver, Parvin Ghorayshi, Joan Hay, and Darlene Klyne

The Winnipeg Garment Industry: Industry Development and Employment, edited by Ray Wiest

Young Women Work: Community Economic Development to Reduce Women's Poverty and Improve Income, by Molly McCracken, Kate Dykman, Francine Parent, and Ivy Lopez

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CED AND THE NEW ECONOMY: WOMEN

What Is the New Economy?[1]

In recent years, a New Economy has emerged, one in which information and knowledge play a central role. The emergence of the New Economy has been credited with generating robust economic growth, new and challenging employment opportunities, new wealth-creation possibilities, and the promise of greatly enhancing the productivity, and, hence, incomes, of people in the rest of the economy. Information technology also offers new opportunities for leisure, education, lifestyle and access to government services.

Some researchers have been quick to caution that the extent and "newness" of the New Economy should not be overstated. Historically, all capitalist economies have experienced cycles of upturn and recession, with the upturns often the result of technological innovations. Information technology is, no doubt, a major innovation, but the fundamental elements of the economy remain in place. Evidence suggests that the only sectors that have experienced extraordinary economic growth in the New Economy are the computer information technology-based sectors.[2] And since many businesses have already bought and incorporated the new technology, growth in these sectors will level off.[3]

Not surprisingly, given that there is not even general agreement about whether and to what degree a "New Economy" actually exists, there is no foolproof, touchstone definition for the term. However, a number of authors see it as being underpinned by three major structural changes: a rise in general education levels; the development and availability of new information technology; and the increase in "invisible" trade in services, mergers and acquisitions, and the flow of information. This definition was adopted by the Manitoba Research Alliance as a starting point, and was used by many of the researchers on our team.

Women in the New Economy

As Ghorayshi notes, the prognosis for the world's workforce, in the context of the new economy, is "neither all bad nor all good…. Thus, the answer to the question, 'What does this new world of work mean for women?' depends on where women are located on the job market ladder, and on which theoretical perspective we adopt to explain women's experience of work."[4]

> "The work experiences of women in Canada are diverse, and determined largely by their race and class positions"

On Ghorayshi's first point, it is important to remember that the work experiences of women in Canada are diverse, and determined largely by their race and their class positions. For example, immigrant women tend to have more education than their Canadian counterparts, yet they face both ethnic and gender discrimination and, thus, are assigned to lower level occupations and earn lower wages. Women of colour are much less likely than other women with degrees to be employed in professional or managerial positions.

On the second point, the theoretical perspective adopted by feminist scholars and writers has shed light on the many ways in which women's unpaid work is ignored and/or undervalued; the sexual division of labour has been such that women are segregated into a limited range of low-level paid jobs while also remaining responsible for domestic chores. This reality has long been justified on the basis of women's "natural" abilities, physiques, maternal instincts, etc. Feminists question and challenge such justifications, and use the term "gender" when discussing the socially constructed differences between men and women. In is also important to note that most economic theories continue to be market-based and exclude many types of work done by women, in particular, unpaid labour.

There is also evidence that the benefits of New Economy growth have not been distributed evenly, and New Economy may even have hurt the most vulnerable, creating permanent job insecurity. A "dual-segmented" labour force intensifies the split between high-paying, flexible jobs and deskilled, low-wage, non-unionized, service-sector jobs.[5] Such a phenomenon will have a particularly strong effect on women. Since the late 1970s, seven out of ten part-time workers have been women. Currently, 40% of employed women, compared with 27% of employed men, work in non-standard jobs such as those on a part-time, temporary, part-year, self-employed or contract basis.[6]

The strongest indicator of the effects of these realities is the persistent feminine face of poverty, demonstrated in the chronic wage gap. In Canada, women's earnings are 73% of men's. Women are over represented among low-wage workers. In Manitoba, 36.5% of women earned low wages in 2002, compared with 25.8% of men. The trend continues among young workers: eight out of ten young women (age 15–24) workers earned low wages, compared to seven out of ten employed men of the same age range.

Aboriginal women face particularly high rates of poverty in Canada: nearly half of Aboriginal women aged 15–24 live in poverty.

Why do Women Earn Lower Incomes?[7]

There are many reasons for women's lower earnings compared to men, including tenure in the labour force, occupational segregation, unionization and discrimination. Statistics Canada has found that 18% of the wage gap is explained by the fact that women generally have less work experience than their male counterparts, supervise other employees less often and are less frequently involved in administrative decisions. Roughly 7% of the pay gap is explained by the fact that women

are more likely to work part-time than men. Other factors include differences in job tenure and the fact that men are more likely to graduate from programs leading to high-paying jobs, such as engineering. When controls for occupation and employment industry are added, about 20% of the pay gap is explained by differences in occupation and industry.

The presence of children is also a factor. Women who postponed having children after age 28 earned at least 6% more in 1998 than women who had their children earlier. This is because wage growth and promotion opportunities occur early in on women's careers. Statistically, typical low-paid workers are young and female, with an education of high school completion or less. They work part-time in service occupations. Their workplaces are small and non-unionized, and they live in the Atlantic provinces, Saskatchewan or Manitoba.

Unions give a tremendous wage advantage to women. Women in unions earned an average $6.29 per hour more than those who were not part of a union. This difference reflects factors other than union membership alone; union members are more likely to be older and more experienced, work in public services or large firms, and be highly trained. Belonging to a union brings further advantages such as health benefits and paid leave. For instance, unionized childcare workers (predominately female) earn $5.31 per hour more than non-unionized childcare workers.

These studies show how any attempts to reduce the wage gap and help employed young women improve their incomes must address these issues on a number of fronts.

There is also evidence that jobs within the same industry are divided along gender lines, with the result that women end up in lower skilled, lower paying jobs. For example, in Winnipeg's garment industry, the labour force is graded, with sewing positions largely occupied by women. These are also the jobs most vulnerable to changes in the industry's labour market. During the 1990s, the garment industry prospered in Manitoba. Much of that profitability can be attributed to increased mechanization and deskilling, both of which reduce labour costs. There has also been an industry-wide shift from increasing manufacturing efficiency to moving manufacturing offshore to take advantage of cheap labour in less developed countries. Therefore, the domestic focus on technology has changed from increased mechanization to increased communication between offshore contractors and domestic producers, in addition to faster and more accurate design and pattern making. Thus, the labour market in the Winnipeg garment industry is changing; as the requirements for skilled sewers decreases, the demand for skilled marketing, sourcing and design staff is expected to increase. Overall, the movement of production facilities overseas has meant the loss of approximately 2000 jobs in the Winnipeg garment industry in the last ten years, and these are the jobs primarily held by women. This trend is expected to continue.

"Many jobs within the same industry are divided along gender lines"

What Is Community Economic Development?[8]

The last several decades have witnessed the evolution of a renewed, multifaceted and comprehensive development ideology that is referred to as Community Economic Development (CED). CED seeks either to bring impoverished communities into the mainstream economy or to develop alternative economic institutions or systems that work for them. CED is a strategic attempt to increase individual, family and community wealth and self-determination through a blend of social and economic factors, ultimately creating a better community.[9]

> "The Neechi Principles have been widely adopted as a benchmark in Winnipeg's large and active CED community"

CED has been subject to an eclectic range of definitions. To some, CED covers any economic development initiative, be it private, public or community driven, taking place within some definition of 'community', usually a geographic one. According to this view, there is no necessary inconsistency between orthodox economics and CED. In view of the more demanding definitions of CED now coming to dominate the literature, more radical departures from the orthodoxy seem necessary.[10] These define CED as a social process in terms of decision making; they replace the individual 'consumer' with the collective community; they see the meeting of collective 'needs' taking precedence over the satisfaction of individual consumer 'demands'; they take a long view of economic activities as opposed to that of short-term profit maximization; and they see economic decisions as being inextricably linked to social, environmental, political and cultural considerations.

Within this more demanding view of CED, there are two schools of thought. The first, associated with a more radical, communal, tradition, sees CED as a form of social organization alternative to capitalism. The second has a more limited vision, seeing CED as a desirable and workable approach to dealing with particular problems facing communities. These problems are a direct outcome of the way in which capitalism differentially and unevenly affects certain communities, and CED is seen as a way to help fix them. Adherents to the first school are often found working alongside those of the latter.

The most complete set of CED principles are those underlying the Neechi model of CED. Neechi Foods Co-op Ltd. is an Aboriginal worker-owned cooperative retail store in inner-city Winnipeg. The idea of this approach is to build a strong, inward-looking, self-reliant economy, which is based on goods and services consumed by people who live or work in the community. In theoretical terms it is a "convergence" strategy of economic development.[11] It favours cooperative ownership, small-scale production and popular control over economic decision making. It is a holistic approach, in which the safety, health and self-respect of residents are of paramount importance.[12] The principles on which it operates are as follows: production of goods and services for local use; use of local goods and services; local re-investment of locally generated profits; long-term employment of local residents; local skill development; local decision making; improved public health; improved physical environment; neighbourhood stability; human dignity and solidarity among communities and businesses following these principles.

Notwithstanding the ongoing debates about how to define CED, the Neechi Principles have been widely adopted as a benchmark in Winnipeg's large and active CED community, and as a theo-

retical starting point by the MRA and most of the individual researchers working on projects under the MRA. Several researchers attempted to refine or restate a definition of CED, but all these redefinitions remained broadly consistent with the Neechi Principles. For example, Friesen and Hudson extracted components from a number of works to define CED as "placing the community at the centre of economic development—such that the community is both the beneficiary and the prime mover. By matching local resources with local needs, community members are able to realize their higher-order non-economic needs, as well as their basic material needs."[13] Fernandez adopts a definition prepared by the BC Working Group on CED, which takes CED to be "a community-based and community-directed process that explicitly combines social and economic development and is directed towards fostering the economic, social, ecological and cultural well-being of communities."[14]

The State of Community Economic Development in Manitoba

Many commentators have noted that Winnipeg is rapidly becoming a focal point in Canada for CED. In an address to the CED Gathering held in Winnipeg in 2003 on the theme of "Maintaining Momentum," Loxley listed reasons for this: CED in Winnipeg is guided by a clear set of principles (the Neechi Principles); CED activists in Winnipeg have demonstrated a willingness to engage nationally in promoting the philosophy and practice of CED; there is a strong institutional base for CED in Winnipeg, with the Community Education Development Agency, Assiniboine Credit Union and SEED Winnipeg, among many other institutions; government support for CED has improved markedly since 1999; charitable foundations have become more active in supporting CED; there is a supportive academic environment for CED.

Women and CED[15]

In a report prepared for the MRA, Amyot conducted interviews with women representing CED organizations. (Not all the organizations were explicitly CED organizations for women; some were women's organizations whose work included some economic development components.) The interviewees expressed a wide range of understandings of the meaning of CED. All the women interviewed said that their work has been influenced heavily by the availability of funding. The problems associated with short-term project funding have been well documented in the literature on the non-profit sector and in the research conducted by the MRA. The women interviewed by Amyot describe how limited funding constrains their organizations' work, how applying for short-term funding takes up a good deal of staff time and how these pressures can actually affect the way an organization operates.

> "The philosophy and practices of the women's movement parallel those found in CED, and may even have preceded them"

In many ways, CED and women are a natural fit. Not only are women overrepresented in poverty statistics, and therefore stand to benefit greatly from CED, but the philosophy and practices of the women's movement — including such concepts as "social accounting," "community control" and "valuing the informal economy" — parallel those found in CED, and may even have preceded them.[16] Indeed, it is sometimes assumed that CED is inherently feminist, because of its focus on empowerment and participation.

The literature on women's CED contains a number of definitions, across which there is a

good deal of overlap. For example, Donald and Kemp's research highlights four main features in women's CED initiatives: 1) the redefinition of productivity; 2) establishment of a multiple bottom line; 3) development of collective resources; and 4) guarantee of inclusivity.[17] Along the sames lines, Kuyek described CED as a "departure" from the current economic system, one that values the informal economy.[18] Conn argues that there are four aspects to a "feminist perspective on CED": women's role in the economy; social accounting; women's participation in the economic planning process; and the potential for long-term change.[19] Four of the points raised by these authors are described in more detail below.

"In practice, women are often excluded from community committees"

Productivity

Many CED projects that include women have acknowledged the importance of the many productive activities women perform at home, such as child rearing and geriatric care. Some commentators note that the conventional definition of productivity as "the profit created by labour through the efficient production of goods and services" excludes all the non-market work performed by women that is essential to society.[20] Without childbearing, childcare, elder-care and household management, the formal economy would not function. Women's CED expands the definition of productivity to include women's unpaid work. It should be noted that childcare is of prime importance for women who also work outside the home.

Multiple Bottom Line and Collective Resources

A feminist perspective on CED puts more emphasis on social vs. commercial accounting, thereby ensuring that the true purpose of development is not lost in a flurry of statistics and equations.[21] Social accounting considers the real costs of pollution, crime, family violence, economic instability, occupational disease and community dislocation. The social and financial costs for contamination clean-up, crime prevention, health-care provision and family-support services are borne by the community, not the corporation that brings the jobs. Since women are more likely to live in poverty, they rely on the social safety net more than men do. CED does not replace the need for such programs as social assistance, employment insurance, childcare and social housing—rather, it begins where they end.

Inclusiveness

Given that community participation is central to our definition of CED, and that women are part of any community, one may logically expect women to participate in most CED projects. Yet, in practice, women are often excluded from community committees. Exclusion of women from CED planning should not seem strange, given that women have often been excluded from participating in conventional economic development as well.

Women's Participation in the Economic Planning Process

Feminist CED seeks to improve the participation of women in economic planning processes. However, this participation cannot be measured only in numbers of women who participate (although numbers are important too). Feminist CED looks at the ways in which people are able to, or are restricted from, participating in meaningful ways in planning processes. Thus, a feminist model of CED seeks to examine the gender power dynamics that have traditionally limited women's

participation in economic development planning. The attention to the meaningful participation of women in the economic development process is demonstrated in a number of ways, ranging from micro-level strategies aimed at improving women's participation in meetings to broader initiatives such as economic literacy campaigns that attempt to provide women with the tools to participate in the planning process. The commitment to meaningful participation means that feminist CED initiatives may rely on ways of organizing, such as in collectives, that require patience and the commitment to the uneven development of projects as all members struggle to get on the same page.

Women in Rural Communities

Gardenton is a very small (estimated population just under 200) community in rural Manitoba. It has seen all its businesses, including the post office, close since the railway went out of use in the 1960s and the track was officially decommissioned in 1977. Gardenton was the subject of a detailed case study by the MRA (Heald), in which every household in the community was asked

"For the most part, the typical rural Manitoba community has remained at the margins of the changes wrought by the New Economy"

to complete a survey (approximately two-thirds agreed to participate); the surveys were followed by 20 personal interviews. The purpose was to discover and describe the ways in which one particular community is affected by, and responds to, recent economic changes, including those associated with the New Economy. The author of this study concluded that, while "regional, national, and international economic changes…had clear and indelible effects on what it is possible to do and be in Gardenton, there are also continuities which have a great impact on people's lives." Specifically, while Gardenton has experienced some changes in the occupations of its residents as a result of New Economy developments, a more fundamental reality is this: Gardenton was economically marginalized before the advent of the New Economy, and it remains so today. For the most part, this typical rural Manitoba community has remained at the margins of the changes wrought by the New Economy, changes which

have done little to mitigate the community's relative economic vulnerability.

The author describes the answers to interview questions about gender relations as "disappointing." Most respondents thought that men and women treated each other respectfully and that work was divided equally, if differently. The few suggestions that there might be problems in this area were veiled, and, when pressed, respondents would not give explanations. There were some suggestions that women carry more of the work in the community (meaning the organization, maintenance and fundraising for Gardenton Park, Ukrainian Museum, Ukrainian Festival, Ukrainian National Home, the cemeteries and the historic St. Michael's church).

"Rare is the farm family today where the farm is the only income, and where women take care of the household duties while the man minds the farm"

The lack of willingness to discuss gender relations critically, or even in detail, may have been because of the presence of a video camera. Respondents may also have been reproducing the rural idyll discourse—people also were unwilling to talk in the interviews about the downsides of living in small, impoverished and isolated communities.

Rare is the farm family today where the farm is the only income, and where women take care of the household duties while the man minds the farm. In some cases, it is a woman's paid employment that makes farming, in an era of negative farm incomes, possible. Still, it would be wrong to assume that "new gender identities" have been created in Gardenton or that, to the extent that they have, this is necessarily positive. Although there was little talk in the interviews or focus groups about gender differences, some residents will acknowledge—and the researchers of this study agree—that relations between men and women are not always respectful or equitable. Some women do experience quite painfully the lack of information about, or accessibility to, alternatives to staying in difficult or abusive relationships. There is a strong cultural disapproval of separation or divorce; extramarital affairs are common, though nominally equally disapproved of, and something many women feel they have to tolerate. Economic marginality plays a role here too, as people in households that are struggling with two incomes find it hard to imagine getting by with one. The continued image of farming as too difficult for a woman—in spite of the fact that most women in farm households in Gardenton do an extensive amount of hard physical labour—may also be a factor in keeping marital relationships together.

Little and Austin; Panelli, Little, and Karrck; Bell and Valentine; and the contributors to Cloke and Little's Contested Countryside Cultures have all raised questions about the safety, comfort and closeness portrayed in the rural idyll, and about the very possibility of inclusion for women, racialized minorities, lesbians and gay men and 'others.' This is important work for the understanding of rural communities, and it sounds an important note of caution in listening to the almost universally positive portrayals of Gardenton captured in the interviews and the video. At the same time, it is important not to reproduce the kind of assumption of superiority of all things urban, new and mobile that seems so often to mark government policy towards rural communities (and see Pritchard).

Aboriginal Women and CED

The many severe challenges facing Aboriginal communities in Manitoba must be seen within the context of Canada's colonial past, the effects of which carry on into the present day. Many of the reports conducted for the MRA used interviews and focus group meetings with Aboriginal people. One theme that was ever-present in these exercises was that of the enormous damage caused by the process of colonialism, and the often crippling psychological and emotional pain that many Aboriginal people carry with them as a result. A report prepared by Ghorayshi et al. examined precisely this issue.* The authors draw upon the experiences of 26 Aboriginal people who have been and are active in various forms of community development in Winnipeg's inner city. The study shows how Aboriginal people have been constructed as the 'other' in Canadian society. Over and over, the 26 Aboriginal interviewees referred to the process of colonization as being at the root of Aboriginal people's problems. In many cases, their personal testimonies were painful and moving. An understanding of colonization and its impacts is the starting point for Aboriginal people's interpretation of the often harsh urban world in which they now live.

It is important to note that the 26 people interviewed were chosen because they are also skilled community development practitioners. They have all reflected deeply on their experiences, and have developed a uniquely Aboriginal and very sophisticated approach to inner-city community development. Many of the people interviewed emphasized that it is Aboriginal women who are, for the most part, the leaders in conceptualizing and putting into practice a distinctly Aboriginal form of community development. One man interviewed said:

> Over the years I have found...a lot of women have been involved in all these projects, more women than men have been involved in all these projects...women in my experience, they've been the drivers of the child welfare initiative in the last few years. It's because of women the Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre was born—women have been a central part of community development in my experience.

"The many severe challenges facing Aboriginal communities in Manitoba must be seen within the context of Canada's colonial past"

The interviewees described ways in which they overcame barriers and became personally empowered. Several life paths emerged as particularly important. For women, a key one of these was parenting as a source of empowerment. For example, several women became involved with their children's school; getting involved in issues that directly affect them and matter to them—for many, the issue was their children. This led them to find their real abilities, which were buried beneath the layers of racism, sexism and internalized shame that are the product of colonization. Parenting is not the only source of empowerment; there are also such sources as education and involvement in the community.

* This paper is both an exceptionally rich source of information, and very difficult to summarize. Readers who are interested in hearing the voices and experiences of the 26 Aboriginal community leaders are encouraged to read the entire report.

CED and Young Women[22]

McCracken did a report for the MRA based on interviews with young women to guage how they might participate in CED projects. The majority of the young women she interviewed were Aboriginal. Wherever possible and appropriate, such programming should include:

- Aboriginal cultural teachings led by members of the Aboriginal community
- Provision of basic needs such as childcare, transportation, and nutritious food
- No cost to participants
- Economic literacy and career guidance
- Mentorship/role modelling

A list of potential programs that might be used to link young women with CED is below.

Young Women's Computer Club: Build a computer lab in a family centre or local community-based organization. Create a training program, that teaches basic computer skills and marketable job skills for young women at no cost.

Young Women's Web Site and Graphic Design Worker's Cooperative: As a next step to the Computer Club, create a social enterprise—a worker-owned cooperative with interested young women. Local organizations could contract with this cooperative for the design and maintenance of Web sites and graphic design work.

Young Women's Home Construction Training and Building: Train young women on the job in home construction using an all-woman crew so as to be non-intimidating for women. This could start with one house in the inner city as a pilot, and could piggyback on existing CED housing-renewal initiatives.

Worker-Owned Childcare Coop: Provide loans for young women with low incomes to be trained as Early Childhood Educators. Loans are forgivable if young women start a worker-owned Childcare Coop in the inner-city and are working members for two years. Proper supports and infrastructure would have to be provided to train worker members, help them to set up the centre and get capital for building. Additionally, continuous work would have to take place to advocate for higher wages for childcare workers.

Notes

1 This section draws most heavily on Graydon and Duboff.

2 Bobe, 2002; Tabb, 2001, cited in Graydon, p. 16.

3 Delong, 2002; Tabb, 2001, cited in Graydon, p. 17.

4 Ghorayshi, 2002, p. 124.

5 Hudson, 2001; Yates, 2001, cited in Graydon p. 16.

6 Townson, 2004. Cited in McCracken, p. 4.

7 This section is based on McCracken, pp. 6–7.

8 This section draws most on Loxley and Lamb, Friesen and Hudson, and Fernandez.

9 Reimer, p. 87.

10 See, for instance, Canadian CED Network, 2004; Loxley, 1986.

11 Thomas, 1974, cited in Loxley and Lamb, p. 2.

12 Loxley, 2002, cited in Loxley and Lamb, p. 2.

13 P. 4.

14 P. 1.

15 This section is based primarily on Fernandez, McCracken, and Amyot.

16 Conn, CED in Canada from a Women's Perspective, p. 1, cited in Fernandez, p. 46.

17 Cited in McCracken.

18 Cited in Amyot, p. 17.

19 Cited in Amyot, p. 18.

20 Alderson, Conn, Donald and Kemp.

21 Conn, CED in Canada from a Women's Perspective, p. 3, cited in Fernandez, p. 46.

22 This section is based on McCracken et al.

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