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TOWARDS A GEOGRAPHY OF MOTHERHOOD:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF SAFE SPACES
FOR CHILDREN

by
Isabel J. Dyck
B.A. (Econ) Hons., University of Manchester, 1973
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THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in the Department
of
Geography

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
March, 1988

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Towards a Geography of Motherhood: An Analysis of
the Constitution of Safe Spaces for Children

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ABSTRACT

Premised on the notion that the inclusion of gender into geographical research is necessary for a fuller understanding of society-space relationships, this thesis is framed within the problem of the relationship between space and the constitution of gender identity. In order to focus this broad issue, the study specifically investigates how space is implicated in the interpretation and organization of mothering practices of women with young children living in a suburban area of Greater Vancouver. Recognizing recent developments in human geography which emphasize active human agency in social and spatial structuring, insights from feminist geography and structuration theory are drawn upon to provide the theoretical perspective of the study. The assumptions underlying this approach suggest that human action is both space shaping and space contingent and that the study of the daily routines making up social life must be contextualized within particular localities.

The use of qualitative methods of data collection and analysis are consistent with a locality based study within this theoretical perspective. The data were analysed and presented around the theme of home and neighbourhood as central constituents of the women’s identities as mothers. In the course of establishing safe spaces for their children, the women are extending the domestic workplace, but also are renegotiating understandings of appropriate mothering practices and where these should take place. Although the women’s lives are structured by a complexity of social and economic relations, their actions and interpretations of motherhood in turn are actively modifying the conditions they experience in this particular locality. The thesis has endeavoured to address some of the theoretical issues pertinent to feminism in geography and to human geography as a whole which ultimately are concerned with connecting the problems of human everyday experience with the wider structuring of its geographical context.
To my mother: Jeannie P. Lowe
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I am firstly indebted to the women of this study without whom this thesis would not have been written. They gave generously of their time and themselves and, through their interest and belief in the study unwittingly provided me with constant encouragement throughout the writing up period.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. Background to the Study

The investigation of women's concerns and position in society has attracted considerable attention throughout the social sciences, including geography, as their activities signal profound social change. Particular interest has been shown in the social consequences of a wage labour force which has a growing proportion of women workers. As women have entered the labour force in increasing numbers, changes have also occurred in household organization and family form. Many of these new members of the labour force are also mothers of young children and today's typical Canadian family no longer can be described as one consisting of a male breadwinner, with a wife at home looking after the children. Statistics show a steady increase of both dual-earner families and single-parent families. By 1984 over fifty percent of Canadian women with children were working outside the home, even when their children were very young. In total, fifty-nine percent of women with children under the age of sixteen were participants in the labour force (Cooke, 1986). Statistical information suggest that such trends are likely to continue.

The facts and figures of these changes, together with the influence of concerns over the issue of women's equality, have provided an impetus for a surge of research interest in women, which has emerged in the political arena around the issue of childcare provision as one means of accommodating changes in women's activities. Indeed, considerable media attention and academic interest has focused on the relations between women's wage employment and daycare. Yet there is little research on childrearing practices outside this focus, and even less that takes account of the spatial dimensions of women's lives as
they experience this social change, whether these are women who are actively involved in creating this change through their own participation in the labour force, or those who experience their lives primarily outside this work context. How, indeed, do women cope with the varied demands of childrearing today, when it can no longer be assumed that a mother will spend most of her time in her home?

As historians have shown (Daunton, 1983; Hayden, 1984; Houghton, 1957; Rothman, 1978; Scott and Tilly, 1980), the old adage of 'a woman's place is in the home' has been strongly linked to ideas of motherhood, but the accumulated effects of economic and social changes over the last few decades present a quite different context for mothering to women today from that encountered by their grandmothers, or even mothers. In particular, the increased participation of women in the labour force not only raises questions of the validity of traditional views about women's activities, but also poses a paradox for many women who are faced with a social contradiction in beliefs which simultaneously emphasize the importance of women caring for their young children at home, yet ascribe social status through success in the non-domestic world of work (Anyon, 1983). These beliefs frame women's experiences through their realization in the structuring of women's working conditions, both in unpaid domestic labour and paid employment.

'Motherhood' is a concept implying a relationship between mother and child, but this relationship has had different meanings at different times (Dally, 1982). Currently the importance of mothers for their child's development is emphasized by 'experts.' Thus, as Dally claims, whereas motherhood is idealized, mothers also tend to be blamed when their children 'go wrong,' which often happens in our complex society. Yet the conditions under which women carry out
mothering work do not reflect the central importance placed on the mother-child relationship.

A high proportion of women do become mothers (Gee, 1986), but, in general, are given little formal institutional support for their mothering occupation. Dally (1982:9) states that during the twentieth century, "the majority of women have had, increasingly, to bring up their children alone." This social segregation is compounded by the spatial segregation of domestic work within the single-family dwelling (McDowell, 1983). Furthermore, domestic activity does not enjoy high prestige (Hirschon, 1985).

It is through participation in paid employment that many women derive interest and feelings of worth, in addition to economic benefits. This is in spite of the characteristic nature of women's participation in the wage workplace which leaves them largely a marginal and 'vulnerable' workforce, often engaging in low-skilled and low-paid labour (Cairncross, 1986). Although benefits do accrue from paid employment, prevalent beliefs about mothering continue to emphasize women's primary place in the home, as evidenced by political debate over the 'who' and 'where' of childcare.²

As women respond to the contradictions of the social conditions in which they raise their children, they may experience practical and moral dilemmas. Considerable stress, for example, can arise from both adherence to and variance from the cultural norm of the two parent family with wife at home. The particular difficulty of the female single parent, as the sole breadwinner of her household, who frequently needs low cost daycare is one instance (Klodawsky, Spector and Rose, 1985). At the other end of the spectrum is the housebound mother, socially and physically isolated. Such women are more likely to take tranquilizers than any other social group and increasingly enter hospital
emergency departments following suicidal gesture (Dally, 1982; Doyal and Elston, 1986).

The majority of women, in fact, fall between the extremes of these cases. Most young children still live in two-parent families, whether of a first or subsequent marriage, but about half will have mothers working outside the home. Although empirical research is beginning to build up a picture of women's changing activities, especially of those who do engage in wage labour, we need to have a more complete picture of the variety in women's lives to add to our understandings of the implications of social and economic change for women's experiences and their status in society. A particular area of neglect is that of the social meaning which these activities have for women in the totality of their lives. Literature on 'mothering' has tended to focus on the child, rather than the experiences of the mother, and there is very little research on what mothering actually consists of or how ideas about motherhood are translated into everyday life (David, 1984; Stacey and Thorne, 1987). Without this understanding we are still a long way from understanding the variation over time and space in the social construction of, and the maintenance of, gender characteristics and identities which form a central issue in the agenda of feminist geography (Bowlby, 1986; Foord and Gregson, 1986; McDowell, 1983, 1986; Mackenzie, 1986b). How women experience and practice mothering and what meaning motherhood has for them is the general focus of this thesis. It thus investigates how the beliefs of the social contradiction are responded to in their specific realization in a particular locality.

2. The Research Problem

The research is framed within a broad theme of recent interest in
geography over how women attempt to control environments.\textsuperscript{4} The major theoretical issue underlying feminist geography is concerned with how environments reinforce or create existing or new forms of gender relations. Such research attempts to link empirical realities with understanding the ways in which women's lives both shape and are shaped by social relations and spatial structures, themselves intimately interlinked in an ongoing process of social change which pervades life in the home, community and workplace. It should be noted that the term 'gender' commonly refers to socially constructed understandings of masculinity and femininity, rather than differences based on biological sex.\textsuperscript{5} It follows that gender identities are in no way immutable; thus how gender is viewed and constituted is problematic and is a matter of empirical investigation.

My own study investigates how women attempt to modify the problem of the social contradiction outlined above, in which women are faced with the dilemma of responding to a social and economic climate which simultaneously encourages full-time motherhood and participation in the wage labour force. In focusing the empirical research on women's coping strategies, I address the theoretical problem of the relationship between space and the constitution of gender identity. The main research question asks: in what sense is space implicated in how women interpret and cope with the demands of motherhood in a particular locality? I use the term locality in the sense of a point of articulation of economic, social and political processes, taking a unique form of material organization and set of social practice. Further questions arise in focusing the research problem. These concern the constitution of mothering practices over space. How do the spatial and social structuring of a locality affect women's coping strategies? What do women's mothering practices consist
Where do these take place and who does them? How do women gain access to resources used in childrearing? What are these resources and how are they defined? How does a woman's employment status affect the ways in which mothering practices are carried out? What understandings do women have of motherhood? Where and under what conditions are ideas about mothering constructed? How are their activities constituting and changing both the understandings and experience of a locality?

The research is premised on the understanding that women's experience and use of the environment is different from that of men's and that everyday experience is generated from conditions and contingencies that are structured through the extension of social, political and economic relations over time and space. Entry to these relations is afforded by the study of particular localities. At the same time, it is through the specificities of local context that generalized relations are given form and meaning in everyday action. The emphasis of the research is on the active part played by women in constructing their own lives, recognizing, however that their agency is bounded by conditions not always within their control. The study has been guided by recent work in human geography which suggests that the understanding of social life must be contextualized in particular localities. Emphasis is laid on the centrality of daily routines in reaching such understanding (Gregory and Urry, 1985).

The study aims to make a theoretical and methodological contribution to geographical work in two ways; first, by taking up recent concerns in human geography over theorizing how space makes a difference to people's lives, and second, by adding to a growing body of feminist research in geography, the interests of which may be broadly summed up as developing "a geography which explicitly takes into account the socially created gender structure of society"
concerned mainly with those activities taking place outside the home. The mothers in this study all live in a rapidly growing suburban area of British Columbia's Lower Mainland, namely, the adjoining municipalities of Coquitlam, Port Moody and Port Coquitlam. These municipalities have become increasingly urbanized, especially since 1979, when the establishment of the Coquitlam Centre, with its many services and retail outlets, signalled considerable housing and commercial development. Recreational and entertainment facilities have also been developed and new job opportunities, particularly in the retail and service trades, have accompanied the area's growth.

The research takes the form of a case study which involved participant observation and in-depth interviewing between 1985 and 1987. The twenty-five women interviewed differed in the extent of their participation in the wage labour force and to some extent their socio-economic status, but in common, were mothers of preschool or elementary school age children and were members of two-parent households. The presentation of these women's lives is based on their own accounts and indeed the study aims to provide an understanding of these women's everyday actions which is derived from their own experiences as
mothers living in a particular place and time. It also intends to evoke what it is like to be a mother in a specified context. The research is essentially exploratory and is an intensive study with a concern for conceptual development in a little researched area. Despite the centrality of motherhood to many women's lives, the experiences and meaning of the mother–child relationship to women is only just beginning to receive attention in the social sciences. As feminist theory develops, so the recognition of the complexity of divisions of labour and the diversity in women's lives has prompted theoretical consideration of women's involvement in different forms of labour, including childrearing.

In geography feminists working within a broadly humanist–marxist approach have emphasized the need for investigating women's experiences in local context in the quest of building knowledge from women's everyday experiences and practices. In the absence of empirical work in geography dealing specifically with mothering practices or investigations using an interpretative approach to concept development, this study thus acts as a first step in developing an understanding of a geography of motherhood.

I have been interested in how the social meanings of motherhood are constructed and understood and become embodied in the structuring of women's spatial and temporal domains. The research thus investigates how the mothers of the study attempt to control those facets of their lives which are most closely delineated by notions of family life and children's needs, and which, in turn, are embedded in the localized effects of social, economic and political relations extending over time and space. Although any 'given' environment may appear to provide common resources to those who live within it, these resources may be perceived differently and may not be equally available to all. Theoretical developments in the understandings of 'environment' and 'resources'
demonstrate that these terms represent changeable and socially constituted contexts for human action.

Central to the thesis is the notion that the mothers were especially concerned with establishing 'safe space' for their children. 'Safe space' is both social and physical; it fulfils the criteria that the women use for the appropriate tending, or physical care, of their children and the caring of their children. It may be delimited at different physical scales, such as a home or street. The caring component of the mother-child relationship is central to the interpretation by the women of safe space. Caring about a child refers to a concern for his or her social development and well-being. An affective, or emotional, aspect is included in how caring is performed, and safe space includes this dimension of motherhood.

In referring to the constitution of safe space, I propose that such space is the outcome of both general processes and social interaction between the mothers. Its constitution entails several dimensions which are investigated in the thesis. The structuring of labour and housing markets, economic fluctuations, and planning initiatives within a complex division of labour are manifested in the particular social and material conditions of Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody. This local context, understood as a 'family place', the women, frames their concrete experiences of motherhood. The clustering of single-family dwellings and the separation of gender specific activities, such as mothering practices, in the home and neighbourhood provide the women, who take primary responsibility for domestic activity, with the potential for social interaction around child-centred activities. As the mothers meet in a variety of mothering workplaces they negotiate understandings about mothering work and their identities as mothers. Safe space for their children is integral to such
negotiation, for it is both the outcome of and a means by which mothering work is adjusted in space and time. Women may remain 'good mothers' who care about their children while absent from them.

The street or streets in the immediate vicinity of the home are a central component of the domestic workspace. Through the acquisition of knowledge about neighbours, the negotiation of understandings between the women about motherhood and the reciprocity of practical assistance and information most of the women established an important safe space for their children. Such 'street' conditions may be replicated in other mothering workspaces, encountered in the course of the women's daily routines. Not all of these workspaces are safe spaces where women may leave their children, but in total form each woman's social and physical neighbourhood. Such a neighbourhood is viewed by women as 'supportive' when a variety of resources, including emotional support, practical assistance and information, can be drawn upon as women manage and interpret the mother-child relationship. These resources are particularly important for women entering paid employment, for through the social linkages of her neighbourhood a variety of safe spaces may be established.

The choice of qualitative methods, of both data collection and analysis, was informed by theoretical developments in feminist research and a critical human geography. These stress the significance of the activities of everyday life, and the understandings that participants have of these, for the constitution of social relations and spatial structures. In particular, insights from socialist feminist theory and Giddens' structuration theory have guided my research, for used in combination they suggest that just as women's position in society is embedded in a particular structure of social relations, it is equally important to recognize that these social relations themselves do not exist on the head of a
pin, as Massey (1985) puts it, but take place over time and space. The bases of these propositions will be discussed more fully in Chapter Two, but at this point a brief overview of current thought about the relationship between empirical research and theory will indicate the logic of the choice of problem and methods.

4. Frames of Reference

a) Paradigmatic shifts in geography

The most significant shift in human geography in recent decades has been the reframing of questions and concerns as theoretical development has emphasized that the social and the spatial aspects of our world cannot be conceptualized in isolation from each other. The approach to the traditional concern of areal differentiation in geography has undergone considerable transformation, particularly since the 1970s. Responses to the logical positivism of the 1960s, with its emphasis on the identification of spatial patterns, have brought to the fore philosophical discussion over the nature of geographical enquiry. Although geography is ultimately interested in people and places, theoretical developments and debate have questioned what this might imply in terms of the content of geography and the best ways to approach its varied concerns.

A number of different approaches in the practice of geography have developed within the framework of such philosophical discussion, most notably humanism and marxism, with the common aim of connecting human experiences and problems with the structuring of our social and geographical world. But how best we go about discovering and understanding this connection has become a major methodological concern, phrased around the problem of how social theory can be incorporated into empirical research in geography. This is particularly
pertinent in relation to the proposition emerging from philosophical debate that geography as a 'value-free' science is a myth (Jackson and Smith, 1984). The explicit recognition that geographical practice is informed by the researcher's values and viewpoint has emphasized the inherently political nature of all knowledge, a fact which has been of especial concern to feminist academics. It is also this recognition that forms a point of convergence between feminism in geography and an emerging 'post-modern' geography with a renewed interest in the significance of the particularities of places. Acknowledgement of the social construction of knowledge suggests we be aware of theoretical assumptions underlying the production of knowledge. My own thesis has been framed in light of an aim to develop conceptualizations, within a feminist discourse, which are informed by the knowledge acquired, constructed and used by subjects in a particular setting. The construction of women-centred knowledge has arisen in response to the inadequate incorporation of gender in much theoretical construction in geography.

b) Including gender in research

Research in geography prior to the 1970s was largely devoid of explicit consideration of women. Women's existence was only recognized in the composite notion of the household, which was the unit integral to research based on residential segregation and the areal differentiation of cities. While early geographical work on women in the 1970s aimed to bring women's experiences into research, the underlying assumption of a home and workplace separation in existing models was, in general, unquestioned.

As feminist theory developed, the acknowledgement of the social construction of gender divisions was shown to reaffirm gender divisions of
activity. The conceptualization of domestic activity as work has been fundamental to the ways in which knowledge about women's worlds has recently been constructed. Indeed, a specific interest in gender has been important in bringing new interpretations to urban research, both of the past and present, by raising different questions and emphases. Research focused on gender has been eclectic, but has increasingly been aligned with both marxist and humanist approaches as the questions of human agency and structure emerge as a current concern in human geography as a whole (Mackenzie, 1986b).

c) A meeting of minds? 9

It is through developments in geographical methodology that gender concerns have been explicitly linked to the construction of explanatory models. A specific interest in gender has been important in bringing new interpretations to urban research, both of the past and the present, by raising different questions and emphases. The conscious incorporation of social theory and humanistic concerns into geographical work has brought attention to the implications of theorizing the human agent and 'space' for understanding society-space relationships. Fincher (1987) identifies three current themes influencing the use of social theory in urban geography, these being, (1) the debates about structure and human agency, (2) discussion of the analytical significance of the social construction of gender relations, and (3) a call for active use of social theory to explain experienced reality. As she points out, there is a tendency for these to be separate themes guiding geographical work, rather than integrated into all substantive topics, so forming a 'division of labour' in geography. Yet all three are inextricably inter-linked.

Indeed, the incorporation of agency and structure within one framework,
together with the recognition that the construction of all knowledge is a theoretical act, has been formative in a recent move towards the 'post-modernization' of geography. This is concerned with the deconstruction of conceptual dichotomies and dualisms within a research agenda and advocating instead a more interpretative analysis based on specific local and historical experiences of social, political and economic relations (Barnes, 1987; Dear et al., 1986; Gregory, 1987; Soja, 1987). An ethnographic approach is advocated in this endeavour, for it is within local contexts that knowledge is produced. Such knowledge informs theoretical models, rather than abstracted concepts ordering data. Particular attention is paid in this viewpoint to the production of a geographical study. Methodology, data collection and writing are not separate processes but are intertwined and, as such studies add to stocks of knowledge, it is important that the researcher makes the process explicit in the presentation of a study. Perhaps the value of this stance is most clear in the case of gender. As feminist geographers have been at pains to show, gender-blind research has distorted the ways in which women's experiences can be understood. This is likely to continue unless female-produced knowledge counterbalances the effects of such research. It is in recognition of these methodological concerns that I have framed my research.

d) Theoretical approach

In accordance with my aim to develop concepts from women's own experiences, I have used theoretical concepts to focus interpretation rather than as a means of ordering explanation. In particular I have found Giddens' conceptualization of the contextuality of social life useful in investigating the issue of how space is implicated in the ways in which women interpret.
motherhood and manage their mothering practices. Notions of structuration suggest that the ways in which women carry out their everyday life are not merely the manifestations of gender differentiated activity, but are actively reproducing and creating social conditions for furthering their opportunities and the delineation of their responsibilities. However, Giddens' understanding of context is gender-blind, and it is from feminist scholarship that concepts, such as the social contradiction of beliefs, can illuminate the gendered nature of context which contributes to women's construction of reality. Indeed, feminist theory can be accommodated within the overall framework of structuration notions; the abstracted concepts of feminism are grounded in local context as the routine activities of women are investigated. Thus both strands of theory are compatible for the purposes of my research. In my approach I incorporate the notion that women are skilled, knowledgeable agents who act within a structure of social relations premised on a sexual division of labour within both the home and wage workplaces.

5. Contributions of the Research

I have been strongly influenced by the challenges of redefined research agendas and methods for a gender-sensitive geography. As yet these have been discussed chiefly in the arena of methodological debate and there has been insufficient time for a body of empirical work based on these ideas to emerge. My own research is an attempt to reconcile insights from feminist theory and notions of structuration, together with their methodological implications, and in doing so adds to material which can be evaluated in relation to theoretical development. Again, there is a scarcity of research in geography using an ethnographic approach; the use in the study of qualitative methods in both data
The research and the way of presenting the study is intended to make a contribution to both the academic discipline of geography and practical concerns, in the sense of adding to understandings of the situation of women with young children. It adds to our knowledge of the experiences of mothers, the social meaning that motherhood has for them and the ways in which women organize their mothering practices on a day to day basis. Although we all 'know' what women's lives consist of, in fact there is scarcity of systematic study of what mothers actually do with their children, where they go and how they view their childrearing endeavour in relation to the whole of their lives. We have very little knowledge of the diversity of 'motherhood' and what type of contingencies enter into women's experiences or how they come to decide what they will do with their children or their own 'career’. As more and more women enter the wage labour force, knowledge of how women cope is important, for their actions become part of the constitution of social conditions which affect not only their own lives, but those of men and children too, through the forms social institutions, the community and the organization of schooling and the economy will take.

The importance of the meaning of these women's activities to them is central to the research, not just in terms of individually expressed values and motivations, but rather as socially constructed ideologies which are lived in different ways by different people and represent one among many types of resources which women draw on in ordering their daily lives. Most important is the recognition that both activities and meanings can change, and only by looking at women's experiences in specific places can we lay the groundwork for...
developing a geography which theoretically recognizes that gender is a constitutive element of contemporary human society.

A pervasive tendency in the literature has been to treat women as passive 'victims' of social and spatial organization. Only recently has a recognition emerged that women are also creative urban actors (Mackenzie, 1986b; Rose, 1984). This is an important development in research for it recognizes that women have transformative capacities which have the potential for altering current structuring of gender relations and for reconstituting spatial understandings and arrangements. My own research has emphasized the active part that women play in shaping their everyday experiences. Yet although the meanings of the women's action and the specific form experiences take are embedded in local context, this is not to suggest they are merely 'local'. Locally experienced conditions derive from the organization of social and economic relations stretched over time and space, which provide both limiting and enabling conditions for women's agency.

Jackson and Smith contend that, "the social scientist is implicated in society as inevitably as theory is linked to practice" and therefore it is important "that one recognises and makes explicit the moral basis of social science research" (1984:199). My own position is that women and men should have equal status in society and a right to independent lives. How this is achieved is of course debatable, according to theoretical stance and political vision. The concept of male domination is at the forefront of feminist theory, and although it is undoubtedly the case that unequal power differentials are structured into gender relations, I am concerned to discover how women experience and view these social relations, rather than attempting to assert the theoretical primacy of competing explanations of women's dependent position.
As views of the world are socially constructed, bringing a gender-awareness to both practical and academic life is in itself a political contribution, for such stocks of knowledge that are developed have a potential for altering the premises and assumptions of further research.

The significance of different types of knowledge I have discovered for myself, for I did not set out to write 'feminist research.' Yet, inevitably the impact of feminism throughout the social sciences precludes the study of women without the influence of this work. The study originated from my own experiences as a mother and in response to stereotyped views of suburban areas and 'suburban women.' A major impetus for the research came from my own observations while reading generally in the field of human geography and later, more specifically about women. What I was 'living' and observing in an unsystematic way at that time did not fit readily into the theoretical models generally used, and what I saw diverged from the findings in the literature. This led me to consider two aspects of research which have laid down the basis of my own approach. Firstly, the adequacy of particular theoretical models to deal with the questions being asked, and secondly, the importance of field methods in being able to reveal the type of data capable of addressing the research problem. What has seemed the most interesting way to me of conceptualizing what geography 'is about' is best described in Gregory's words, in commenting on the need to theorize spatial structures together with social structures. This he dubbed a "doubly human geography"; he states this is, "human in the sense that it recognizes that its concepts are specifically human constructions, rooted in specific social formations, and capable of - demanding of - continual examination and criticism; and human in the sense that it restores human beings to their own worlds and enables them to take part in the collective
transformation of their own human geographies" (Gregory, 1978:172).

The following chapters present an account of the development of the research and its findings. Chapter Two traces the theoretical developments which I have drawn on in approaching the research, while Chapter Three discusses the literature which has been pertinent in conceptualizing the research problem. Chapter Four describes the type of qualitative methodology employed and the specific field methods used. Chapter Five introduces the people and place of the study through the notion of locality.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight present an analysis of the women's experiences of the locality as a domestic workplace, relating these experiences to the different dimensions involved in the constitution of safe space for their children. In sum, the analysis examines the relationships between the women's different types of labour, their attempts to control the social and material conditions of their environment, and the definition of their mothering identity. Chapter Six investigates the women's changing work and relationship to the locality and emphasizes the centrality of the localized domestic space to their lives. Chapter Seven examines the different components of the women's mothering work and the consequences of its daily routines for gaining access to resources valuable in modifying their working conditions. Chapter Eight explores more closely how the resources of the women's neighbourhoods are involved in the negotiation of understandings of motherhood and the appropriate spaces for mothering practices, which include those defined in terms of the criteria of safe space for children.
Chapter One Footnotes

1. Statistics Canada (1984) figures show an increase from forty-five percent to fifty-two percent in the number of women participating in the labour force from 1976 to 1981. In 1975 34.7 percent of women with pre-school children were in the labour force, compared with 47.2 percent in 1981 (Eichler, 1983).

2. For example, these issues are presented in Maclean's Nov. 10, 1986, Vol.99, No.45 and April 13, 1987, Vol.100, No.15 and are the focus of the Parliamentary Committee report recommendations on daycare, April, 1987.

3. Ninety-one percent of pre-school children and eighty-seven percent of children aged between six and thirteen live in two parent families (Cooke, 1986).

4. The Women and Geography Newsletter (September, 1985) of the Canadian Association of Geographers refers to this being a major theme of papers about women given at the 1985 Meetings of the Association of American Geographers.

5. West and Zimmerman (1987) debate the distinction made in research between sex and gender. Their notion that gender is not a property of individuals, but is constituted through interaction suggests that research can fruitfully focus on ways gender is produced in social situations.

6. Throughout the thesis 'childrearing' and 'mothering work' are terms used synonymously with 'mothering practices.'

7. Robinson, in his discussion of Pattison's (1964) 'four traditions of geography' commented on the difficulties of definition of what geography is about, suggesting that these may derive from a distinction between the 'core' of the subject which is taught to school and university students, and research which is at the boundaries of the discipline and may well draw on other disciplines. Philosophy, he claims, "tells us what a subject is all about, whereas methodology tells us how to do it" (1976:520).

8. See Women and Geography Study Group of the I.BG (1984) for an overview of research in feminist geography.
9. "Meetings of Minds?" is the title of the proceedings of a meeting of the IBG Women and Geography Study Group, May 14th, 1983 which investigated the relationship between feminism and other modes of thought in geography, particularly the impact of the introduction of feminism into humanistic marxism. I adopt it to indicate convergent developments of thought regarding the relationship between social theory and empirical research.
CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned to make clear the theoretical orientations which have informed the formulation of the research problem and choice of methods of investigation. My own study of the everyday lives of women and, specifically, their mothering activities is framed by recent developments in human geography which have increasingly incorporated insights from social theory in approaching geographical concerns. In particular, theories of structuration and feminism have guided the questions of the research and my analysis. In concert these theoretical advances have increasingly recognized human subjects as knowledgeable human agents; this has fundamental significance for the ways in which we carry out research. It suggests that not only should we re-establish the importance of locality studies for gaining insights into human action, since the form and meaning of this action derive from the specifics of time and place, but also that we take into account that theoretical knowledge itself is socially constructed in particular social and intellectual climates.

In the first part of the chapter I provide a brief overview of recent theoretical developments in human geography and examine the main concepts of Giddens' structuration theory which focus my study. The concepts of structuration theory provide a language with which to articulate the relationship between context and human action as an ongoing process constituting enduring patterns of social practice. They emphasize the importance of investigating the timing and spacing of everyday life for understanding the course of human action. 'Locality' and Giddens' notion of locale are the main concepts that develop the significance of local context for understanding mothering practices as both
space forming and space contingent. In the second part of the chapter I discuss the main concepts of feminist theory which have been developed to correct 'gender-blind' social constructs which have dominated intellectual discourse. The notion of a sexual division of labour and the refinement of the concept of 'reproduction' are important in further sensitizing our understanding of the local context in which the women of the study live, and within which their knowledge of their social and geographical worlds are constructed. The third part of the chapter closes the discussion of recent theoretical developments in human geography by indicating their methodological implications for empirical study. Theoretical models, rather than imposing an explanatory order on data, are used to sensitize our understanding of social life whose diversity and meaning derive from the particularities of time and place and may be effectively discovered through ethnographic methods. In the following chapter I then go on to trace the development of concepts within a feminist discourse in geography which have focused the general theoretical perspective into the specific research concerns regarding the everyday lives of women with young children in a particular locality.

2. Recent Developments in Human Geography
a) Society, space and human agency
   i) Overview

   In recent years, and particularly since the 1970s, human geographers have increasingly incorporated insights from social theory in approaching geographical concerns. The latter have been evaluated in an especially searching way by humanistic and structuralist schools of thought, including the particular strands of theory of structuration and feminism. These developments have resulted in a challenge to not only notions of human geographical method but also
its content (Johnston, 1983, 1985; Jackson and Smith, 1984). The direction this challenge takes, I suggest, centres around the two interlinked conceptions of space and human agency, for although different approaches in human geography are concerned in some way with the relationship between human experience and the observed landscape, the critical difference between them is their theoretical understanding of the relationship between space and human agency. It is this difference that focuses the framing of research problems and the understanding of how abstracted theoretical models relate to empirical research.

The concept of space, has often been cast as unproblematic in that space, as the focus of studies of 'spatial relationships' and areal differentiation, is what geography 'is about.' Indeed, Kant's advocated division of labour according to space, time and the natural sciences is still sufficiently influential that geography has tended, until recently, to minimize other aspects of society in favour of fitting observations into a spatial framework for understanding society.

Yet the conception of space in geography has been subject to considerable scrutiny and discussion (Buttimer, 1969, 1976; Claval, 1984; Sack, 1980; Sayer, 1984, 1985). Massey (1985) provides a comprehensive overview of how notions of space are incorporated into theory and how 'space' or 'the spatial' have been conceived in particular geographical approaches. She traces the development from the initial focus on distinctiveness, although this notion was theoretically unsophisticated, in regional studies, through quantitative methods which ignored and, indeed, 'discredited' the unique and particular, and to Marxism which rejected 'distance' as in any way fundamental to the exploration of the social production of space. More recently, Massey suggests, a major aim in geography has become one which brings spatial organization and geographical differentiation back into understandings of the links, relationships and synthesis
between society and space. A renewed emphasis on 'place' has emerged (Barnes, 1987; Foord and Gregson, 1986; Massey, 1984; Sayer, 1985; Soja, 1987). Yet the understanding of 'place' has been recast since its portrayal as a central concept in the work of humanistic geographers in the 1970s, such as Buttimer (1976), Relph (1976) and Tuan (1974, 1977). Within a broadly humanist-marxist perspective the conceptualization of space attempts to integrate the structuring of economic and social relations with the intentionality of the human subject, central to earlier humanistic work. In so doing, local context is inextricably intertwined with human agency.

II) Linking theory and research

The project of making links between society and space was particularly undermined by a quest in geography, emerging first in the 1960s, for the discovery of spatial regularities which could be explained by spatial factors. Such spatial reductionism was accompanied by a major emphasis on 'causality' and objectivity. A focus on statistics and general patterns resulted in statistical inferences which could be tested and 'verified'. Such an approach could, however, only 'explain' in terms of correlations and produce taxonomies, still leaving explanation based on logic to be made. The concern for empirical regularities was an approach which had mathematics "leading the direction of the enquiry rather than questions which arose from the real world processes themselves" (Massey, 1985:10). The quantitative approach in geography did not take place in isolation, and, as Massey points out, the academic 'convergence of method' that left the unique and particular outside analysis led geographers to take up the dimension of 'space' and distance as its *raison d'être*. The 'journey-to-work' literature has been a foremost example of this influence.

Although behavioural geography formed a critique of the absence of people...
In work focusing on spatial distributions, in general it has remained within a positivist framework (Ley, 1977). Activity pattern studies, which are prominent in attempts to bring women explicitly into geographical analysis, exemplify a continued focus on distance and mobility (Hanson and Hanson, 1981; Pickup, 1984; Tivers, 1977). In spite of attempts to examine individual patterns of behaviour from the subject's point of view, the issue of how meanings and values are constructed has not been central to analysis. Furthermore, the environment tends to be taken as an external context to which individuals respond. In recognition of, firstly, the inattentiveness to meaning in the geography of much of the 1960s, and, secondly, the inadequacy of positivist geography in addressing issues of social change, two main theoretical thrusts have questioned the nature of positivist geographical enquiry. These are encompassed in humanistic and political economy approaches, each of which takes a different conception of space and human agency.

Although there are different philosophical roots underlying humanistic approaches in geography, they have in common a focus on human experience. Such research emphasizes human intentionality and is based on the premise that knowledge does not exist independently of the subject. This perspective finds its roots in the tradition of Vidal de la Blache's work, with attention focused on the 'mental climate' as a source of ideas. We now encounter an 'inter-subjective life-world' of shared meanings with objects existing for a subject, in the sense that they are constructed through the intentions and needs of that subject. The human being is seen as an activist giving meaning to human existence within a spatial framework, in contrast to the understanding of space as an objective 'thing'. Thus the experiential aspects of people-place relationships and relationships between people in a spatial context together form the core of humanistic research (Johnston, 1983).
The political economy approach in geography, sustained in various forms of marxism, has emphasized that space is a social product, a reflection of the social relations based in the material conditions of capitalist economic organization. Distance and area have no absolute meaning for human relations or human activity (Claval, 1984). The historical materialist method of marxism located human experience and the inequities of society within the structure of capitalism and the processes of its transformation. This approach focuses on the dialectics whereby the inherent contradictions of capitalism are resolved in an ongoing process of structural change. In geography the importance of the structuring of space by the relations of capitalism within this dialectical process is emphasized.\(^5\) In addition, this has been articulated around the notion of the socio-spatial dialectic, which posits that the relations of production are simultaneously social and spatial (Soja, 1980). Marxist analysis thus explains the relationship between the individual and society in terms of the economic relations of capitalism. The notion of a 'voluntaristic' individual is refuted; rather men and women are social products and are essentially 'victims' of the capitalist mode of production.

The development of an understanding of the 'spatial' as a social construct with the rejection of the notion of 'spatial processes' in favour of a view that states "there are only particular social processes operating over space." (Massey 1985:11) has led to a different type of explanation. Yet, work emanating from the 1970s on, although enormously influential in geographical thought and providing the conditions for forging a new consensus around what may be cast as geographical issues, has not, Massey claims, allayed uncertainty over geography's framework of endeavour. Serious problems appeared to remain for geography, for now the causes of 'space' lay in other disciplines. Potentially that meant geographers would become mappers of manifestations of processes.
studied by other disciplines. What then should be the questions and appropriate methods for geographers?

Massey argues that these other social sciences, however, are missing something important. They analyze and conceptualize as though the world were "distanceless and spatially undifferentiated". Although space is a social construct "social relations are also constructed over space, and that makes a difference." (Massey 1985:12). This implies a significant shift in the mode of investigating spatial form, for what then becomes of interest is how spatial form is involved in the constitution of social relations. Indeed geography does matter, but the question is how does it matter (Massey, 1984). 'Place' is reinstated in geography, but at the same time social relations and spatial structures cannot be conceptualized separately - we must be aware that social processes take place in a concrete geographical reality, but how 'space' is implicated becomes a problem for investigation.

Sayer discusses space in a similar vein, asserting that, "The spatial is partly constituted by the social, but it is reducible neither to natural or social constituents" (Sayer, 1985:59). For Sayer space is a relative concept, existing only in and through objects, yet being independent of such objects. It is a contentless abstraction, being "the particular temporal and spatial distribution of relevant processes" (Sayer, 1985:53). Distance, from this viewpoint, is understood in terms of the expenditure of time and energy in gaining access to resources. Furthermore, people do not use 'space', but use "different kinds of material and social environments at different times and places". This view of space has implications for the use of abstract theory, for it is not possible to abstract space from its content.

The significance of the particularities of local context for the reproduction or transformation of social forms and the diversity of human action
alerts us to the need for caution in employing theoretical constructs developed outside this context. This is not to say that abstract theory cannot be used to inform analysis, but it will be limited in anticipating the difference space makes without a sensitivity to the way in which local context gives meaning to human activity (Barnes, 1987; Sayer, 1985; Soja, 1987).6

In light of such concerns, a recent perspective has been introduced in the literature (notably by Gregory, 1981, 1982; Pred, 1981; Thrift, 1983, 1985) which attempts to integrate society and space through "bridge-building" between humanism and marxism. This perspective draws on the notion of 'structuration', as developed by Giddens (1976, 1979, 1981, 1984) which, in essence, views society as neither existing independently of human activity nor being a product of it, and suggests an inherent spatiality to social life. It permits us to place context, through a set of integrated concepts, at the centre of analysis. Fincher (1987) suggests, rather than being something 'new', structuration theory is a development of critiques of Althusserian structuralism appearing since the late 1970s. The theory is part of the emergence of a common ground in social science research focusing around questions of how to incorporate social theory into empirical work, including, as this does, concern over ways of producing knowledge and the importance of exposition of empirical work.

For Giddens the problem of order is not one of discovering an underlying patterning of social life but rather a concern for how social systems bind in time and space. His project is one in which "[a] recovery of time and space for social theory means theorizing agency, structure and contextuality as the focus for research problems" (Giddens, 1984:363) and is an attempt to provide a non-functionalist theory of society. This is in response to the 'orthodox' consensus of the 1950s and 1960s which was unable to integrate adequately a theory of face-to-face interaction with one of institutional analysis.
The explicit introduction of time and space in this theory of society implies that divisions between disciplines, especially those of sociology, geography and history are not valid on logical grounds, for they have common theoretical concerns, although a division of labour may be appropriate over particular substantive issues. Instead a research 'agenda' (Giddens 1984: 284-86) is advocated that sensitizes social analysis through emphasizing the knowledgeability of the individual agent in the reproduction of social practice, the time-space contextuality of social life and the hermeneutic or interpretative nature of analysis.

b) Giddens' theory of structuration

In this section I attempt to briefly capture the main concepts of structuration theory that have focused the issues of my research on women and their mothering practices and the choice of appropriate methods. Although individual concepts cannot readily be extricated from the total approach of structuration theory, I believe with Fincher (1987: 10) that the 'intermediate categories' of structuration "are useful reminders of certain types of interaction that we must not forget in structuring our explanations, though particular interactions on the checklist will not be relevant to all situations we might analyze." 7 The notion that all human action is contextualized in time-space provides the underlying premise of my study; context is not just a 'background' to human activity, but is actively implicated in the ways people carry out and understand their lives in a particular locality.

1) The duality of structure

In order to accomplish the task of investigating how social systems are constituted across time-space, Giddens' methodological strategy is one in which
neither the human agent nor society is regarded as having primacy. Indeed, the core of structuration theory is built around the concept of the 'duality of structure', which Giddens views as a recursive process in which "structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices" (1981:5) that are themselves 'fuelled' by both the intended and unintended consequences of human conduct. The concepts of social structure and social system are integral to the notion of the duality of structure. Social systems are, essentially, regularized relations between individuals or groups, comprising routinely reproduced social practices situated in concrete time and space. These social systems are grounded in the knowledgeable activities of actors and contain structured properties as understood through the concept of structure outlined below.

Structure, rather than a model constructed by observers, is understood as 'rules and resources', which only exist temporally when 'presented' by actors; that is when drawn upon as stocks of knowledge in day-to-day activity. Thus, social structure only exists through the concrete practices of human agents who are recognized as competent and knowledgeable and who reproduce social life through their routinized day-to-day encounters. Institutions, from this position, are viewed as chronically reproduced rules and resources. Resources include "both the physical environment and the social relations imposed by interaction with other people within particular institutional orders within that environment" (Thrift, 1985:621). In addition rules are not static, but may be amended due to the negotiable quality of meanings, evaluations and even power.

Important in the notion of structuration is the major role played by the unintended outcomes of human activity, as well as those intended. Together these feed back into 'structure' and, in turn, further influence day-to-day activities as "the unacknowledged conditions of further acts." (Giddens 1984:8). 'Constraints', therefore, are not externally imposed on the flow of action, but
Instead the structural components of society that are "embedded in an enduring way in institutions" are both enabling and constraining (Giddens, 1983:78). The discovery of structure exposes both constraint and empowerment.

Two basic notions encompassed in the duality of structure, which permit a view of the recursiveness of the constitution of society, are Giddens's understanding of human agency and the contextuality of social life.

11) Human agency

Giddens refers to agency not in terms of the intentions of people, but rather to the fact that they are capable of doing things in the first place. He states in an interview with Biecher and Featherstone (1982:68), "one of the things that's most important about being an agent is that to be an human agent is to be capable of making a difference to the world and to realize that capability as an on-going part of daily life." Agency is based on the idea that the individual is a perpetrator of events and that he or she could have acted differently. This position about what people are like is central to structuration theory. The issue is not that 'agency' is a given quality, but how is it possible for human beings to act as agents?

The knowledge that people possess is integral to the patterning of social life, so that structure can only exist through the knowledge that informs agents about their day-to-day activities. Giddens distinguishes between different types of knowledge, viewing human agents as being knowledgeable in respect to both discursive and practical consciousness. Discursive consciousness refers to what actors can put into words about their actions, while practical consciousness is what actors know about how to do things in a variety of contexts of social life, but may not be able to express in words. Practical consciousness is routinely and reflexively applied in the chronic constitution and reconstitution of social
Human beings are seen as skilled practitioners, with taken-for-granted knowledge, so that they not only know the meanings of rules but can use them in interaction. As rules and resources are not static, but are the media of production and reproduction of practices, human agency has a transformative capacity involving active negotiation among actors. This transformative capacity is of enormous importance in understanding the notion of social power in relation to human agency for social change can be generated through social practice as it grows out of the everyday activities of individuals.

The strategic conduct of human agents, however, does not take place under conditions of their own choosing. Here the notion of unintended consequences links up with an agent's capabilities, as these become the unacknowledged conditions bounding further human action. In addition, the idea of the "binding" of social systems through their extension over time and space also suggests that the structured properties of social systems may be beyond the control of individual actors. This binding is achieved by two means, social integration and system integration. Social integration refers to face-to-face interaction, where there is co-presence of actors, whereas system integration, in the absence of face-to-face interaction, is achieved through technological means such as letters, print and the telephone. This latter enables the stretching over time and space of social systems. Through this stretching over time and space of social systems, dominant groups may exert power. Human actors, therefore, are:

... beings who can make a difference in the world and know what they're doing on the one hand and yet who live in a world which affects them and which has circumstances and conditions which constrain them, which are beyond their control, not as individuals but as totalities (Bleicher and Featherstone, 1982).
III) The contextuality of social life

Thrift (1985), in his succinct summary of Giddens's extensive explication of structuration theory, claims that its crux lies in the proposition that human interaction is contextualized in time and space, and therefore time-space relations must be incorporated into social theory. Certainly Giddens indicates the centrality of context when he states:

... the settings and circumstances within which action occurs do not come out of thin air; they themselves have to be explained within the very same logical framework as that in which whatever action described and 'understood' has also to be explained. It is exactly this phenomenon with which I take structuration theory to be concerned (1984: 363).

So what is meant by context? Thrift (1985) interprets Giddens's view as one that comprehends the spatial aspects of social experience by understanding the intermingling of 'presence' and 'absence' in everyday life, or in other words the continual interplay of agency and structure over time and space. As the different institutional orders that go to make up social systems will have different levels and distributions of contact in time-space they permit "more or less common possibilities of contact, presence or absence of the same rules and resources and therefore reproduction of similar practices" (Thrift, 1985: 612). In this sense, the spatio-temporal format of social systems intervenes in the form that the recursive process of 'structuration' takes place, through its dictating "a good part of the pattern of presence and absence to be found in the different contexts upon which particular agents can draw". Recognition of the contextuality of action in time and space, therefore, is not to suggest an argument for localism, but rather is to advocate a concern with how social systems 'stretch' over time and space. Giddens believes that space, as well as time, must be considered in its involvement in the constitution of systems of
interaction; human subjects 'make' their own geography just as much as they make their own history.

This is where the notion of 'locale' enters, developing Giddens' understanding of the spatial configurations of context. "Locales are not just points in space in which action occurs," but "are inherently implicated in the structural constitution of social systems, because settings are integral to the mediation of presence." (Giddens, 1985:271). The features of the settings also specify and are used "in a routine manner to constitute the meaningful content of interaction." (Giddens, 1985: 272). For example, locales occur at all physical scales and may refer equally to "a room in a house, a street corner, the shop-floor of a factory or towns and cities, to the territorially demarcated areas occupied by nation-states," but their significance in constituting contexts of interaction lies in the fact that locales are typically regionalized.

Regionalization refers to the spatial and temporal differentiation of society, in the sense that regularized social practices in a given location may be 'zoned', through legislation or informally shared understandings, in time and space. For example, the separation of home from workplace is a form of regionalization, just as the internal divisions of halls, rooms and floors of a home are zoned according to their use temporally and by type of activity. What becomes important is the implication of regionalization for power relations, as certain social practices may be more or less visible. As examples Giddens points to the 'sequestration', through spatial separation, of aspects of life such as insanity and crime. In the case of women's mothering activities, their usual location in the home and neighbourhood renders them an invisible form of economic activity and contributes to the differential participation of men and women in paid employment. The control of time and space, constituted through routine day-to-day activity in regionalized locales, thereby is involved in the
exercise of power by dominant groups, as manifested in the structuring of gender relations built on shared understandings of the use of time and space.

Following from this view the environment can logically be seen as a matrix of locales, or settings for encounters, which contain particular combinations of resources which may be drawn upon in action. Resources refer not only to the physical attributes and people present in a locale, but also to stocks of knowledge which may be drawn upon. It is important to note within this conceptualization that locales are not 'givens', but are created, for human agency designates human beings as makers of their milieux, albeit within unequal power relations. This is a central point from which 'locale' differs conceptually from Hägerstrand's 'stations', the physically permanent stopping points, such as the residence, which are part of an individual's daily routine (Hägerstrand, 1970).

Giddens acknowledges his debt to the development of Hägerstrand's work on time-geography in relating the routinization of day-to-day encounters to the development of practical consciousness and how these both connect with the distribution of institutions in any one place. But Giddens sees time-geography more as a technique than a theory, as it does not permit a view of the transformational character of social life, even in its most routinized forms. This is due to three main problems, (1) its naive conception of the human agent, (2) the 'given' status of stations and domains, which neglects to look at how these are the outcomes of uninterpreted processes of institutional formation and change, and (3) the emphasis on constraints, which does not recognize that all types of constraints are also types of opportunity. Indeed, by overlooking the transformative capacity of all human action and the generation of power through the expansion of social systems and structure over time and space, the regularized social practices constituting the daily life-paths of Hägerstrand's
model and the 'stations' where encounters occur must remain as manifestations only of the unequal distribution of power.

c) The knowledgeable human agent and geography

In structuration theory power differentials are linked to ideology. As Giddens comments, the notion that structure is always both constraining and enabling does not compromise " the possibility that actors' own theories of the social systems which they help to constitute and reconstitute in their activities may reify those systems. The reification of social relations, or the discursive 'naturalization' of the historically contingent circumstances and products of human action, is one of the main dimensions of ideology in social life" (Giddens 1984: 25). What is important about this conception of 'ideology' is the notion that the acceptance, or otherwise, of 'cultural' ideas as being the 'natural' way of things, is not separate from the actions of either dominant groups or those over whom they exercise social power. The significant point is that ideology is embedded in practice.

Yet, although Giddens sees ideology as embedded in practice, Gregory (1985) points to inadequacies in Giddens' conception of the human agent, for he does not directly address the questions of: what do human agents know and how do they know it? Furthermore, where and how is knowledge, in the form of information, shared and circulated? Without considering these questions, an account of the ways in which local context, as a matrix of locales, shapes the meaning of human action falls short. Sayer (1984: 19) has drawn attention to the social construction of knowledge within local contexts asserting, "knowledge is a product of observation, work, and communication in interactive social contexts: the production of knowledge is a social activity." In addressing the problem of how space, as context, is implicated in women's interpretation of
motherhood and the constitution of mothering practices, I would add, therefore, the question: where and how are understandings, rules and stocks of knowledge both modified and reaffirmed? Indeed, as Gregory remarked, the neglect of meaning or morality, or, in other words, the marginalization of culture on Giddens' part, results in an inadequate account of how conceptions of human individuals may differ over space. For example, to be a man or a woman will vary cross-culturally and even within the same culture.

Part of the difficulty with the lack of acknowledgement of differences among human subjects in different places, arises not just with the marginalization of meaning in understanding the diversity of human action, but with an inadequate conceptualization of space, without which Gregory believes we can have a full understanding of the extension of society over space. Although Giddens acknowledges that locales are not 'givens' he does not incorporate the notion that conceptions of space are also social constructions, and particular spaces may have different meanings for individual subjects. This insight from geographical thought is an important contribution to understanding the nature of locales, for as Thrift states, the contents of locales provide the defining characteristics of context which situate social action:

All society is constituted by human action taking place in context, or rather a whole matrix of different contexts, so that what goes to make up context - the presences (and absences) of various different types of resources invested in other people, institutions and the physical environment - is vitally important to the constitution of human action and the reproduction or transformation of social structure (1985: 61).

That this context may itself be imbued with cultural definitions, I believe, is an important avenue for empirical investigation. Certainly Giddens with the concepts of locale, regionalization and zoning provides us with tools to
investigate and specify how space and human action are intertwined in social reproduction and transformation more precisely than can the generalized concept of 'place.' Yet insights from a phenomenological understanding of place suggest that the meaning particular space has for agents forms part of the context or situatedness of human action. Meaningless space acquires meaning for the human subject through shared understandings and experiences developed in social interaction. Places, such as named neighbourhoods and cities, or particular space within these, may thus have multiple meanings according to the social relationships enacted there, although a dominant meaning may prevail (Boal, 1970; Dyck, 1984; Hugill, 1975; Ley, 1977).

In tracing the ideological components of women's position in a particular place, as part and parcel of daily life, we need, therefore, to take account of how human agents conceive of space, recognizing however that such conceptions are not immutable. This I see as important for understanding human subjects' own conceptualizations of 'regionalization' and 'zoning.' For example, in connection with my own interest in motherhood and women's mothering practices, attention must be paid to the social construction of understandings of space and its meaning to the women as this occurs through the social organization of childrearing. The regionalization and zoning of everyday mothering work contribute, for example, to cultural understandings of the suburban locality as an 'appropriate' built environment for child-rearing, with its particular manifestation of clustered single-family dwellings. But, in addition, through the everyday activity of mothering, this generalized meaning may be expected to be further specified in terms of the shared understandings generated through women's social interaction. Furthermore, in conceptualizing 'mothering' as cultural practice, specific in historical time and place, that is, as 'contextualised human action', we can investigate how stocks of knowledge can
change and transform social life, by altering the absences and presences of structural properties as they are drawn upon in locales. Thus as context is not static, so there is potential for change in the ways human action, such as mothering, is carried out and understood.

A further dimension pertaining to the social construction of knowledge that is relevant to geographical research is the recognition that there are different ways of 'knowing' and interpreting social and geographical phenomena that derive from the particular context of different intellectual traditions or discourses. This has been a particular concern for feminist scholars who maintain that theoretical models developed in male-dominated intellectual discourse have been insensitive to gender differences in women's experiences and interpretations of their social and geographical worlds. As 'modes of production' in themselves, such frameworks of understanding add to the complex phenomenon of power differentials between men and women (Morgan, 1979). Even accounts of women's lives in the community studies literature of sociology and social anthropology have been cast within male interpretations of women's activities, and it is against such inherent biases in the construction of knowledge about women that feminist critiques have been aimed (Brownill, 1984; Jacobson, 1982).

In employing notions of structuration in my research, I have been aware of such criticism and the feminist agenda of constructing a different 'way of knowing.' Yet Giddens' project is essentially one of deconstructing abstracted concepts and functionalist explanations and in that remains amenable to feminist concerns. However, it remains gender-blind in not explicitly taking into account for example, gender differentials in the capability of the human agent to 'make a difference.' That such differentials derive from the nature of the context of human action is suggested by the concepts in feminist theory which I
use to develop the understanding of local context as being part and parcel of the reproduction and transformation of social life. For feminist research has clearly shown that gender is an important component in social and spatial structuring. In the next section I discuss the main feminist concepts that guide my analysis and then, to conclude the chapter, discuss the methodological convergences between feminism and structuration theory.

3. Feminist Theory and Geography

Although there are several strands of feminist theory, they have in common an assumption that women are oppressed, and as a corollary, this has consequences for relations throughout society, but, because it is socially constructed, it can be changed (Stanley and Wise, 1983). A further common belief is that women's experiences and ways of interpreting the world should be brought into academic discourse in order to identify and remedy women's subordinate status in society. Following from these themes in feminism, two main objectives have formed a broad feminist agenda of research. One is to develop over-arching theories to explain the origin of women's oppression and its manifestations, while the other is to challenge existing assumptions of the discipline through concepts developed within a specifically feminist discourse (Johnson, 1987).

It is this latter course that has gained most currency in geography, for in common with recent critiques in human geography as a whole, feminist work in geography, social history and sociology has convincingly established that the concepts of feminist theory can only remain as abstractions, for devoid of concrete contexts they cannot explain the diversity of women's lives. Debate, therefore, cannot usefully remain at the level of theory alone, but rather women's own views and experiences must be the basis for feminist
understanding; theory and practice are intertwined (Jaggar, 1983; Stanley and Wise, 1983). Furthermore, the concepts of feminist theory themselves, such as patriarchy, reproduction and ideology, have been used in several different ways and not necessarily consistently despite their centrality to feminist scholarship (Barrett, 1980). This lack of a cohesive feminist theory is due, at least in part, to the recency of its development and currently is somewhat fragmentary and programmatic (Jaggar, 1983). I will, therefore, confine my remarks to broad principles or particular aspects which I have found further an understanding of the links between local context and women's mothering work.

The basic concern for all feminists is the issue of women's inequality and the relationship between this and gender divisions of activity and space. There are different understandings of how this occurs. I have been most concerned with the perspective of socialist feminism, as this has been the most influential in geographical work (Foord and Gregson, 1986; McDowell, 1986). In essence, whereas radical feminism locates inequality in the patriarchal dominance of relationships and institutions, socialist feminism focuses on the twin themes of, firstly, the exploitation of women who subsidize reproduction of the labour force and, secondly, the linkages between the activities of production and reproduction in the capitalist mode of production.

**a) Socialist feminism**

The socialist feminist agenda is one which attempts to link the existence of a particular form of gender relations to the organization of social relations in advanced capitalist society as a whole. Its predominant ordering framework has been that of 'production' and 'reproduction'. For geographers, socialist feminist literature has been the most prominent in recent research, due, I suggest, to the derivation of these concepts from understandings of the fundamental importance
of the organization of society around both a *spatial* and a social separation between home and workplace. Socialist feminism is predominantly derived from a reworking of marxist ideas, and has addressed some of the difficulties encountered by feminists with the use of traditional Marxism in geography, which neglected both the theme of gender and an examination of the linkages between productive and reproductive spheres of activity. Humanistic geography, although compatible with feminist research in its concern with connecting everyday experience with the wider geographical context, has neglected women as a theoretical category. Humanistic work concerning women has largely centred on conceptions of the home. Although the association of the home as a 'woman's place' is made evident, the gender divisions of activity according to this notion are not dealt with as problematic (e.g., Loyd, 1975; Sopher, 1979). Indeed, it is not without basis that Jaggar (1983:148) claims, "only socialist feminism makes a serious attempt to explain how human beings continuously transform themselves into men and women." Jaggar describes socialist feminism as an attempt to develop a political theory from the best insights of radical feminism and the Marxist tradition.

The concept of patriarchy is central to radical feminism in explaining why sex, as a biological fact, becomes socially constructed into gender. Although the term patriarchy is not always used in exactly the same way, the Women and Geography Study Group of the IBG (1984) provides a working definition, "as a set of social relations between men which, although hierarchical, establishes an interdependence and solidarity between them which allows them to dominate women." In this approach male domination is achieved through a power structure in which patriarchal practices and attitudes restrict both the nature of activities that women carry out and where these take place. Women's opportunities are limited in various aspects of life by male control at the level
of organizations and institutions and, at a personal level, through the organization of social relationships in both the family and workplace. Men are thus able to control the kinds of work women do, and in defining women's activities as deriving from the functions of biological reproduction, 'women's work' in the private sphere of the home and family is seen as 'natural.' Important to the idea of male domination is the fact that ideas about the 'naturalness' of differences in gender roles and women's inferiority are also accepted by women.

The major weakness of the concept of 'patriarchy' in radical feminism is the tendency to use it as an ahistorical social structure, which fails to recognize diversity according to ethnicity and class. Institutions and social practice vary considerably both historically and culturally, including differences within cultures. A lack of historicity in analysis tends to result in biological determinism and an understanding of women as essentially passive victims of male control and violence (Eisenstein, 1983; Jaggar, 1983; Rosaldo, 1974). In contrast, the introduction of an historical consciousness to the issue of gender identity, though implying that the sexual division of labour is still crucial to understandings of women's oppression, views the sources of its organization as resting primarily with the organization of economic production, with the separation of home and workplace having a particular significance to specifying women's roles.

Through adding the conceptual tool of gender to that of class in Marxism, socialist feminism stresses the social construction of the differences between women and men. Rather than natural, these differences may be altered through social change. Jaggar (1983:125) describes the basic Marxist conception of human nature as "created historically through the dialectical interrelation between human biology, human society and the physical environment. This interrelation is mediated by human labor and praxis." Thus, human nature is
constituted in society, and specific historical conditions create distinctive types. Jaggar claims, however, that the lack of concern for providing an historical account of the sexual division of labour in traditional marxism has precluded adequate consideration of the construction of gender differences.

Women's oppression, it is assumed in the traditional marxist view, is based on the exclusion from production, but, as Jaggar points out, women's oppression remains despite their inclusion in the wage labour force. She suggests that the inability in this view to fully incorporate women arises from the understanding that procreation is essentially unchangeable, so questions concerning its organization have not made political sense within this approach. Socialist feminist theory, on the other hand, views human nature as constructed in part "through the historically specific ways in which people have organized their sexual, childbearing and childrearing activities" (Jaggar, 1983:128). Class and ethnic differences are also implicated in the organization of these activities, but Jaggar sees their organization as particularly important in creating the physical and character traits considered appropriate to women in various societies.

Socialist feminism thus seeks a more adequate theoretical understanding of the differences between men and women by focusing on the sexual division of labour as a division between procreation and production and also a division within procreation and within production. Women are seen as being constituted through the social relations of which they are a part and which define activities according to whether they are carried out by men or women. Jaggar asserts that 'woman' and 'man' are therefore best seen as abstractions, which only exist within these relations. The use of the historical materialist method has shown how historical variation in the mode of procreation and modes of production have affected conceptions of femininity and differences of these in relation to class.
In order to understand the social construction of gender, we thus need to investigate the gender differentiation of activity.

Although there is as yet a lack of cohesion within socialist feminism, research has succeeded in identifying, through the concept of reproduction, types of labour previously ignored (Barrett, 1980). The concept of reproduction, rather than being confined to the understanding of collective consumption, as in urbanization literature, in socialist feminism also recognizes women's experience theoretically and empirically through incorporating the notions of biological reproduction and the reproduction of labour power (Brownill, 1984). By including the maintenance and reproduction of the labour force in the concept of reproduction, it follows that housework, childbearing and childrearing are incorporated in notions of work. Furthermore, since reproductive work is in general differentiated by gender, this significantly shapes women's life experiences. Markusen states that socialist feminist literature argues that:

... the household is not a passive consumption unit, but one in which people reproduce their labor power, of both current and future generations, through a process that involves considerable male/female division of labor, extensive expenditure of labor time, and particular composition of output that has its own quality and distributional patterns. Even though more than half of all adult women under age sixty-five work for wages, they still bear the primary responsibility for household work. The products of their labor are meals, clean and mended clothes, home health care, preschool education of children, financial and transportation services, and so on. Yet, the economic nature of this activity is largely hidden by the informal economic contract involved [that is marriage] (1981:24).

b) Socialist feminism and geography

In geography, the literature employing ideas from socialist feminist theory has largely adopted the framework of the dichotomy of production and
reproduction in analyzing the differences between men and women in terms of their gendered roles. Rather than focusing on the spatial distribution of the precise content of reproduction, feminist geographers have been interested in the congruence of the social and spatial divisions between productive and reproductive labour, particularly in terms of the spatial separation of the home and workplace. The use of a historical materialist method has linked the 'separate' worlds of men and women with the organization of industrial capitalism. The dependent status of women is viewed as consequential to the separation of male productive work and female reproductive work into distinct social and physical spheres. In this approach the physical separation of home and workplace is identified as being instrumental in molding the form of a gender based division of labour (Burnett, 1973; Hayford, 1974; McDowell, 1983, 1986; Mackenzie, 1980, 1984 b; Mackenzie and Rose, 1983). Despite debate at the level of theory whether reproduction is part of economic reproduction, there is general consensus that women's work in the home is not seen as activity unrelated to commodity production. Instead there are interdependencies between the different spheres of activity in capitalism. This recognition shifts the research focus to the types of linkages that might exist between the spheres of production and reproduction. In geography, this suggests we investigate how these linkages are constitutive of social practices in particular places (Bowlby, 1986; Johnson, 1987). Klausner (1986) claims the most obvious link between the two spheres is established in the obtaining of goods for reproduction, but when reproduction also encompasses childcare and socialization, the home is rightly seen as a pivotal site of the interaction of spheres where much of reproductive labour is carried out. As she points out, this aspect of domestic labour is usually ignored despite the vast sums of money spent on children. But it is also too simplistic to see the home as 'private' because the home is also part of a
wider setting of the interactions between production and reproduction - and one
which is rarely static for long" (Klausner, 1986:321). These linkages have been
investigated by Klausner and other geographers mainly through a focus on housing
policy rather than the organization of childcare and socialization in terms of
their specific practices (Lewis and Foord, 1984; McDowell, 1983).

Yet a focus on the gendered activities of the division of labour must shift
research direction also towards the specific organization of reproductive
activities. In investigating the spatial dimension of biological and social
reproduction in a particular local context, my study aims to explore how the
meaning and organization of mothering work are both manifestations and
constitutive elements of the complex interrelations between productive and
reproductive activity. The categories of production and reproduction should be
seen as providing a heuristic device rather than as representing 'reality'; in
sensitizing us to the notion of a sexual division of labour we may add a deeper
understanding to local context. That is, the ways in which local context shapes
the meaning and diversity of human action has a gender component derived from
the regularized relations between men and women, based on cultural notions of
which activities should be done by which gender, where and when.

Feminist research suggests that the social definition of men's and
women's activities is upheld by notions of the 'living wage', by which men are
regarded as primary providers for their families, and the 'ideology of
domesticity' which has stressed women's place in the home (Barrett, 1980;
Jaggar, 1983). This legacy of ideas from the Victorian era has never exhibited a
simple relationship to action, however (Houghton, 1957). Certainly there is
evidence that the activities of individual members of the household and their
relationship to the labour force have varied enormously historically by region
and between social classes (Brownill, 1984; Daunton, 1983; Lewis, 1984;
Mackenzie and Rose, 1983; Scott and Tilly, 1980). In addition, McDowell and Massey (1984), in a presentation of both historical and contemporary examples of women's participation in wage labour, observe that women's wage employment has different effects on gender relations and, by implication, the division of domestic labour, according to the location of women's work and the type of work involved. This evidence of variation in women's experiences supports the rationale for locality studies and the cognizance that generalized relations will frame local social practice in different ways.

4. Methodological Implications

a) Sensitizing concepts

The major implication of a structuration approach for my own interests is that through its emphasis on the duality of structure, which is rooted in both the intended and unintended consequences of the situated activity of individuals, empirical questions and theoretical questions are focused around the constitution of the human subject. Certainly Giddens' concern with a theory of the constitution of the individual in society, is particularly amenable to feminist concerns over the social construction of the gendered human subject. Feminist theory sees women's domination as embedded in gender relations, but how these are constituted has largely been left as an 'empirical question'. Yet, as structuration theory posits, empirical reality is not separate from 'structure' but part of it, for routinized day-to-day activity is important in understanding the control of time and space which become 'ordered modes of power'. This approach thus permits questions of how social change may occur within the unequal power relations identified by feminists. Women are not necessarily passive 'victims' of male domination, but are capable of 'making a difference' through the ways in which they manage their everyday lives, including changes in
how space is understood, defined and used.

Smith (1979, 1986), for example, introduces the notion of the 'everyday as problematic' as especially useful in explicating the sources framing women's experiences at the 'local level.' She suggests that, rather than exploring the 'everyday' as the object of enquiry in itself, the organization of the everyday world is recognized as being embedded in "an increasingly complex division of labour knitting local lives and local settings to national and international social, economic and political processes." (Smith, 1986:7). Thus the relation between the 'local' and generalized relations is a property of social organization, and guides the direction of research. Smith suggests this relation is best discovered through ethnographic approaches using the entry-point of particular people, or a particular person, to reach the complex of relations organizing their everyday practices. A 'case', therefore, acts as such a point of entry in connecting the experiences of subjects to the wider structuring of society and does not intend to be a representative sample of the population. Smith does not, however, emphasize the spatial dimensions of the 'everyday' and, indeed, one of the difficulties in the social science literature about women has been the tendency in methodology to weight either the 'social' or the 'spatial' in such a way as to theorize inadequately the interconnectedness of the two. The recent emphasis on 'locality studies' in geography is a potential means by which the social and spatial may be integrated conceptually in empirical work.

Locality studies in geography add to the understanding of the problematic of the everyday world by emphasizing that the structuring of social, economic and political relations combine uniquely in different places. What occurs in a particular locality is thus the consequence of social and spatial restructuring within and between various geographical areas. Localities are understood as distinct forms of social organization in themselves, contributing to variations of
practices over time and space. Thus, detailed locality studies and case studies of the organization of particular social practices are required to locate the latter within regional and local particularities. Such studies provide points of entry in the goal of comprehending how places shape people and how people actively attempt to shape their lives within the events and relationships of contemporary social life (Soja, 1987; Urry and Warde, 1985). A comment is in order at this point to reiterate the relationship between the terms 'place' and 'locality'. A substantial literature in humanistic geography has carefully developed the experiential aspects of place, as a bounded area of space. This has stressed the intentionality of human actions in making place (Johnston, 1981). A predominant view of place within this framework of understanding is that it is a repository of meaning, and attempts have been made to understand this subjective aspect of space (Buttimer and Seamon, 1980; Relph, 1976; Rowles, 1978; Tuan, 1974, 1977). Locality, on the other hand, has not been precisely defined in geography but I see this concept as reflecting the principles underlying attempts to merge humanism and marxism in geography. Rather than being opposed to the notion of 'place', it incorporates a more explicit analysis of social organization and economic relations in the making and experiencing of particular places. It is, therefore, potentially a more effective tool in integrating society and space through recognizing that people and locality are together engaged in an ongoing, recursive process of change within the broader structuring of society.

Most recent work on the structuring effects of generalized relations in constituting local uniqueness focuses on the changing wage labour process and the ongoing restructuring of the spatial organization of production (Soja, 1987). Analysis has been concerned, in general, with the uneven development of capitalist production over space. The areal differentiation in the location of
industry, which includes the interregional organization of production within individual industries, is found to influence the form of local class and gender relations (see, for example, Massey, 1984; Smith, 1984). But the mounting interest in geography in the construction of gender has recognized the importance also of the organization and experiences of domestic labour in depicting the ways in which localities both shape and are shaped by 'everyday' actions. The interlinked social practices of the household and 'community', as well as those of the wage workplace, need to be integrated into understandings of the construction of social life within the totality of the labour process of capitalist relations (Bowlby, 1986; Murgatroyd et al., 1985).

Klausner further suggests the value of study at the level of locality lies in its ability to represent and study certain groups, such as women, who tend to be neglected in research as their lives do not frequently take place within "the national political-economic arena of debate" yet who experience political and economic change in their everyday lives (1986:30). Indeed, taking the everyday as problematic does not omit serious consideration of what is happening outside the physical bounds of a particular area, but instead directs attention to the contingencies and conditions generating the everyday features of social life (Smith, 1986). Accounts investigating questions of the constitution of individuals and social institutions over time and space should also look at particular settings for interaction from which, however, people may empirically link with other places and in turn be influenced by actions in these other settings.

Taking 'locality' in the above sense as the focus of empirical research, I suggest that Giddens' notion of locale is fruitful for furthering the investigation of the inherent spatiality of local practices, which includes their differentiation by gender. In conceptualizing a particular locality as a matrix of existing and
potential locales through which structure is realized, extended relations are logically drawn into the investigation of everyday practice. In attempting to understand how space is implicated in women's lives the concept of regionalization, by which locales are understood to be typically zoned in time and space, is an important linking point to the feminist literature in geography. The separation of home from workplace is a form of regionalization and, as both Giddens and feminists acknowledge, this has been fundamental in transforming social relations and the everyday practices from which these are built.

Giddens points to the particular significance of the separation of the home and the workplace in capitalism in re-ordering the links between oppression and class domination, but he comments that although male domination (together with ethnic oppression and discrimination) and the class system are related in a capitalist society, this is not a static relationship. He posits that the separation of home and workplace in capitalist society differs in substance from that identified in other modes of production, for the transference of labour from agricultural and domestic production to that of the factory and office has resulted in 'commodified time.' This Giddens views as central to changes in the experience of workers, both men and women. Referring to the separation of home and workplace he states that, "We should not think of this simply as a material separation of the household and the work-place, but rather a reorganization of the time-space relations in the 'time-geographical paths' followed by individuals in their daily lives" (Giddens 1981:137). The concept of the 'working day' resulted in basic divisions between 'working time' and 'free time'.

Although many women continued to engage in productive labour as part of this re-organized work-force, Giddens remarks that the separation in time and space of activities altered understandings of the definition of the workplace; and
these drastically affected the character of the relations among the sexes by changing the quality of interdependence between men, women and children. This, as feminist research has shown, resulted in the association of women with the home and accompanying notions of domesticity, privacy and consumption. This 'zoning' of the home and neighbourhood in time and space, in terms of routinized social practice, as is clear from the literature review, also incorporates gender differences which have been understood in limiting women in their participation in economic and political life, for although social power is recognised in the way people can use rules and resources to effect outcomes, this occurs within inequality. Differentials in power in this sense can be observed in the regionalization of a particular social organization of labour, identified by feminists as a sexual division of labour, which however is one option, rather than it being a 'necessary' or 'natural' form of organization.

Thus, in accordance with Giddens' notion of power being generated through the transformative capacity of human agents, the 'stretching' of gender relations in the form of the institution of the family and its zoning in the family home, is significant in, I claim, gender differences in both the type of locales that are available or may be generated for action and the particular rules and resources that will be both presence-available and absent. A feminist perspective is logically concerned with the nature of locales in which the negotiation of structure occurs, for within them we may identify conditions conducive to change. As locales are not static, I am interested in what sort of transformations may occur through women's day-to-day activities which, although routinized, and despite Giddens' emphasis on the continuity of daily encounters, are also themselves able to change substantially, for example when women re-enter employment in the wage workplace after a period of time 'raising' their children. I am also interested in how conceptions of space are
involved in the transformative capacity of the human agent, which includes a consideration of the control of time and space. If women could alter the spatial distribution of resources and modes of regionalization what implications might this have for the organizations of biological and social reproduction? As women extend their reproductive work beyond the confines of the family home, does the constitution of safe space for their children, in fact, represent a set of local practices promoting the modification of the sexual division of labour?

b) Incorporating social theory into empirical research

The coincidence of recent methodological debates in human geography and other social sciences, together with the impact of feminism poses considerable challenge to the understanding of methods in geography. The focus on theorizing agency and structure has resulted in a re-thinking of the people-place relationship, not only in terms of its conceptualization but also in the relationship between theory and methods. The use of social theory in the analysis of geographical phenomena, which includes that of Giddens, increasingly 'calls' for the dissolution of the dualism of base-superstructure framed arguments, and includes the deconstruction of concepts within this agenda. Essentially the emergence of a post-modern geography, of which this is a part, is a move away from an underlying search for order and instead brings attention to the disorganization of capitalism. Human action is not usefully reduced to underlying patterns of cause and effect, but instead an approach which recognizes that patterns of behaviour have their own order and meaning is advocated (Geertz, 1983; Gregory, 1987; Hall, 1980). Methodologically this implies a more interpretative analysis rather than a presentation of data upon which order has been bestowed through the set of a concepts of a particular theory. Indeed, writers within this overall, converging, framework recognize
that concepts for understanding 'structure' and 'agency' inevitably must emanate from the experiences of everyday life.

This consensus has considerable significance for the employment of theory in research. Although specific formulations of abstract concepts are necessary to demonstrate the internal logic and consistency of a particular theoretical approach, in empirical research the value of theoretical notions is in sensitizing the framing of research problems and the interpretation of data, rather than in imposing order through the explanatory framework of a particular theory's set of concepts. But just as we need concepts to inform empirical research we need empirical work to contribute to and evaluate existing conceptualizations. In this way, the research is itself a type of recursive process; one that consists of a theoretically guided analysis of the complexities of our social and spatial experience, but one in which empirical reality serves also to develop a theoretical problematic. In other words, the data 'speaks', although the way it is presented is guided by the particular theoretical understanding of the relationship between human action, places and social institutions that the researcher adopts. This represents an attempt to reach a middle, integrative ground between empirical description and theoretical abstraction in which understandings of both structure and agency can be combined.

The theorizing of human agency has also drawn attention to the proposition that the texts of research presentation are not objective acts, but do enter academic 'stocks of knowledge' which are drawn upon in framing social science research. This has been particularly recognized by feminist researchers who see the omission of women from accounts of our social and spatial 'worlds' as not only an unfortunate neglect, but as a facet of the differential in power according to gender in the whole enterprise of the social construction of knowledge. Even where women's activities are examined, most frequently in
community studies, they tend to have been interpreted through the categories of the researcher, who is frequently male, and are not derived from the experiences and voices of the female human agents. Apart from tending to underestimate the value and significance of women’s activities in what is an interdependent and whole, if gendered, social totality, such accounts are *unstated as being ‘male perspectives’, and these have gained an authority through their predominance in academic writing* (Jacobson, 1978, 1982; Oakley, 1972, 1974).

Fincher (1987: 11) comments that “feminists have argued that their approach sees the construction of knowledge differently from the way it is seen in the more orthodox paradigms of social scientific research. Particularly, they see the feminist politics of knowledge as one that admits the researcher’s personal and political forms of knowledge as well as subjective and objective understandings of social processes”. Indeed, the goal of feminists to have their ideas enter the stocks of knowledge of academia is being achieved. Yet, as Stanley and Wise (1983) assert, the different strands of feminism represent not just sets of theoretical constructions about women’s position within social reality but also sets of moral beliefs based on political concerns, which incorporate alternative views of action which might eradicate inequality. In agreeing with their position, rather than committing myself to an attempt to assert the theoretical primacy of either the major explanatory frameworks for women’s dependence of patriarchy or capitalism, I follow the view that these intertwine in complex ways. What is of interest is how they are manifested as they combine in particular places at particular times; not as unique cases of general theoretical explanation, but as constitutive elements of gendered social practices (Johnson, 1987; Urry and Warde, 1985). As Jaggar (1983) comments, conceptualizations have been argued at the level of theory, rather than on the basis of detailed investigation, and this ‘reification’ of abstract concepts has
been unable to accommodate the vast diversity of women’s experience, from which, instead, theory should be developed.

Feminist geography, in particular, has demanded a radical re-consideration of the ‘man’ in what is commonly termed the ‘man-environment’ relationship. In common with the growing consensus around post-modern geography, feminist geographers have “also argued that an adequate model of environment not only necessitates an empirical focus on the active process whereby agents create environments, but that all our geographic categories be developed out of this active process” (Mackenzie, 1986c). Attention should thus focus on how the practices comprising gender relations occur under temporally and spatially specific conditions.

These comments are important for understanding the direction of my study and the way in which feminist theory influences my work. I am not using the abstract conceptualizations of feminist theory to explain what the women I studied do, but instead I draw on insights from feminist thought to direct attention to the ways in which human actions, in a particular place, are linked to social institutions that stretch over space and time in such a way that unequal power relations between men and women are integral to the way processes unfold in everyday life and are a part of every facet of a woman’s life. The reflexive, hermeneutic approach of structuration theory is thus interwoven with feminist insights into women’s experiences, resulting in a ‘perspective’, rather than a ‘theoretical approach’. This is in keeping with Oakley’s understanding of feminism, not as a particular set of prescriptive values but as a perspective which “consists of keeping in the forefront of one’s mind the life-styles, activities and interests of more than one half of humanity – women.” (Oakley 1974:3). The theoretical problem of my own research thus incorporates two elements, until recently treated separately due to the
commonsense acceptance of the notion of the separate spheres of home and work into academic knowledge. These are, firstly, the constitution of the individual in society within the 'socio-spatial dialectic' and, secondly, gender difference. In an effort to interlink theory and practice, the empirical work is based on the 'real life' problem of how women manage their daily lives in the face of extensive change in understandings of home and work life. Intensive, qualitative methods are advocated in this quest to increase sensitivity to the diversity in women's lives and the ways in which capitalism and patriarchy intertwine in a variety of complex ways in time and space (Foord and Gregson, 1986; McDowell, 1986). The open-ended interviewing and participant observation I use are methods particularly suited to recognizing the importance of human action and the continuous construction of meaning (Thorne, 1987). In essence my approach involves placing women as active agents at the centre of research, both as the subjects of research and in constructing knowledge.

In the next chapter I turn to the development of concepts in geography which have increased the visibility of women and have framed my own work. I also consider studies in other social science literature, the findings of which raise questions concerning motherhood that direct the exploration of mothering work.
Chapter Two Footnotes

1. For further discussion on the difficulties with 'verification' approaches see Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Mitchell (1983).


5. See for, example, work in Anderson, Duncan and Hudson (1983) and Dear and Scott (1981).

6. For a discussion specifically concerning the difficulty of applying marxist concepts to geographical reality see Duncan and Ley, 1982.

7. Structuration theory has been the subject of considerable exposition and critical debate by both sociologists and human geographers. Developed by Giddens over a number of years, it does not, as Dickie-Clarke (1984) comments, readily lend itself to a brief summary of its 'component parts', for these do not stand alone but build to a synthesized whole. I therefore take a somewhat intermediate course in the way I deal with the theory of structuration in order to indicate in what ways it is implicated in my research. This is not the place to add to the work evaluating the epistemological basis of Giddens' work or the internal consistency of its logic. For instances of debate and critique on Giddens's work which provide comprehensive formulations of the fundamentals of 'structuration' and perceived omissions of Giddens' conceptualization of the constitution of society see Callinicos (1985), Thompson (1984), and Wright (1983).

8. The term 'oppression' which, despite its status as a basic tenet of feminist research is rarely defined. Jaggar (1983:77) describes it in the following way: "Women share common experiences of oppression, which, though they may be mediated by class, race and ethnicity, nevertheless cut across class lines." These experiences vary widely and include rape, physical abuse, sex objectification and
sexual harassment. Included also is the ideal of inequality through women's primary responsibility for housework and childcare, the fact that women generally have less money, power and leisure time than men and that jobs are sex-segregated. The notion on inequality has focused feminist work in geography (Foord and Gregson, 1986).

9. See Barrett (1980) for further discussion on different interpretations of the concept of reproduction. The work of Castells has been important in recognizing the crucial role of women's work to the maintenance of capitalist society, but Brownill (1984) comments that in casting women in terms of 'consumers' their work remains marginalized in theory, against that of producers. Both in theoretical and empirical work much of women's experience is hidden from view.

10. McDowell and Massey (1984) cite, for example, when the introduction of the power loom resulted in the demise of the handloom weaver in the Lancashire cotton industry a 'role reversal' occurred as men, who were former weavers, had difficulty finding employment while many women brought home higher wages through their employment as factory weavers.
CHAPTER THREE: TOWARDS A GEOGRAPHY OF MOTHERHOOD

1. Introduction

An increasing number of geographers working with an interest in the links between spatial structure, women's activities and women's status in society have recognized gender-blind approaches in geography, and in response have engaged in reinterpreting the past and present and the definition of research agendas. (Burnett, 1973; Hayford, 1974; Mackenzie, 1984; Tivers, 1978; Women and Geography Study Group of the IBG, 1984). In the course of this endeavour concepts have been developed which aim to explain differences in men's and women's relationships to the environment and to provide a critique of existing thinking in geography which has not brought women's experiences into theory development. The concept of gender role, used in tandem with either the idea of spatial constraint or the spatial separation of productive and reproductive work, has been prominent in explanations of women's inequality (Foord and Gregson, 1986). Yet as feminist thought has paralleled developments in human geography as a whole, increased emphasis has been placed on the active agency of women. Thus, questions regarding the ability of women to modify time and space constraints and renegotiate their roles become of interest. Such possibilities are suggested by both recent empirical findings in geography and sociology and by developments in understanding 'ideology.' These have influenced the direction of my study in suggesting that the operation of 'gender role constraint' may be modified by informal re-organization of childcare, including its re-allocation in time and space.
2. Taken-for-granted Women

Feminist critique is not only concerned with the low visibility of women as research subjects, but also with the inadequacy of theoretical models in revealing the fundamental effects of the sexual division of labour on the lives of human beings. The fact that there are patterned differences in the type of work men and women do has, in the main, been taken for granted (Smith, 1979; Stacey and Thorne, 1985). Similarly, the association of men's and women's activities with particular space has only recently been opened to theoretical question.

The space most commonly recognized as pertaining specifically to women's activities is that of the home and neighbourhood, especially in the built form of the suburb. A summary of suburban studies suggests a 'localism' of everyday life in the suburbs, based on the understanding of "the home as a place of child-raising;" (Ley, 1983:343) yet the models commonly used in human geography have had little to say about domestic labour or childrearing practices despite their centrality to many women's lives. Accounts of urban spatial structure and the social life taking place within this are cast in terms of an underlying assumption of an analytic separation of the home and workplace, and the consequent neglect of gender has resulted in conceptualizations of the home and neighbourhood as adjuncts to the productive world. Research has not attempted to disclose the myriad of activities involved in the domestic sphere of activity where many forms of work practices take place which are inextricably linked to work in the formal economy (Himmelweit and Mohun, 1977). Work such as this, which is framed within an implicit work-home dichotomy and which tends to describe activity in terms of productive work and leisure categories, cannot link the significance of domestic labour to the totality of social and economic organization. The use of terminology such as 'homemaking' and 'discretionary time' to describe activities outside paid employment skims over
consideration of the derivation of these categories and does not consider adequately either their content or context.

Some effort has been made to include women in empirical study of spatial activity but they have remained as a variable rather than being recognized as a theoretical category. Everitt (1976), for example, addresses the differentiation of activities according to gender in a Los Angeles suburb, but his analysis remains at the level of the individual, stressing the links between perception, decision-making and behaviour, without questioning what it is about women's position in society that results in such differences between men's and women's spatial activity. Everitt and Cadwallader (1981) note that the local neighbourhood area is more important for developing friendships for women than for men but do not relate this phenomenon to the understanding of the neighbourhood as the women's primary workplace.

The framing of research problems has also frequently been premised on the notion of a particular type of family structure. The household, as an undifferentiated unit of analysis, has been assumed to consist of a male breadwinner with a wife who stays home with the children. Women's changing workplace participation, however, denies the notion of all households being of the one-worker category, and this assumption is breaking down. Attention has been paid to changes in family structure in both activity pattern research, such as the journey-to-work literature and work concerned with the interlinkages between the economy, social organization and urban spatial structure. Yet such studies still tend to conceptualize inadequately women's lives.

Despite the consideration of women within, for example, the journey-to-work literature, 'gender blind' notions of what constitutes the workplace have prevailed and ignored a whole dimension of women's working lives. The complexity of the woman's journey-to-work, which may include
shopping, household errands and taking children to and from daycare, in addition to reaching the wage workplace, has not yet been integrated into conceptualization of the journey-to-work (Werkerle, 1980). The trips of women as 'homemakers' and mothers, apart from shopping trips, are invisible.

Family structure has emerged as an important part of enquiry in work concerned with the impact of both current and past economic restructuring in specific geographic contexts. Scott (1986) argues that the division of labour associated with the relationship between capital and labour in Industrial organization will appear as a social division of space, taking particular local forms of the separation of home and workplace. Both work-related and non-work related forces are involved in the way the organization of economic relations is manifested in specific times and places. Ideas and values concerning forms of family life constitute one such force, resulting in positive or negative values being attached to specific built environments, such as their evaluation in terms of childrearing. A study of a gentrified area of Inner city Vancouver by Ley and Mills (1986) provides an apt illustration of the social fragmentation - and resultant class and political divisions - that Scott associates with the separation of the home and workplace. Certainly the lifestyle of the affluent, dual-earning families without children alluded to in this study vividly contrasts with conceptions of the 'domesticity' of the suburbs, not, however, because of determinacy of built form but as a consequence of the interlinking of social and economic organization.

The explicit inclusion of family form and the development of 'local' meanings of landscapes are both important considerations in interpreting women's lives within a wider context of economic and social organization; but without consideration of the gender differentiation of the social division of labour delineating the context, the specific significance of women's activities to
social and spatial structuring remains hidden from view. In the rest of the chapter I discuss the development of feminist geography in order to present conceptualizations within this discourse which help to bring women's mothering work into the understanding of the interlinked relations of waged workplace, home and community.

3. Re-Interpreting the Home and Workplace: Directions in Feminist Geography

The incorporation of women into geographical research has been accomplished in what may be identified as two main stages, while an emergent third stage has begun to frame further directions in feminist geography. First, by examining what women did and where they did it feminist geographers have begun to make women visible. Second, a more theoretical approach emerged through the integration of socialist feminist theory and insights from critical analyses of human geography. Feminist geographers shifted the emphasis of research towards an explanation of gender differentiation within a framework which related the spatial separation of the activities of reproduction and production to capitalist development. Latterly, feminist work within this general approach has adopted what may be broadly termed a humanistic marxist perspective which emphasizes human agency and the ways in which both social and economic relationships interlink home, community and workplace in specific ways in particular localities. These stages of feminist geography in part follow a chronological development, but as the different theoretical approaches adopted remain current the identification of stages necessarily simplifies the progress of feminist work (Foord, 1983; Foord and Gregson, 1986; McDowell, 1983; Mackenzie, 1986b, Women and Geography of the IBG, 1984). Within the progress of feminist geography a number of topic areas have been addressed, and so for
the purpose of this discussion I refer only to studies which help to formulate a further understanding of women as mothers.

a) Making women visible: role differentials and spatial constraint

Early work in geography concerned with women’s relationship to the environment followed positivist approaches, and was largely concerned with describing women’s activity and mobility patterns. Couched explicitly or implicitly within an analytic framework of the separation of home and workplace, studies focused on women as wage workers, or as women who were being constrained from entering the labour force. This literature forms an interdisciplinary body of work concerned with ‘women and the environment’ which reaches a consensus in drawing a strong correlation between the spatial extent of women’s activities and their primary responsibility for household tasks and childcare. It is within this area of research on time-space patterns that women as mothers become more clearly delineated as particularly constrained users of the environment. The notion of ‘gender role’ is used to explain the spatial patterning of women’s activities. Gender role is commonly understood according to Kessler and McKenna’s definition as “a set of expectations about what behaviours are appropriate for people of one gender” (1982:283).

A number of activity pattern studies using methods influenced by time-budget approaches demonstrate the links between women’s domestic roles, travel patterns, and access to jobs and social services and have highlighted the time and space constraints women face. Women are found to be less mobile than men because of their greater reliance on public transportation and due to the demands of their multiple roles. (Hanson and Hanson, 1981; Holcomb, 1984; Lopata, 1980; Mazey and Lee, 1983; Pickup, 1984). Hagerstrand’s (1970)
time-space model of society, which emphasizes constraint over choice, has been particularly influential to geographers concerned with the logistical problems for women attempting to combine paid employment and family responsibilities. Hägerstrand's model begins with the environmental structure of resource and activity alternatives, which include goods, services, job opportunities, information, social contacts and leisure opportunities. Each individual will follow a 'daily path' as he or she participates in various activities, but the ability to do this is influenced by interacting groups of constraints. The identification of different types of constraints highlights the basic temporal and societal problems faced by individuals in the context of numerous institutional and organizational role demands.\(^4\)

By situating women's daily time and space 'paths' in the context of the temporal organization and spatial fixity of institutions, such as the daycare centre and school, the particular problems for women to pursue job and leisure opportunities as they attempt to accommodate and fulfill their various roles and responsibilities are emphasized. While the full-time homemaker with preschoolers is seen to have the greatest number of leisure hours, these hours may be fragmented by school schedules when children are older, and lack of transportation may limit the use made of this time (Hanson and Hanson, 1981; Martensson, 1977, 1979; Michelson, 1980, 1985; Palm and Pred, 1974, 1978; Tivers, 1977). A consensus reached in these studies is that certain aspects of urban life, as these are built into a particular temporal and spatial arrangement of the environment, are dysfunctional for women through the operation of employment hours, transportation services, housing design and location, public safety, health delivery and other services. However, the fact that similar constraints exist in other urban environments suggests that the particular form of the physical environment should not be viewed in any sort of deterministic
manner (Darke, 1984). Not only can there not be generalizations made about suburban form, changes are occurring with the decentralization of jobs and provision of standard goods and services in suburban areas which alter the physical relation of women to environmental resources (Fava, 1980; Popenoe, 1980; Saegart, 1980, 1985; Wekerle, 1981, 1985).

Furthermore, although these studies are very valuable in demonstrating the time-space components of women's daily lives, they are essentially framed within pre-existing categories in geography, and a thorough analysis of the roles identified is not readily incorporated. This is noted by Tivers who points out that the emphasis on environmental constraints on activities in the time-geography model cannot adequately deal with the constraint of gender-role. In her view, "the presence of young children is itself certainly one of the most important (if not the most important) constraints on women" (1985:15). Tivers' study has been important to developments in geographical considerations of gender, as it is a forerunner in looking at women's activities, primarily in relation to their mothering responsibilities, through ideas culled from gender role theory. Role theory stresses that roles are socially prescribed and so must be seen as being located within the structure of social relations. Tivers' identification of the socially constructed nature of women's roles is notable, for at the time of her research she did not have the benefit of the emerging feminist critique of conventional geographical approaches, although these are incorporated in the later presentation of her research findings (Tivers, 1985).

The aim of her study is, "to produce an accurate picture of the importance of different constraints on the out-of-home activity patterns of women with young children" (Tivers, 1985:16). She is concerned to relate the activities of these mothers to their quality of life, measured in terms of access to services and facilities, extent of out-of-home activities and a subjective 'satisfaction of
life' based on a semantic differential test. The research method used by Tivers is strongly influenced by the constraint emphasis of the time-geography school and spatial behaviour approaches. A questionnaire survey of four hundred women, each with at least one child under age five, was carried out to gather space-time budget information, and the data were analyzed through cross-tabulation and correlation techniques. However, in contrast to earlier activity pattern studies on women, the class and gender relations of society framed the investigation of the complexity of societal constraints, rather than a focus on constraints of the physical environment. Recognizing that physical constraints, in relation to mobility and service provision, are "simply the spatial patterns produced by the social processes at work in society" (Tivers, 1985:18), Tivers discusses the influence of gender-role constraint on activity patterns, noting that this is the dominant constraint for women with young children, although its actual influence on activity patterns will be largely determined by the socio-economic position of the individual woman.

In this thorough study Tivers is able to show the practical consequences or manifestations of gender-role constraint; these are the restricted, locally-oriented activity patterns of these mothers which result from the necessity of co-ordinating all activities around children's needs. However, her methodology falls short in not allowing her to follow up her wish to explore the social construction of the gender roles which create the gender-role constraint and how this delineates the responsibilities and opportunities of these women. The lack of 'experiential' data is a particular omission, for she is not able to pursue questions of how this constraint is experienced, despite her desire to examine the 'quality of life' of her respondents, which she believes is closely inter-related with attitudes towards actual activity patterns. Other problems of methods arise in the interpretation of data. As Tivers notes, several activities,
such as shopping and home-visiting, straddle her survey categories of 'unpaid work' and 'leisure activities', demonstrating the inadequacy of such definitional categories for incorporating the complex interaction of women's activities into understandings of the construction of 'gender-role constraint.' Large surveys really cannot readily reveal the meanings that women's actions have for them or the social processes which are related to the 'local orientation of women's lives.'

In general, the research techniques of the tradition of positivist knowledge, which were used in the first stage of feminist geography, continued to take domestic work for granted through the employment of categories based on a dichotomy of productive work and leisure. The sexual division of labour was left essentially unquestioned, and the work of mothering was not singled out for investigation. An inadequate theorization of space and the human agent resulted in a static model of both individuals and the environment being presented, so attention was not paid to the possibility that women's activities as mothers might be shaping space, as well as being shaped by space. The limitations of this literature to ground women's lives within the relationship between space and social relations lies with its behavioural stance, in which the environment is taken as a given and women are viewed as passive responders to and users of this environment, acting as individuals within a web of physical and personal constraints. The way in which theoretical developments have led to a more penetrating analysis of the relationship between 'gender-role' expectations and space are discussed in the next section.

b) Beyond description: the sexual division of labour

The second stage of feminist geography represents a move from descriptions of differentials in roles and environmental use between men and women to attempts at explanation. The fact-finding and identification of
problems specific to women were useful preliminaries to the drawing out of theoretical conclusions (Brownill, 1984; Mackenzie, 1984). Development of feminist theory has provided feminist geographers with tools for furthering enquiry which have influenced a shift in emphasis away from the spatial description of women's activities to questions of how space is implicated in both the formation and reflection of cultural definitions of 'men' and 'women'. The underlying premise of this work is that the category of 'woman' is socially constructed and that differences in men's and women's relationship to the labour force are constituted through a sexual division of labour, upheld by dominant ideologies. Literature within this framework of understanding is as yet scarce, but makes an important contribution to understanding women's experiences by reconceptualizing the relationship between home and workplace.

Work informed by marxist ideas, particularly in the form of socialist-feminism, emphasizes that the social and spatial separation of production and reproduction in industrial capitalism has contributed to the social definition of the content of men's and women's roles and thereby the whole structure of gender relations (Foord and Gregson, 1986; Johnson, 1987). The use of a historical-materialist method has demonstrated that the spatial and social fusion of the sexual division of labour is closely associated with notions of the 'living wage,' by which men are providers for their family, and the 'ideology of domesticity' which has 'naturalized' women's position in the home. Urban morphology, in the form of the 'separated city' dividing residential areas from industrial production, thus separating home from wage workplace, has reaffirmed and sharpened the gender differentiation of activities in time and space (Brownill, 1984; McDowell, 1983, 1986; Mackenzie, 1980; Mackenzie and Rose, 1983). Furthermore, women internalize the ideology of domesticity and, in general, do not see themselves as oppressed. In effect, this ideology supports a
sexual division of labour in and outside the home, casting women in a 'servicing role' within the home, looking after the needs of the family, while outside the home women are channelled into certain types of jobs, usually lower paid than those of men. The family thereby implies definite relationships between men and women in terms of power and role differentials. Yet, as Brownill (1984) points out, this does not imply that men and women live separate lives, but that they have different patterns of leisure, work and experience. In her study of an English working-class industrial town Brownill indicates that these patterns have been quite distinct over time, and for women have demonstrated a merging of home and work both temporally and spatially whereas men's home and work lives have been separate. The home for men may be a place of leisure but for women is a place fusing both work and leisure.

The understanding that the temporal and spatial patterning of women's lives contributes to their inequality is common to both spatial constraint approaches and work developed in a socialist-feminist discourse, but the latter emphasizes that gender roles are located within the organization of production and reproduction. Thus gender roles may change with restructurings of capitalism and will vary by class (Mackenzie and Rose, 1983). Regional variations have also been demonstrated to influence the form gender roles will take within these broader economic changes (McDowell and Massey, 1984).

McDowell (1983) suggests that the continuing location of domestic labour within individual dwellings is a major constraint on changing the organization of the relations between productive and reproductive labour which must underlie changes in the form of gender relations. This latter point is interesting, but the paucity of research in the area of reproductive labour in geography limits the development of understandings of the nature of women's activity and how this is constructed in particular places. A few studies have studied the implications of
local economic structuring for the interlinking of productive and reproductive spheres and the consequences of the form of women's work. Klausner (1986), for example, in her study of the London Docklands shows that women played an important role in the local community as breadwinners when dock-related economic activity declined. Pahl and Wallace (1983) attempted to trace the inter-relationships between the formal economy and the domestic division of labour in the Isle of Sheppey, and their findings suggest that under changing conditions of male employment and unemployment, work around the point of reproduction, that is the home and community, remained highly gender specific. The significance of the location of women's work in the division of domestic labour is shown by McDowell and Massey (1984) whose presentation of both historical and contemporary material identified variations in such division according to (a) the amount of time women are present in the home, whether engaging in paid labour or not, (b) the values of men in relation to their perceptions of women's roles, (c) values concerning the 'mothering role', and (d) who earns the subordinate income.

There is increasing recognition that the home and the work carried out there is an important pivotal site for the continuously changing spheres of production and reproduction, but as yet there is little known about the reproductive labour of childcare and socialization that is encompassed there (Klausner, 1986). The recognition that women's activities do alter with changes in economic structuring does suggest that women's 'place in the home' and the nature of their work should not be taken for granted. In addition, the notion that space both reflects and reinforces the sexual division of labour suggests that the timing and spacing of reproductive work is not static. For my own study of mothers in a particular locality, the importance of socialist-feminist work in geography is in framing the locality as context; the environment is not only used
by men and women differently, but provides a set of material and social conditions different to those experienced by men due to the organization of the sexual division of labour. In particular, the primary responsibility taken by women in the domestic sphere of activity will frame experiences and understandings of their lives in and outside the home.

Yet, work concerned to locate women's inequality solely within the structuring of the mode of production and the separation of men's and women's lives under capitalism has tended to treat women as 'victims' with unequal access to resources. The neglect of human agency in the form of daily negotiation between people in reproducing or transforming social and spatial structures derives from the reliance on role theory which has implicitly informed discussions of a woman's place (Foord and Gregson, 1986). In the next section I discuss how difficulties with the use of role theory have informed an emergent third stage in feminist geography which does not break from socialist-feminism but which acknowledges the centrality of human agency and, thus, the active ways women shape their lives. As yet, little published work has emerged within this redefined framework, but debates suggest that rather than seeing women as passive 'victims' of general processes, attention needs to be refocused on the lived practices of people in specific localities in order to develop concepts within a woman-centred discourse (Foord and Gregson, 1986; Johnson, 1987; McDowell, 1986). The importance of geographical variation in influencing how the fusion of the social and the spatial defines a woman's place is brought to the fore in understanding women's experience.

c) Re-thinking gender role theory and ideology: setting the third stage

The notions of 'gender role constraint' and 'gender role ideology' have been central in feminist geography in attempts to understand the relations between
the social construction of gender and spatial structures. Yet there has been little explicit recognition that these terms are indebted to role theory in sociology, which has, however, been compatible both to the inherent functionalism of much marxist-derived theory and to constraint-oriented approaches to empirical work. Based on the premise that male and female roles are rooted in biological differences, role theory is inadequate in theorizing the construction of gender differences. It has fitted well with the dichotomy of production and reproduction, however, in emphasizing the family role of women. The questions of role theory in feminism, which are concerned with the perpetuation of women's roles are also framed within an unproblematic conception of ideology, which has limited the exploration of the relationship of women's activities to ideas and meanings.

Kessler and McKenna (1982:11) define the usual understanding of role as "a set of prescriptions and proscriptions for behavior - expectations about what behaviors are appropriate for a person holding a particular position within a particular social context." Roles can be 'achieved' through action, such as the occupational roles of doctor or mother, or they are 'ascribed' through characteristics deemed to be unchangeable, such as Black, infant or gender. It is immediately apparent that such is a static understanding, which lacks a recognition that ascriptions are socially constructed within historically and culturally specific situations. Central to this approach is the notion of 'role-taking' approach, by which people are understood to internalize roles within a general consensus over their content and enactment (Stanley and Wise, 1983). Changes in activities require reconceptualization of the role for their analysis, for example, when women add wage work to domestic work. The concept of the 'dual-role' is commonly used to describe these changes, and Oakley (1974) believes this concept further validates the status of domestic work as non-work
and feeds into an ideology of gender roles around which modern society is structured. Ideology in role theory tends to be used as a descriptive term for a set of beliefs somehow existing independently, with an unproblematic relationship to human action.

The notion that girls and boys are socialized into their roles is consistent with role theory. Eisenstein (1983:88), referring to Chodorow’s work on mothering, describes the way this type of understanding has been used to explain how women became mothers, for “they were responding to a pervasive social ideology about the correct role for women. This theory presupposed that women accepted the persuasion of conventional attitudes about femininity as laid down by the media, by educational institutions, by religious and cultural organizations, and by families.” Indeed the belief of the passivity of women’s ‘nature’ has been crucial to the development of notions in the differences of men’s and women’s roles, the idea of women being the cornerstone of the home and her continued ‘place’ in the home as necessary to the stability of social order.

A recent critical conception of ideology has been concerned with the linking of ideology to the process of dominant relations of power (Thompson, 1984). In particular the impact of Althusser’s work has been hailed in socialist feminism “in that it has effectively challenged the mechanistic concept used by earlier Marxists and has asserted the importance of gender in the construction of individual subjects” (Barrett, 1980:38). Althusser’s conception “defined ideologies as providing the frameworks of understanding through which men interpret, make sense of, experience and ‘live’ the material conditions in which they find themselves” (Hall, 1980:32). Thus ideology as merely a reflection of class relations was no longer tenable, and developments in the theory of ideology have resulted in an emphasis of interest in the links between ‘lived experience’
and the ways in which individual subjects are constructed and reproduced in ideology. In particular the processes whereby meaning is constructed has become a central concern.

These developments in the understanding of ideology has emphasized the static notions of role theory. In contrast to the idea of 'role-taking', the concept of 'role-making' permits a more dynamic view of changing activities. Roles are not viewed as being internalized or necessarily of an agreed content. Instead 'role' is something "which can be constructed and analysed only after the event. Only after something has happened can we know what has happened, and even then 'what has happened' may seem very different to the various participants within it." (Stanley and Wise, 1983:101). In other words, gender and gender role are more usefully seen as situationally variable, with context being important in influencing behaviour. Thus how gender role is defined in empirical reality is what is of interest. This suggests an exploration of differences in expectations and obligations associated with particular roles in particular settings. Indeed the concept of gender role is simplistic in its suggestion of universality. It is unable to respect the variations in experience that deny generalizations about 'the family' as the container and reinforcer of expectations according to gender. Gender role rather than 'a unitary fact' is better understood as a complex product, with a woman's status made up of many things (Eisenstein, 1983).

Gender roles may be more appropriately seen as stereotypes, which in Stanley and Wise's interpretation are not more or less 'internalized'; instead they argue that:

... the clusters of norms, attributes and so on that are referred to as 'gender' exist and are related to as stereotypes - as simplistic and stereotypic representations which people relate to in a myriad of ways. These are not in themselves 'reality' as people experience it; they are but one facet of what people construe this as (1983:103).
This position has merit in that it firmly links gender role with ideological constructions, which themselves are also problematic. The implicit acceptance of the foundations of role theory has essentially precluded serious questioning of women's collusion with stereotypical beliefs and expectations. Indeed, ideology has been inadequately theorized in feminist theory despite a frequent acceptance of its centrality in contributing to women's status and experiences.

Considerable post-Althusserian developments in the theorizing of ideology can only dismiss any simple relationship between socialization and the acceptance of a predominant set of ideas and expectations about behaviours based on gender difference. In addition a movement away from any notion of marxist 'false consciousness' has been predicated on developments in the understanding of ideology which, although variously formulated, converge over a concern with the construction of meaning and its embeddedness in social practice. Certainly the tendency in existing literature to abstract women from contexts of interaction, which includes the organization of social relations between women as well as between women and men, and over space as well as in specific historical moment, I suggest, misses an important cultural component which is important in understanding how ideological processes are also contextualized in time and space.

It is not surprising that feminist geographers are redefining research agendas, for feminist theory, only recently developed, continues to develop its major concepts. Demonstration of the diversity of women's experiences and in the content of gender identity has resulted in concern over the use of generalizing concepts which, though arguing at the level of theory, have inadequately incorporated the little direct evidence on which it is based (Jaggar, 1983; Stanley and Wise, 1983). In geography, the development of a 'humanistic marxism' has paralleled the concern over the difficulties of using abstracted,
dichotomous concepts, and feminist debate within this broad approach encourages a focus on the ways such concepts, such as production and reproduction, are 'played out' in particular forms of the sexual division of labour in specific localities. The task of incorporating human agency in research also calls for a 'people-centred' research; this includes consideration of women's responses to economic and social restructuring and the active construction of gender identities through practices which vary over time and space (Bowlby, 1986; Foord, 1983; Foord and Gregson, 1986; McDowell, 1986; Mackenzie, 1986b). As yet the literature is suggestive of what directions might be followed, rather than providing a coherent established body of work. Nevertheless, the addition of child-rearing to the research agenda of feminist geography in its aim of documenting the actual form and nature of women's involvement in different aspects of the labour process can fruitfully build upon these formative beginnings. Indeed, it is within geography that there is considerable potential for developing an understanding of the mother-child relationship through linking the spatial and social aspects of mothers' experiences at the local level and the meanings these have for them to the structuring of the sexual division of labour over time and space.

4. Women as Mothers

a) Introducing the mother-child relationship

A major achievement of feminist research has been broadening the concept of work to include the 'invisible' labour of the home and neighbourhood. Much of this labour is carried out by women, such as housework, household provisioning, childcare, caring for the sick and elderly and volunteer work in community organizations. In addition, sociological literature indicates that women, in general, adopt a 'dual role' when they participate in the more visible
labour of the waged economy in retaining primary responsibility for such
domestic labour (Berk, 1980; Borman et al., 1984; Eichler, 1983; Meissner, 1975;
Oakley, 1974, 1974b, Pleck, 1984). The prevalent notion that the wife is a
secondary wage-earner is viewed as upholding this patterning of the division of
labour, although some variation is apparent in the ways of organizing domestic
labour within individual households. Yet, although the notion of the 'ideology of
domesticity' has been developed and used to interpret the continuing
differentiation of activities by gender within a sexual division of labour over
time, the associated notion of 'motherhood' has received less attention. Women
as domestic labourers have been made visible in the literature with more clarity
than women as mothers.

David points out that although the notion of 'motherhood' socially defines
how socialization and care should be carried out, "there is no one version of
motherhood. Little is known, through research, of what mothers actually do and
how they care for and rear their children" (1984:192). What little evidence
there is suggests enormous variation in mothering practices by social class and
income, family structure, region and type of locality and the numbers and sex of
children. What is common, however, is that the content of mothering is
increasingly defined by 'experts' and there has been an evident move towards an
emphasis on the educative aspect of childrearing. This has resulted in many
women, including those who stay at home and those who participate in the wage
labour force, viewing childcare as a specialized activity which requires
considerable investment of time and energy. Recent work also suggests the
relationship between the school and the family as providing a crucial context for
the work of motherhood, just as much as economic relationships. Mothering
practices are shown to be fundamentally integrated with the school, the
temporal organization and professional practice of which relies on a sexual
division of labour (Griffith and Smith, 1986; Smith, 1986). What is of central importance is that, despite changes in the content of childrearing methods, full-time mothering remains a predominant cultural model for the care of young children (Boulton, 1983; Daily, 1982; David, 1984).

This model also permeates literature that incorporates children. This literature, Thorne (1987) states is frequently framed in two ways, one that shows the child as a 'victim' of adult practices, including divorce, increasing numbers of mothers in the labour force and the lack of provision of alternative protective care, and the second depicting children as learners of adult society, recipients of the socialization process. In terms of their inherent dependence on adults children are also viewed as a constraint on activity, for example on women's active participation in waged labour. Thorne comments that only recently has the question been raised of how the mother-child relationship may be mutually influential. Boulton (1983) also asserts there has been little focus on the ways in which women experience this relationship. Even when the social organization of the mothering role is described, the affective dimension of motherhood, or the quality of the mother-child relationship, is treated as a separate aspect of experience. In fact, once children reach an age where a mother's presence in the home is no longer required for daylong 'childcare', the interpretation of this as a diminishing 'work' aspect results in a tendency in the literature to neglect consideration of the continuing experience of 'motherhood' beyond the pre-school years. The experience of the mother-child relationship, Boulton comments, can only be approached through women's own perspectives on their mothering activities. Her own study presents the ambiguity of women's experiences of motherhood and childcare, the mothers describing their pleasures and frustrations on a day-to-day level while finding their work in rearing children gave them purpose and meaning to their lives. Discovery of women's
experiences of motherhood are important, for if we are to investigate the constitution of gender identity we need to focus more attention on the relationship between mother and child, tracing both its ideological and 'actual' components (Thorne, 1987).

The utility of recent developments in feminist theory to the study of mothering practices and women's daily lives is derived from the recognition that the specific ways children are cared for and socialized are not in any sense 'natural' or static, but vary historically and cross-culturally. This supports the notion that just as conceptions of 'woman' are social constructs, so the content of such conceptions is also open to change.

Existing literature on household labour, however, has given little theoretical attention to childrearing or to the empirical investigation of its content. How this content is defined and understood by women is important, for changes in understandings of what constitutes 'household work' to women in their own conceptions of their lives may have spatial and social consequences not easily revealed by the generalizing concepts or emphasis on women's 'roles' which have been prevalent in the literature. Work cast within role theory tends to take for granted gender divisions of labour, while the pre-occupation with the reproduction of the social order in marxist informed analyses has neglected investigation of the complexity of women's experiences within the different aspects of the labour process (McDowell, 1986; Stacey and Thorne, 1985; Thorne, 1987). Closer attention to women's active agency in shaping the conditions of their lives calls for more detailed investigation of the organization of the activities making up women's work settings and the ways in which women might control these.
b) Re-interpreting gender role constraint

In geography household labour has been dealt with in the context of the process of industrialization, the spatial separation of paid employment and home being viewed as reinforcing a gender differentiation of activities. However, there has been little geographical study of the organization of home life itself. Attention has rather been focused on the restricted access of women to the wage labour force for this has been seen as the source of women's inequality. Indeed, the major omissions of geographical research on women, through the early emphasis on environmental constraints and a later tendency to treat women as 'victims' of the structuring of industrial capitalism, have been; firstly, insufficient consideration of enabling conditions by which coping strategies in response to constraints are developed by women, and, secondly, inadequate attention to values and meanings, in particular those associated with motherhood, which influence the strategies followed. It is to these areas of neglect that my study aims to contribute. Yet, increasing attention to agency as well as structure in theory is starting to be translated into empirical research. While the literature has already clearly identified historical conditions which continue to influence gender differentiation through their incorporation into spatial structure, recent work is indicating that women are also active agents in structuring understandings and the use of urban space (Mackenzie, 1986, 1986b).

Two main aspects of women's activities emerging from recent studies are worthy of further consideration and form the basis of the empirical work of my own research. These are, first, the significance of the reallocation of childcare in time and space as a response by women to the combined effects of their personal circumstances and the organization of capitalist society and, second, the informal means that women use to overcome 'gender role constraint.' The geographical literature has been useful in emphasizing that some aspects of
household labour can take place outside the home, especially in the form of 'daycare' provision, but, as yet, there is remarkably little in the literature that indicates what support women are giving each other on a day to day basis, which also influences how space is 'used' and constituted. It is this latter aspect of mothering work that I consider particularly important in recasting understandings of constraint.

One aspect of the observed localism of women's everyday activities which is not directly addressed in the activity pattern literature in conceptualizing the shaping and control of both the spatial and temporal dimensions of women's lives, is the incorporation of informal support systems, particularly as this relates to childcare activities. Miller (1982) in his use of time-geography does point out, however, that in nineteenth century Philadelphia the household composition of middle-class families had as much to do with mobility as did location. If there were sufficient servants in a household, time was made available from domestic work, allowing the middle-class women to make use of public or private transport to take her to various activities distant to her suburban home. Research in geography concerned with contemporary times has given scant attention to the spatial implications of sharing aspects of household and childcare tasks within or outside the household unit, except in the specific form of daycare provision.

Fodor's (1978) analysis of daycare policy in Paris, France emphasizes the implications for this policy for the social construction of childcare as a private or social activity as women become participants in two conflicting modes of production, the family and the industrial. Its transformation into a 'social activity' means that daycare services, including their accessibility and cost, become part of the overall social conditions necessary for engagement in two differing modes of production.
In the Paris situation described by Fodor daycare centres, due to their cost, are chiefly used by subsidised low-income women and the more affluent middle class, while the majority of daycare is carried out in private homes, either by accredited or non-accredited childminders. Informal means, then, are used to regulate the deficiencies of public policy in creating the social conditions for women's wage employment. And, as Fodor suggests, these means take the form of changes in the social division of labour. It is mainly unskilled women with children at home who look after the children of semi-skilled women with higher salaries, allowing them to remain in employment. This study views the daily logistical problems for women, as they coordinate commuting time, workplace hours, and daycare facility hours, not in terms of spatial constraint but in the context of the social relations which structure social conditions, the daily patterning of activities are in this way seen as the manifestation of a reorganization of the social division of labour and are linked with policy decisions influenced by a particular cultural model of the family.

The ways in which private provisioners of childcare meet demands resulting from inadequate provision of public daycare facilities are also documented by Mackenzie (1986b). She shows that women may not only change their activities in response to a decline in both employment opportunities and support services, but in so doing also effect a redefinition of the home workplace and community in terms of paid employment. Her study describes how, as women provide daycare in their own homes, the dwelling place may be changed structurally or by different usage into a paid workplace. Although the general process of running a home-based business is not new, Mackenzie seeks to show that the specific form of change of home into home daycare provision represents active attempts by women to adjust space and time in order to resolve their particular problems in using the social environment in a time of
economic restructuring. Not only do they provide their own income, they are also providing the services needed by other women who are faced with a separation of home and wage workplace. Mackenzie describes how the women of her study extend and create new resources in their homes and community, through redesignating 'private' resources as a means of gaining a livelihood. In addition to using the home to gain income, the women assessed their neighbourhoods in terms of the resources that could be used in childcare, such as libraries, public playspaces and playgroups. Networks among friends were also redesignated as 'working' networks, acting as referral agencies and sources of advice, practical assistance, and sociability. The implications of such changes in structure and usage of the home and neighbourhood workplaces Mackenzie sees as important with regards to their potential transformative power; women instead of being viewed as 'victims' of disadvantageous spatial structure become creative urban actors.

Just as the content of women's work is open to change, so understandings of the physical space in which it occurs are not static. Gabbacia's (1982) study of Sicilian migrants adjusting to New York in the early twentieth century also shows that the allocation of activities and the use of space is not immutable and changes in these may accompany the re-definition of home and 'neighbourhood' and understandings of family structure. Using the notion of environmental control, Genovese (1980) also looks at women as active agents, adjusting time and space. She describes how women in a townhouse complex in the United States shared a variety of services and goods to overcome the limitations of their physical environment. They were able to widen their options through sharing transit, shopping for each other, babysitting, caring for children after school for employed women, operating small businesses from their homes and sharing sociability.
Although there is evidence that such support exists between women, Tietjen (1985) comments on the lack of knowledge of the conditions under which such support systems are developed. In an interesting comparison between single and married mothers in Sweden she observes that rather than merely acting as a constraint on women's activities, children may in fact be avenues for the activation of support.

Children may make demands and compete with network members for mothers' time and energy but they also may provide openings for contact with others and may themselves be sources of support. No research has yet addressed these questions (1985:490).

The opportunities that mothers create through child-centred activities are an important aspect of the mother-child relationship that I develop in my own study in order to interpret the women's experiences and analyze the constitution of safe spaces for their children as a strategy they adopt in coping with their lives.

Although not dealing directly with women's coping strategies, Holcomb (1985) is interested in how women are able to interpret the environment as a source of information. She suggests that both women's psychological and physical experiences and mobility may be affected by the legibility of the environment not just in terms of physical structures signalling information, as claimed by Lynch (1960), but through her access to knowledge. This is an interesting point because it leads to questions concerning how women do become knowledgeable, what they are knowledgeable about and how this knowledge influences their actions. This is a concern which has been integral to my study, for how knowledge is communicated might be implicated in not only experiencing a particular environment but also in constituting space. Potentially this has considerable implication for understanding transformations in women's roles and actions, for the constitution of safe space for children is one strategy used in controlling the spatial and social distribution of resources.
In order to study the conditions under which support systems emerge and the part played by knowledge in their development requires methods that allow the researcher to gain closeness to the everyday interaction of social life. Gullesstad's (1984) anthropological study of young working class mothers in Norway, focuses on the women's everyday conversations as they go about their lives. Through participant observation and unstructured interviews she was concerned to take account of the conceptions and categories of the women to show how ideas and values shaped the way they coped with their everyday life.

Much of the conversation between friends that Gullesstad listened to was framed as a moral discourse, the women talking about the rightness and wrongness of different aspects of their lives, including childbearing practices, the division of labour in their homes, work issues and information disseminated by the media. Such discussion addressed concrete and personal instances experienced by the women in their own lives, rather than referring to problems in the abstract, and provided the basis for the development of the shared understanding of a women's subculture. This detailed study is particularly valuable not only in making visible the particular problems of the young mothers but also the women's resources, their ability to solve problems and the cultural framework within which the mothers interpreted and made sense of their lives. In addition it demonstrates the value of intensive methods in revealing women's own conceptions of their lives and the quality of their experience.

The studies outlined above together begin to indicate the dynamic nature of the linkages between the wage labour force, family relations and spatial structuring. They also direct attention to the importance of taking account of meaning when we interpret women's experience of the sexual division of labour. Indeed, in order to understand further the links between local context, as the experienced form of the socio-spatial dialectic, and women's mothering activities, we need to take account of the meaning the mother-child relationship has to women and of the spaces in which
their activities are carried out. Daily negotiation of such meanings and understandings have been ignored in the geographical literature, in part due to the difficulties of integrating the spatial and the social in empirical work within prevalent modes of investigation and a lack of attention to the daily interactions between people in particular settings. But these are important if we are to investigate the links between gender identity, activity and space within a framework acknowledging agency and structure.

5. Conclusion

Contemporary changes in women's and men's activities as women enter the wage labour force in increasing numbers provides a particularly interesting time in which to look at 'motherhood' as a socially constructed, changeable concept through which the more static notion of 'gender role constraint' may be challenged. Motherhood is central to many women's lives but what women actually do with their children from day to day is an area of neglected research. Even in literature which does focus on household work, childcare tends to be framed in terms of care within the home, while children's recreational and extra-curricular educational activities, which may be spatially more extensive, evade serious consideration if mentioned at all. Until childcare is examined more carefully in all its aspects, the present emphasis on the constraining nature of childcare in the home, particularly while children are preschoolers, neglects the implications for women of other aspects of childrearing which may occur outside the family home. These should not be considered just in relation to women's gaining access to paid employment but also in their significance of women choosing to remain outside the labour force. In defining domestic labour, it is essential to incorporate all aspects of childrearing practices which take place in or outside the home and whether carried out exclusively by the mother or not. For how domestic responsibilities become defined and allocated is of
considerable interest in understanding how safe space for children is constituted and what the implications of this process are for the negotiation of 'motherhood' and the readjustment of the sexual division of labour which frames women's life experiences. In the next chapter I discuss the particular methods used in my study and the implications of these for analysis.
Chapter Three Footnotes

1. O'Connor's (1980) review of recent journey-to-work literature provides examples of the inclusion of the female journey-to-work in trip patterns. These have indicated a life-cycle differential based on marital status, due to the importance of local employment to married women in face of their home responsibilities and lower levels of car ownership. Occupational segregation by sex is also an important variable in journey-to-work patterns (Howe and O'Connor, 1977; Wabe, 1969; White, 1977). Ericksen (1977) is also able to show that mothers of small children travel shorter distances than persons without childcare concerns.

2. These stages resemble developments in other disciplines, in particular sociology, which first included gender as a variable rather than a theoretical category, then shifted to Marxist informed arguments, and more latterly has aimed to achieve theoretical reconstruction through interpretative understanding (Stacey and Thorn, 1985).

3. Excellent reviews of this body of work are provided by Fava (1980), Wegerle (1980), and Zelinsky et al. (1982).

4. Hägerstrand (1970) categorizes constraints in terms of capability constraints, coupling constraints and authority constraints. Capability constraints are those of biological makeup, the tools and technology commanded by an individual and also incorporate time and distance, for individuals have to return to the residence or other physically permanent stations by certain times. Coupling constraints define the place, time and length of stay available to an individual in order to join other individuals, tools and materials which permit production, consumption and the making of transactions. Certain activities are more fixed in time and space than others, especially when these also involve authority constraints, such as zoning decisions and other consequences of the control of 'things and events', for example through opening hours, which limit action possibilities and control access through a hierarchy of control in the form of 'space-time domains'.

5. Work within geography has in general focused attention on understanding the meaning of housing. See Duncan (1981) for a collection of essays analyzing the relationship between housing and identity.
6. Cooke (1986) also indicates this type of daycare is the most prevalent in Canada.
CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS

1. Introduction

The assumptions and propositions of the literature on women and the theoretical perspectives discussed above have been important in influencing the framing of the research problem and the methods used. A feminist-informed perspective is essential for my own research aims and is also in accordance with other approaches which stress the centrality of meaning and the daily routines of social life in understanding the social construction of society and space.

Researchers working within a gender-sensitive perspective recognize that the 'new' activities of women which have accompanied social and economic change are not readily categorized within previous frameworks of understanding the environment and further advocate methods of enquiry which are able to break down routine assumptions about gender roles and gender relations. Emphasis is on exploratory research, using intensive, qualitative methods. The researcher aims to explore women's lives from their own perspectives, taking account of women's own experiences and the meanings they employ in the course of their activities, rather than using the observer's pre-defined categories (Holcomb, 1984; McDowell, 1983; Mackenzie, 1984; Rose, 1984). What become important are "the 'mundane' and 'commonsense' details of maintaining life in capitalist society, those small human actions that make up and change our lives and our analytical categories" (Mackenzie, 1986).

This approach to research methods is compatible with other recent methodological viewpoints, outlined in the previous chapter, which advocate an ethnographic approach to geographical enquiry in order to produce interpretative accounts of human action, for without the inclusion of meaning and morality we deny the knowledgeability of the human subject. This is not to suggest, however, that the researcher go into the field without any previous notions or
concepts of what the world is about. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) note the value of the 'foreshadowed problem' to illuminate the ways in which theoretical ideas can guide ethnographic research without imposing the 'ideological order' of any particular set of concepts. This concept refers to the use of theory and literature searches to clarify and develop research problems before primary data are collected, rather than to set up hypotheses to be tested. The research process is one in which the researcher is constantly open to changing his or her views through the evidence of the material collected.

Thus, although certain conceptualizations of society and space 'order' observations and analytical insights, the researcher does not force data into abstract categories. Rather, the subject's own views and experiences serve to guide the researcher's interpretations and the formulation of conceptual categories. Feminist enquiry, for example, aims to build theory from the basis of women's experiences, at the same time locating such experiences within a framework of action predicated on women's unequal access to opportunity in society.

Following from an approach that views the everyday as problematic and embracing the particular feminist concern that women's activities must be understood through their own presentations of their experiences, I have chosen to use an ethnographic approach to my theoretical problem which is 'foreshadowed' by premises and understandings culled from feminist thinking and structuration theory. The study takes the form of an extended case study, which emphasizes the processual aspects of a locality and human action; participant observation and interviewing permit informed insights to emerge within an interpretative orientation which, however, are still closely bound to the experiences of the women of the study. The case material, as a 'story' develops the theoretical problem and allows concepts to be argued out at the empirical
level. The study is intended to do two things: firstly to evoke understandings of what it is like for the subjects of the study, a number of women with young children, to live in a specific place, and, secondly, to develop the theoretical problem of how space is implicated in the social construction of gender identity, in particular, how 'motherhood' is constituted and embedded in particular social practices taking place over time and space. The constitution of safe space for children is central to the processes whereby mothering practices and the identity of a 'good mother are interlinked.

The methods are used to document and interpret the time-space routines of women with young children, recognizing that these women have the capacity to secure outcomes through the use of various tools and resources, although how this happens is mediated through a particular structuring of gender relations that influences patterns of domination. I assume that the contexts of action are not 'givens', but will be created and negotiated through the courses of action that take place in many locales existing at different physical scales, but which are ultimately interlinked with actions of the 'everyday'. The research methods permit the gathering of data which will serve also to show where and how particular locales are implicated in the social construction of mothering practices.

2. Qualitative Methodology

a) Linking analysis and methods

The specific concerns of feminism and recent critical human geography can be related to a strongly established tradition of qualitative research, especially as developed within the disciplines of social and cultural anthropology and sociology, although geography has also relied on qualitative data at different stages of its development. In geography, the in-depth study of
small numbers of people has been associated with phenomenology and the
humanist school and it is perhaps due to the difficulties of moving beyond
description to explanation in phenomenological approaches that has caused
unease in using 'case studies', particularly when primarily based on participant

But a central point to be made in considering qualitative methodology is
that there is not one consistent mode of enquiry based on primary qualitative
data. Indeed, the collection of qualitative data does not necessarily lead to
qualitative analysis, for it may also be analysed quantitatively. Halfpenny
(1979), argues that different theoretical approaches in the social sciences
understand the term 'qualitative' in different ways which has implications for
the possible ways in which the qualitative data may be analyzed. At the same
time, any one study might be informed by more than one approach and may include
the use of both qualitative and quantitative data in analysis. My own use of both
qualitative data and qualitative analysis is guided by the nature of the study
which is exploratory and developmental, and emphasizes interpretation and the
discovery of substantive relations, rather than causal connections. My task is to
describe 'what is', and attempt to conceptualize this within a framework which
does take account of the social and economic context, and the meanings within
which actions take place.

This type of approach is especially important in a comparatively new area
of research, where little empirical study has been carried out. In such an
endeavour, the bulk of the data will be qualitative "...to the extent that they have
not yet been categorized in theoretically and empirically justified concepts"
(Halfpenny, 1979:806). Halfpenny states that the analysis of qualitative data is
concerned with the careful definition of concepts. Whether understanding the
actions and interactions of respondents is the core of explanation or is treated
as a first step in constructing hypotheses, depends on the researcher's approach. Similarly, the construction of hypotheses are not necessarily subject to testing in a positivist manner but may be used as orienting devices that guide an interpretative approach.

The consistency of qualitative research, and also its distinction from quantitative research, lies in its intensive methods and the emphasis on research as an ongoing process of linking data gathering and analysis. Sayer and Morgan (1984) have drawn out the main differences in techniques and methods of qualitative and quantitative research and the ways in which these define the objects and boundaries of study. The differences refer not merely to questions of scale, nor matters of depth rather than breadth. Rather the issue of methods is one of the relationship between research design and the type of questions asked. The main point, in their view, is that the choice of 'intensive' methods, as against 'extensive' methods, must be logically rooted in the theoretical approach and research question, or questions, which themselves derive from the theory. Although Sayer and Morgan's own research is concerned with regional problems and industrial location, the distinctions they make between different research designs are neither confined to substantive area, nor indeed academic discipline. Both intensive and extensive research have their place, and may be complementary, but the clear purposes and abilities of each must form the criteria for their selection or rejection.

The approaches use quite different methods of data collection. Extensive methods typically consist of large scale survey of a population or representative sample, formal questionnaires, standardized interviews and the use of statistical analysis. Intensive methods study individual agents in context, through interactive interviews and ethnography revealing data for qualitative analysis. While 'extensive' methods discover regularities, common patterns and
the distribution of certain characteristics or processes, this type of research is "primarily descriptive and synoptic" and, without support from other methods, cannot easily indicate the processes underlying the revealed patterns (Sayer and Morgan, 1984:150). Although formal quantitative regularities may be identified, this is achieved by finding similar attributes without establishing any real causal connection or substantive relations. Intensive methods, in contrast, are used to investigate the processes at work in a particular case or cases and to discover what produces change by looking at what people actually do in concrete situations. Intensive methods cannot be 'representative' and accounts are not 'formally generalizable,' but "we expect the mechanisms and structures generating these events to be found elsewhere" (Sayer and Morgan, 1984:154). A case study approach is particularly useful in linking everyday actions to the extended relations of society.

b) The case study

As with the term 'qualitative methods', the notion of 'case study' needs clarification if its purposes and possibilities are to be appreciated. Mitchell (1983) notes the rise, fall and re-emergence of the popularity of case studies in relation to ideas on problems of explanation, particularly in relation to the issue of 'typicality'. His most important point is that the type of extrapolation made from a case study approach is "based on the validity of the analysis rather than the representativeness of the events" (Mitchell, 1983:190). He clearly points to the need to see a case study as a specific approach, rather than an object of study. A case study is not, therefore, a sample, but part of the analytical process. Its important features are the "particularities of the context, of the situation and of the actors" (Mitchell, 1983:204) and should be understood as a heuristic device, the challenge to the researcher being to make the links, through
analysis, between 'everyday' actions and the extended relations of society, and between theory and empirical reality. The case study aims to produce both theoretical understandings and description of the material, but the particular way in which the case material is used will depend on the issues of analysis.¹

A case study approach recognizes that empirical studies are historically and locally specific, but in the course of analysis aims to communicate insights through concepts able to transcend ethnographic particularities. Thus, although each study is in some way unique, underlying principles of organization may be identified which are common to all. The actual form of organization, however, is likely to differ according to local political, economic and cultural conditions. What the case study does not attempt to do is generalize hypotheses and explanations to other cases in the manner of comparative quantitative studies, using statistical inference. Instead, the inferential process focuses on theoretical reasoning which is based on a range of internal comparisons of an array of actions and events comprising the material within a case. The significance of the single case is enhanced by its being embedded in a corpus of work of related knowledge so that a cumulative effort is developed around theoretical issues and substantive topics, and comparisons can be made between cases.²

The above conceptualization of a case study is particularly pertinent to human geography, for it relates to how concerns over 'comparison' and generalization of conventional geography and how they might be addressed or rethought through the renewed importance of the unique and particular in recent theoretical development in geography. In itself the case study introduces a quite different notion of what comparison and generalization can entail, while the ideas of qualitative methodology, in general, point to the different ways in which data may be used in association with specific theoretical orientations. The
comparisons lodged in a positivist mode of understanding 'generalization' differ epistemologically from the extrapolations of a case study.

Indeed, Halfpenny comments that case studies are necessarily the mode of enquiry for interpretative research in which explanation is achieved through "understanding the actions and interactions of respondents by virtue of grasping and comprehending the culturally appropriate concepts through which they conduct their social life." This is quite different from a positivist perspective, where concerns are for reliable measures of human behaviour or the mental states of actors performing the action. Instead, all actions are "intrinsically meaningful within the cultures of the actors under study" and are not the same as mental states. This distinction is expressed by Halfpenny as follows:

The meaning is what the action does or intends or is about. Actions embody meaningfulness or intentionality. Bodily movements that do not express meaning are mere behaviours, physiological or physical events. The meaning of action is not the thought or what is in the mind of the actor performing the action (although the thought might be about the meaning of the action). Thus one can perform the action of, for example, waving without thinking 'I am waving' or without being motivated to or desiring to wave (Halfpenny, 1979:815,816).

Insights will thus be gained through penetration of a culture and the social competence of the researcher, who then derives analytic concepts to 'make sense' of the accounts of respondents and phenomena observed in a reflexive manner, moving between concepts and data. It is a matter, as Geertz puts it, of "...displaying the logic of their ways of putting them [things] in the locutions of ours" (Geertz, 1983:10). Questions of validity, in the sense of obtaining a measure of the credibility of an actor's account of his or her actions in relation to their actual behaviour is not the same issue as in hypothesis testing. Instead the plausibility of actors' interpretations is located within their definition of
the situation of which they are a part. This may be compared with others’ definitions of the same situation within the power differentials they both inhabit, although this latter is not a necessary goal of analysis.

3. Research Approach

The two main notions framing the specific research methods I have used are firstly that of the ‘insider perspective’ and, secondly, the conceptualization of research as ongoing process. Both are facets of the type of case study I have employed and are the nuclei around which data collection and analysis are interwoven.

a) The insider perspective

"It is a distinctive feature of social research that the 'objects' it studies are in fact 'subjects', and themselves produce accounts of their world" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:105). As Hammersley and Atkinson further comment, this fact is dealt with quite differently according to the researcher’s methodological approach, which in turn involves distinct relationships between the accounts of subjects and the researcher. For example the positivist will tend to treat accounts as subjective, which then need to be explained by 'scientific method', while those with an interest in the social construction of knowledge will view the same accounts as evidence of the perspectives and ‘natural’ categories of those producing them. What is important is that to evaluate most effectively both the researcher’s account and those of his or her subjects, how those accounts were solicited and presented must also be known. It is essential to recognize that subjects' accounts occur in particular contexts and, indeed, are shaped by these contexts which will include the presence of the researcher. The issue is not one of minimizing the influence of the researcher,
but of knowing how the researcher was involved in the collection of accounts in order to assess better the information he or she provides. My own presence in the research situation is best understood as adopting an 'insider perspective'.

Insider research, in essence, is the study of one's own society, with the researcher participating as a member of the group being studied. Feminists have been especially interested in an insider perspective, because the research goal is to derive analytic categories from women's own experiences and views, a goal which has arisen in response to the difficulties of gender-blind scholarship. Even when women have been included in research they have rarely spoken for themselves, or alternatively their 'voices' have been presented through a ubiquitous male bias (Graham, 1983; Jacobson, 1982). In the previous chapter I presented issues identified by feminists concerning the impact of gender on the production of theory in the social sciences, and these concerns logically extend to the methods used in the construction of knowledge. The rebuilding of knowledge of our social and spatial worlds, in order to incorporate women as well as men, must necessarily utilize methods with the capacity to present women's actions in their own terms. Qualitative methods are thus essential, first to counter the limitations of methods such as the survey, which are insensitive to the "complex web of asymmetrical social relationships" in which women experience their lives and, second, to permit interpretative understandings of women's accounts of these experiences (Graham, 1983: 146).³

My own involvement in the research, as a mother, has been integral to my insider perspective. My experiences were part of the social reality of the study in providing situations for observation, in gaining access to interview respondents, in guiding the choice of interview topics and in informing the insights of analysis.
The insider perspective is a notion not 'invented' in the context of feminist research but has its roots in the tradition of anthropological method, together with changes that have occurred as research directions have altered. Indeed, it has engendered considerable debate in anthropology where a long-standing mode of research has been the study of societies other than the researcher's own. As research has increasingly turned to the study of particular groups and places within western industrial society, however, the value of insider research has been recognized in gaining access to and interpreting data. The convergence of methods and substantive topics in the social sciences, which no longer supports a rigid bounding of disciplines, has signalled an interest in insider methods within geography also.4

Aguilar (1981) comments that rather than a dichotomy existing between insider and outsider research, it is more a matter of being relatively 'inside' or 'outside' one's research situation. This is particularly clear when researching within a heterogeneous population with a diversity of social characteristics. However, the gains accruing from a relatively 'inside' research position are considerable and Aguilar, drawing from the experiences of several researchers, reports on the advantages they have perceived in this type of research which I also have found pertinent to my study. I will refer to these in specific reference to aspects of the field methods I used in due course, but at this point will briefly present them in general terms.

The first area of value is in data collection. In acquiring information through participant observation, the researcher as insider blends into situations without altering social interaction, while in an interview context rapport is more easily established through being in a similar social category to that of the respondents and being able to share frames-of-reference and consensual meanings. This has added advantages in that questions can be worded so as to be
meaningful to the respondent, while the researcher is more likely to notice non-verbal expressions, such as suspicion or embarrassment, and be able to respond in a manner that will promote the continued flow of the interview. Such 'member knowledge' also facilitates understanding the respondents' language use, implicit rules of interaction and the 'asides' of conversation.5

The advantages of being an 'insider' in gaining access to respondents and situations of interaction cannot be overestimated. This is particularly apt where sensitive or personal information is required from respondents. 'Membership' of a group or sponsorship through other respondents provides the trust and confidence for this type of information to be divulged. Sennett and Cobb comment on the inadequacy of sampling methods for gaining respondents when seeking personal material, pointing out that, "It is very difficult to ring doorbells randomly in a neighbourhood and ask people if they would like to sit down for three hours and tell you the story of their lives" (1973:44).

There are also difficulties with insider research. If researcher and respondent are too 'socially close,' certain information may be withheld, for instance if the researcher is viewed as a fellow participant of a network and so a potential purveyor of gossip. Similarly, although 'impression management' cannot be eliminated, researcher and respondent who might jointly take part in future social situations are likely to present themselves in such a way so as not to jeopardize such further social interaction. Certain questions may not be asked that could be by a relative outsider (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983).6

These are important considerations for the researcher in choosing the type of field methods to be used and the type of involvement the researcher will have in her or his research process, but as Aguilar also points out, data collection is not only a matter of being an insider or outsider but also requires, on the part of the researcher, "powers of empathy and perspicacity and social skills" to be
An important advantage of the insider perspective in interpretative analysis lies in the extensive background knowledge held by the researcher and in the personal experience that more readily permits the recognition of situational and complex variation (Aguilar, 1981). Glaser and Strauss also stress the value of personal experience. They describe the researcher as "a highly sensitized and systematic agent" who may gain insights at any moment in the research process and which may be gleaned from experiences prior to or outside of the actual research (1967:252). Insights may also come from respondents and from theory at any point in the research, the point being that they need not necessarily be derived from systematically collected data, although it is through data that they will be explicated.  

Given that there are likely to be both advantages and disadvantages with the use of any array of research methods, what is important is that the researcher should report the experiences of field research in order to contribute to the data on which methodological discussion draws. In the following sections I will describe the concept of 'research as process,' the field methods used, and the value and problems I perceived in the use of these.

b) Research as process

The constant intermeshing of data collection, analysis and problem definition is a central feature of qualitative research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Wiseman, 1974). Unlike survey research, which is pre-organized around hypothesis testing, all aspects of qualitative research, except for the early planning stages, develop together. Data collection, conceptual insights and the organization of material occur hand in hand, rather than forming demarcated, separate parts of the research. Starting from a
'foreshadowed problem', the focusing of this problem is also part of the developmental process. This is how my research was carried out, the data collection taking place over a period of about two years with periods of reflection and further reading interspersed.

The use of an insider perspective is most commonly associated with participant observation, but the practical problems in carrying out prolonged intensive study in urban areas have resulted in a re-appraisal of its use. Cornwell (1984) points to the methodological difficulties of extending the approach beyond the bounded setting. In addition to it being an extremely time-consuming method of data collection and analysis, for many accounts have to be recorded and sifted through for relevant material, a researcher cannot be present in all situations where 'chance' conversation about the topic of investigation occurs. Such difficulties derive from the attempt to transfer an approach developed in social anthropology for studying small-scale, physically delimited settings to the study of urban settings with a heterogeneous population whose activities and social contacts may be widely dispersed geographically. Anthropologists Hannerz (1976) and Wallman (1984) have discussed this problem, and have pointed to the need for innovative approaches to data collection, which may result in the adoption of a combination of methods. In both their cases they were able to draw on research assistants to gain access to respondents and carry out interviewing after a period of training which included de-briefing sessions after interviews took place. The lone researcher with limited funding, however, has the additional problem of being the major research resource. In this case the personal resources of the researcher can be brought to bear on the efficiency, in the sense of time, of collecting data and the quality of this material. It is not necessary to abandon intensive approaches but to adapt and modify the classic method of participant observation. The most
common alternative is the use of in-depth and interactive interviewing. The research methods I used combined participant observation, in-depth interviewing, self-administered ‘time-space diaries’ and documents on the development of the locality which provided the context of the study.

The distinction between being an ‘insider’ of the life and some of the institutions of the place of the study and the status of participant observer is a fine one and I draw on it only in terms of presenting the process of research. Clearly my experience as a mother with two children living in the area has been an important aspect of gaining insights which are culturally ‘valid’ in the sense of my being able to share the commonsense understandings of the respondents. In addition, the topic of research originated from this experience. However, it was during the course of reading the theory, methods and substantive orientations of human geography in general, and then feminist geography in particular that a more systematic participant observation developed, in which I consciously pursued topics of conversation and made field notes of specific events or encounters that were pertinent to the research problem.

During this time I also began writing ‘analytical memos’, which recorded events and conversations and the insights I derived from these as they related to theoretical approaches and empirical findings of what I was reading at the time. (See Appendix D). I also requested a number of contacts I made through my children’s preschool and recreational activities to keep a detailed diary of one week’s duration, indicating what they and their children did, where they went, who they did things with and how they came to know the members of their social network who appeared in the diaries. In total, eight diaries were returned, some in considerable detail, and these were used to check correspondence with the range and patterns of activity of women that I was observing on an everyday basis and also were used later as a guideline for
introducing topics in a first set of interviews. These interviews included
details on the women's and their children's activities and also involved
discussion of how the women felt about and defined themselves in the context of
their family and their mothering practices.

After the first set of interviews, a period was spent further developing
the research problem in light of theoretical and methodological reading and the
material from the interviews was carefully examined and emerging themes
identified. A second set of interviews with a different group of women was then
carried out in a similar manner to the first, although the preliminary analysis
focused aspects of the interviews more finely than in the first set. After these
interviews, all the interviews were read or re-read, preliminary categories
drawn up, analytical memos written and further material on qualitative analysis
perused. Further analysis and reading accompanied the 'writing up' process.
Throughout the research period I have collected historical, planning and policy
material concerning the development and the demography of the locality studied.
I have continued participation in various educational and recreational
institutions concerned with children's activities and, in addition, have followed
local newspapers and women's magazines as a further source of information and
insight.

The use of different types of data collection have thus provided
complementary 'slices of data', which have both added depth to the overall
account and have improved the quality and plausibility of the data gained. A
combination of methods has also been an attempt to avoid the disadvantages
accruing to insider research while retaining the advantages of cultural
familiarity.
4. Research Procedure

a) The locality

The choice of locality followed from the concept of insider research in that familiarity with an area has considerable advantage for the researcher. Not only does it overcome the time taken 'getting to know' an unfamiliar place, it also provides automatic insider status and a natural access to institutions, children-oriented activities and situations where mothers meet and interact. A further advantage of previous knowledge of the three municipalities was that it enhanced the course of interviews, for I was able to relate easily to responses that included place references. I rarely had to interrupt the flow of the interview to ask questions of clarification such as, Where is that? What is it? Where is it near?

This was not the only reason informing my choice of locality, however. The other derived from considerations derived from the theory and findings of feminist research. Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody, which comprise School District 43, form the northeastern sector of the Greater Vancouver Regional District, an area that has experienced a surge of commercial and residential growth over the last decade and rapid population growth. It thus provides a pertinent context for investigating women's responses to the economic and social restructuring that forms the empirical problem around which the theoretical problem of the relationship between space and the constitution of social identity is phrased. My interest in interlinkages between space and 'motherhood' also influenced the choice of an area that was primarily a 'family area,' with predominantly single-family dwellings, for the spatial structuring of gender differences through the ideology of the 'family' has been a primary focus for feminist research in geography. Although research on women with children in inner cities would be equally interesting, my own concern was
linked with the apparent conformity between notions of the two-parent family ideal and its spatial representation in housing form and environmental features.

In contrast to studies of isolated women, far from services and transportation facilities, the three municipalities also provided an environment which, in several ways, eradicated 'constraints' identified and described in terms of physical distance in work concerned with limitations on women's mobility. There is a wide range of health, shopping and service facilities within the area and its distance from the city of Vancouver makes commuting to a downtown job a possible, although time-consuming option. Furthermore, there was the possibility of including respondents of differing income and educational levels, which I desired (see Section 4.c(i)). Consideration of the physical characteristics of the locality is not to revert to a view of 'space is distance', but is included to indicate the range of pre-existing possibilities and resources in the social and physical environment. How such a relatively 'young' and increasingly 'urbanized' suburban area is experienced and understood by women bringing up children forms part of the research concerns.

Although these reasons guided the choice of the particular setting of this study, I should emphasize that these relate not so much to the area as a 'unit' or 'object' of study in the tradition of 'community studies', but are premised on the notion that the consequences of social and economic processes are structured in social relations, including those of gender, and must be analyzed within particular contexts as discussed in Chapter Two. This viewpoint is succinctly presented by Urry and Warde:

... a number of important social and economic changes cannot be investigated satisfactorily without analysing how these processes are embedded within different distinct localities. This means, not merely that there are variations by localities in such processes, but that localities are themselves significant
forms of social organisation which have been underexamined, or inappropriately examined, by the different social sciences (1985:1).

b) Participant observation

The primary objective of participation observation is to enable the interpretation of human action through gaining access to and understanding of the language, perception, values and experiences of those studied. Rather than an isolated technique for obtaining information, therefore, it is better viewed in relation to a variety of methods suitable to a whole methodological approach oriented to gaining 'insider' meanings. Although the relative balance between observation and participation may vary within such an approach, participant observation is based on the notion that the researcher participates in the contexts of social action of the subjects under study over an extended period of time, in contrast to occasional meetings with respondents in the field (Jackson, 1983; Matthews, 1983).

In my own case, insider status was already assured and indeed was a factor originating the direction of the research. I did not, therefore, have to assume a particular role, although this shifted during the research process as the emphasis moved more explicitly towards observation, in addition to participation. The participant observation thus took place over what may be described as a pre-field work phase and then a second phase which more clearly focused around the problem of how individuals 'make sense of' and manage their socio-spatial environment, corresponding to what Glaser and Strauss (1967:75,76) describe the "beginning of the research".

At different times, I participated with my two children in the research locality in a number of settings including a parent-participation preschool, neighbourhood 'get-togethers', children's and adult recreational and sports
activities, occasional help with school classroom activities and school field-trip driving, parenting classes, community seminars for women and a women's centre activities. All these occasions provide numerous situations in which mothers meet, converse and share ideas and concerns, and, as well as being one source of later analytical insights, were invaluable in guiding the topics of the interviews, which provided the other major data source. This mode of research has furnished a rich 'bank' of anecdotal data in which to contextualize and lend authenticity to the more focused interview material.

c) Interviews

Interviews can take several forms which have been described as structured, semi-structured and open-ended interviews (Abrahamson, 1983). The structured interview is the tool of extensive methods where concern is for the collection of quantifiable data from standardized questions. Semi-structured and open-ended interviews are designed to elicit a broader range of material, and may be guided to a greater or lesser degree according to the researcher's aims. While an open-ended interview is useful in investigating a topic about which nothing or very little is known, the semi-structured interview is more useful in gathering data around a particular focus, for it allows considerable flexibility in answers while at the same time the introduction of particular topics and conversational 'probes' on the part of the researcher can yield data on specific points of interest if required. My choice of a semi-structured interview form was based on this latter advantage.

The relationship as relative 'insider' between myself and respondent was premised on a particular understanding of the research context. In order to discover the 'cultural reality' through which social meanings and practices are constructed the language of the interview is crucially important, both in relation
to the effectiveness of communication and the fundamental part it plays in constructing reality and categorizing experience. The absence of close understanding of the language used by respondents can result in questions that have little meaning for the situations being investigated and the respondent answering questions in a manner appropriate to the interviewer's frame of reference rather than her own. The language used by mothers often contains specific terms and nuances which infer culturally specific understandings around the practices of mothering, and awareness of this facilitates both the discovery and description of research (Spradley, 1979). In practice, both knowledge of the locality and my own status of mother helped in developing rapport with respondents and helped define the situation as one in which they were able to 'tell their story' to someone who might understand, rather than myself being cast in the role of 'expert' asking questions which may have a more or less correct answer.

(i) Selection of respondents

Having chosen the mode of gaining data, the next task every researcher has, unless studying a known, bounded population, is access to respondents. As Hannerz (1976) points out, there is surprisingly little literature on the selection of informants outside discussions on quantitative sample selection. Access is certainly a practical problem as well as a theoretical and sometimes ethical problem. In my own research the need for potentially sensitive, contextual material that required considerable input from respondents was important in influencing the means of reaching the women interviewed. I needed to gain access to people who would be willing both to give of their time and divulge considerable personal information about themselves. In addition, there were certain personal characteristics which served as criteria in the selection of
First, I preferred to talk to mothers whose eldest child was ten or under, in order to include women most likely to be concerned about day-time care for their children, either for the full day or for before or after school. This was not used as a strict criterion of selection, but more as a guideline to circumscribe the range of possibilities that might be open to a particular respondent. Researchers interested in women's lives have usually studied mothers of preschoolers on the basis that this age group more severely constrains their activities than older children. However, limiting study to this group fails to recognize that mothering 'constraints' do not disappear when a child reaches school age, but rather the responsibilities and opportunities defined by and for women change. These changes are all part of 'motherhood' and the totality of women's lives, and so I intended to interview women with children of both pre-school and school age. Second, I wished to talk to women who were living in two-parent households, for although attention has focused on the difficulties of the female single-parent I wanted to investigate those who do in fact still comprise the majority 'family type' in Canada and are living a socially defined 'ideal', at least in form. Thirdly, I wanted to interview women in different relationships to wage labour, including full-time 'homemakers', full-time wage workers and others engaging in activities somewhere between. This was to gain some insight into the range of experiences of and strategies employed by women with children of similar age.

Two principles guided the mode of access to respondents, these being self-selection and variability, this latter within the parameters outlined above. Self-selection ensured that the women were willing to talk about themselves and their children, were likely to be interested in the issues of contemporary 'motherhood' and also increased the possibility of establishing rapport in the
interview situation. Although a network approach has commonly been favoured in qualitative research, I modified this in order to meet the second principle guiding respondent selection, that of variability. Whereas a single network implies at least some similarity of interests, values and social interaction of network members and constitutes 'a group in action', I wanted to explore variations in the way notions of gender and motherhood were interpreted and took place over space. I therefore needed access to more than one network or group, and chose a multi-entry method to gain access to respondents from different social networks.

Social class is a common means used in research to explain differences in experiences, but I was hesitant to use this as a main criterion of 'variability' due to criticism of this approach, particularly by feminists. It is suggested that categorization of women according to their husband's occupation not only hides them through the use of culturally defined male categories, so denying that a women has a relationship to the social structure independent of her husband, but also confuses rather than clarifies the understanding of women's experiences.15

Although there is considerable literature indicating differences in women's experiences of housework, patterns of child-rearing, mother-child relationships and conjugal role relationships according to social class, this emphasis in research has precluded consideration of similarities in experience deriving from gender divisions in society. Class is also a knotty problem in research in other terms, for as a concept it takes on specific meanings according to different explanations of social structure and thus there is lack of consensus in interpretations of how social class may operate and influence experience (Boulton, 1983). Given these considerations, I decided it would be fruitful to reach women in different social circumstances which would relate to their husband's occupation but, rather than defining this in terms of 'class', I saw the
husband's employment conditions, including income, job security and organization of working hours, as an important contribution to the specific components of the material and social circumstances (Boulton suggests this might have been a more valuable basis from which to examine the experiences of the mothers she studied, than the abstract category of class). This is not to reject the idea of the existence of 'social class differences', but rather to shift the conceptualization of such differences through questioning the meanings and relevance these might have in the context of the mothering practices of women's lives. In the case of the final number of respondents, there were differences in housing and social conditions, as described in Chapter Five, but how these were linked to women's experience and management of their everyday lives was more complex than conventional social class indicators, based on husband's occupation would indicate. 16

A first set of respondents was gained through attending the first of a series of workshop seminars presented by the local Women's Centre and sponsored by the Parks and Recreation Department of one municipality in the locality studied (See Figure 1). The speaker's topic was "Being a Mom in the 1980s", which I believed would attract an audience interested in the particular situation of women who are also mothers. I presented a brief outline of my research topic, provided a few autobiographical details and requested volunteers. I also handed out typed sheets containing similar information that could be passed on to the audience's friends, acquaintances or neighbours. Although the latter method drew no response, seventeen people from the meeting volunteered - approximately forty-five per cent of the audience. Later one was not available for interviewing, one was omitted as she lived outside the area and, for the purposes of analysis, four were later omitted as they had teenage children within the household and a different set of concerns influencing their activities
Figure 1: Sets of Respondents

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at this stage of their life. As the seminar was held in the daytime, most of the respondents were not employed in the wage labour force although there was one in a 'full-time' job with flexible hours and others in various arrangements of part-time paid work, volunteer work or were involved in some capacity in a home business.

A second set of respondents was gained from a Parenting Class. I gained sponsorship and credibility through personal acquaintance with the class leader. I was requested not to attend the class myself, but sent a written explanation of the research project, along with an indication of the nature of participation that would be involved. This was the last meeting of the session so the participants of the class and the leader were well known to each other and this type of sponsorship seemed quite successful in that most of the class responded, while those not doing so lived outside the area or had children older than I had stipulated. Later, during the interview, three of these mentioned that they agreed to participate on the basis of trusting the class leader. From these initial two sets of women, further respondents were reached by 'snowballing'. This technique consists of respondents contacting people they know who fulfil the criteria of the research, and is particularly useful when certain characteristics of respondents are sought (Abrahamson, 1983). Although I could have reached more women who were at home full-time with their children, I particularly wanted to talk also to women participating in paid employment but the snowballing method was not as successful as I had anticipated. Respondent's work colleagues did not fulfill my selection preferences, while others were apparently reluctant to participate in the study because they were too busy or had little time resulting from the demands of both their family lives and their jobs.
In order to increase the variation of respondents in terms of social circumstances and in an attempt to reach more women with full-time jobs I tried other means of access. I approached the School District but confidential clauses in policy did not permit the use of schools as a distributing mechanism for information about the study. Similarly, I was unable to gain access through the local Health Units due to reasons of confidentiality. I then tried another method, which was to choose two schools in neighbourhoods that had not drawn respondents from the first two sets of interviews and then insert a brief description of the study together with a request for volunteer participants in the school newsletter. The school principals were quite amenable to this procedure, but the response was disappointing, consisting of one only from one school. An oversight had resulted in the notice not appearing in the other school’s newsletter, the last before the school holidays.

Although there are problems of access in intensive research, this is not detrimental to the theoretical bases of qualitative research for these very difficulties may add to understandings of the ‘social reality’ of the operation of social boundaries. This was certainly the case for respondents in full-time employment. The time these women actually spend within their home and neighbourhood and among other mothers is considerably less than women remaining primarily at home with their children, and although it would have been possible to reach other full-time ‘homemakers’ it was not as easy to contact those in employment. This indicated something of the social reality of networks discussed in Cornwell’s description of her research methods. She found that only two or three people in a social network are involved in the exchange of ideas, advice and information so it would be anticipated that the numbers of people whom any one respondent could create as research contacts would be limited. Certainly, the informal sponsorship involved in the personal introductions of
'snowballing' and in reaching the two initial sets of respondents was a crucial means of access.

The methods I used did prove successful in achieving some 'variation', for entry through the two different groups resulted in differences among respondents in relation to housing conditions, sources and security of income, educational levels and employment experience. (See Appendix A for profiles of the respondents; employment status also forms part of the discussion accompanying the presentation of the data). In total the accounts of twenty-five women were used in the analysis. Although larger numbers are required for research concerned with generalizing through statistical inference, the investigation of concrete relations and interdependencies and how these are integrated in time and space requires only small numbers (Sayer, 1984).

(ii) Interview practice

Different forms of interviewing commonly used in field research were outlined earlier in this chapter. A further consideration in interviewing is the technique to be used to elicit the type of data required. My own choice was guided by recent thinking on the value of 'interactive' interviewing, which is compatible with insider research and is in contrast to the conventional interview in which the interviewer attempts to take a neutral, detached position in his or her role as a 'recording instrument' of data. Instead the interviewer is recognized as being involved in the research process, an occurrence which is not only inevitable but in fact is desirable (Cornwell, 1984; Oakley, 1981; Sayer and Morgan, 1984). From their own experiences, both Cornwell and Oakley comment that to be admitted into the personal, sensitive details of a person's life one has to be open to the possibility of sharing information during the research process.
This approach addresses ethical problems for instead of the respondent being regarded as an 'object' from whom information is extracted, the power structure of the interview situation is redefined. Oakley states,

... when a feminist interviews women .... it becomes clear that, in most cases, the goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship (1981:41).

Oakley's notion of 'sisterhood' describes the relationship that developed during her interviews with women before and after the birth of their first child on the basis of commonalities in their experiences. It arose from her decision to answer respondents' questions and share information on the understanding that without reciprocity intimacy would not be achieved. And without intimacy there is less possibility of gaining 'private accounts' which Cornwell identifies as deriving from the respondents' personal experiences and feelings about these, rather than 'public accounts' which are 'safer' in that they present commonly held assumptions.

In the case of my own interviews, rather than the personal sharing of information and experience that Oakley comments enhanced her interviewer/respondent relationship, I used 'empathetic' listening. This seeks to show understanding of a respondent's situation without indicating value judgement and uses probes to clarify responses and to maintain the flow of a personal narrative. Instead of viewing the sharing of experiences as the focus of research, I wished the respondents to relate their experiences for me to learn from. This is based on the assumption informing the premise that 'the everyday is problematic' (D.E.Smith, 1979), that is the respondent is an expert on the way she carries out her daily life and through this provides the material from which
the researcher derives the interconnections between the particularity of this context and the extended relations shaping it. I was also conscious of Hammersley and Atkinson's (1983) comment on the dangers of 'over-rapport' when the researcher identifies with respondents' perspectives to the extent that these may not be seen as problematic.

The practice I used consisted of introducing a topic with a 'narrative starter' such as "How did you come to .....?" which I found opened up a considerable flow of information and identified the direction of the respondent's interests. In using this approach, although I had a written schedule of topics structuring the interview, this was not strictly adhered to. Rather, I followed the flow of each narrative which allowed a natural sequencing of probes or questions which made sense to the respondent. In addition to respondents providing considerable detail about their day to day activities, they were able to reveal a hierarchy of concerns which influenced the actions taken in dealing with the dilemma of being both mother and potential, or actual, wage worker. (See Appendix B for the schedule of topics guiding the interview).

(iii) The interviews

The interviews were carried out in the respondents' homes at a convenient time for them and they ranged in length from approximately one hour to over two hours. With the exception of one, by request, all were tape recorded and transcribed *verbatim*, either on the same day or the following day. Notes were made during the one exception and these were expanded through recall of the conversation immediately following the interview. Following the interview, notes were also made on the type, condition and decor of the housing, the characteristics of the neighbourhood in which the respondent lived and the proximity of transportation routes, commercial facilities, schools and open
space. Notes were also kept on the interview 'process', including the interruptions that occurred, the rapport that was established and the casual conversation occurring before and after the interview.

My experience of the interviewing reinforces the value of an 'insider' status in both establishing rapport and eliciting responses deriving from the women's own experiences. Its advantages lie not only in the forms of knowledge women share but also in the modes and channels of information through which this knowledge is conveyed. The mode of communication, I believe, is integral to the relationship between respondent and interviewer, facilitating both the type and quality of the accounts given. The notes taken on the interview 'process' indicate that the interviews tended to take a form similar to the ways in which women normally communicate in visiting each other in their homes, in terms of the norms of hospitality followed and the nature of interruptions to the 'conversation'.

The interviews took place either in the kitchen or living room, or in one case on the terrace, usually over a cup of tea or coffee and sometimes including the offer of cookies or home baking. In one case the interview took place over lunch. They were scheduled at the respondent's own convenience, usually taking into account job commitments, the children's activities or both. In some cases the length of the interview was determined by such factors. In the case of those women working in full-time jobs outside the home with 'nine to five' hours the interviews took place in the evening when the children were in bed, while all the others took place during the daytime. In several cases young children or a baby were present, resulting in the interview being interrupted from time to time. Although this had the disadvantage of curtailing the flow of an account, it sometimes would also act as a means of provoking further discussion on the demands of mothering and the respondent's feelings about them. A small child
demanding attention or wanting to play with the tape recorder, a baby fussing and needing to be picked up, fed, changed or put to bed all reflected the common experience of women's social interaction with each other.

At the beginning of each interview, according to the requirements of the University Ethics Committee, each woman was asked to sign a form consenting to the interview and to read a short explanation of the study and the nature of their participation. This acted as a stimulus to informal conversation before I started tape recording. Several women commented on how pertinent they found the topic and how they thought it would be interesting to take part. In particular, those in full-time employment were curious about how other women coped and felt they might learn something from the research. Curiosity was also shown in my own plans and circumstances. This 'pre-interview' conversation helped to establish rapport and further helped to establish the interview situation as one of 'mothers talking together,' reducing the hierarchical structure common in many interview situations (Cornwell, 1984; Oakley, 1981). I did not feel in the interviews that I was regarded as more knowledgeable about childrearing than the women themselves, but rather it was more a situation of their sharing their experiences. In this sense the settings of the interviews are considered to have been successfully established. Being a mother myself appeared to validate the focus of conversation around children. The feeling of the low value placed on motherhood was mentioned by several women and the focus of my research appeared to legitimate and put positive value on them and their experiences.

Cornwell suggests that discrepancies in class and educational backgrounds between respondent and interviewer may influence the types of accounts given. Accounts tend to be less 'private' when such differences are apparent. 'Impression management', however, is inherent in social interaction and the
researcher cannot be sure that accounts are 'private', except in relative terms (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). Although there were differences in the rapport which influenced the flow of interviews, it is not clear that these were necessarily based on differences in social status, in the sense of perceiving common interests and values, for what also appeared to be an influence was the trust engendered by the mode of sponsorship in gaining access to respondents.

In most cases the interviews flowed easily and I had no difficulty in engaging women in their accounts of their lives. Using factual, 'non-threatening' questions at the beginning of the interview helped to ease into later, more sensitive material about their personal feelings and thoughts. The definition of the interview situation as one in which the women had some control over how they gave their accounts seemed to elicit considerable personal information. Some women seemed more relaxed after the interview was 'over' and offered a rush of additional information which, without contradicting previous information, added details to earlier comments. Alternatively, they switched the emphasis away from themselves. At the end of the interview several women expressed the opinion that they had enjoyed it and that it had been interesting to talk about things they 'knew' but had not really thought about before. Curiosity was also shown by some in how I coped with a family and 'school' and sometimes questions were asked about what I was finding in my research about other women's ways of coping. This was particularly so in the cases of women in full-time employment. Such conversation around the tape-recorded interview is valuable as a further source of data on how women understand their situation, as well as adding to the researcher's knowledge of the events current in people's lives which form part of the temporal context shaping their decisions and actions (Boulton, 1983; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983).
(d) Time-space diaries

A third 'slice of data' was obtained through self-administered time-space diaries. These were a very valuable source of information, for the twenty women who completed them provided vivid and detailed accounts of their day, sometimes including comments on their experience of individual events, and the contingencies surrounding these events. The data from the diaries were used specifically in two ways. First, they were the basis from which 'time-space maps' were produced, which indicated the locales forming the context of the women's lives and the distribution of their activities over time and space, and second, they were used to demarcate the women's daily routines in relation to temporal and spatial divisions of 'who does what' in the context of social relations within and outside the home. The data from these diaries are not intended to stand alone, but complement and act as a supplement to the information gained from the interviews and derived from participant observation.

The 'diary' consisted of plain sheets of paper to be used by the respondent in making up a diary of her daily activities in the context of the activities of other family members. Instructions were supplied with the diary asking the respondent to note where she was, whom she was with, what she was doing, how she got there, approximately how long the activity took, where the children were, what they were doing, how they got there and with whom they went. The women were also asked to add a written comment on how they felt about the days recorded, and if they considered them unusual in any way (Appendix C). They were given the opportunity to read this over while I was there, so that any questions could be asked. They were provided with an addressed, stamped enveloped in which to return the diary to me.

The precise way in they were completed was left open, within the
guidelines provided, allowing the prioritization of activities and perception of scheduling from the respondent's view, unlike the more commonly used form of time-budget diaries which have pre-charted times and space format. The first six respondents were asked to keep a diary for a whole week, but this proved to be an unrealistic expectation for, although this was attempted, the quality of information after one or two days was generally poor. I found a request for keeping a diary for one or two days (the latter usually in the case of women in part-time employment and so covering a 'home' day and a 'work' day) more productive in terms of the amount of detail that was entered. The choice of day was left mainly to the respondent, although I suggested they choose one which involved activities on the part of their child or children, given my interest in their mothering practices outside as well as inside the home. In this way the keeping of the diary becomes an interpretative act in itself, in the sense that it is a document that the women presented about their lives. As several women commented, they do not necessarily have 'typical' days due to the variety of their own and their children's activities, especially over the seasons, while others felt they should choose a 'more interesting day' as they felt their accounts would be dull, although I assured them that it was the ordinary routines of ordinary, everyday life that was of greatest interest.

Several of the women thought that recording their daily activity would be interesting as they did not otherwise consciously think about what they did from day to day and were curious about what they actually accomplished. Others were a little hesitant about keeping a diary. In a few cases I needed to make a 'follow-up' phone call and consequently one woman wrote, "These pages all seem so boring to read that I haven't sent them to you! But here they are - hope something in them is of some value to you." All but two were returned. The women who did not respond were those who worked full-time outside the home.
I had not requested diaries from the first few women, but found them a necessary addition to data collection, for in several interviews there was insufficient time to gain all the information needed to map a particular day's activities. It should be reiterated that analysis was derived from three types of data which together expressed and could be used to document variations in concerns and activities of mothers living in the locality studied.

5. Presentation of Data

In attempting to produce interpretative understandings in research, Geertz warns us:

To turn from trying to explain social phenomena by weaving them into grand textures of cause and effect to trying to explain them by placing them in local frames of awareness is to exchange a set of well-charted difficulties for a set of largely uncharted ones (1983:6).

Primarily the differences in these modes of explanation lie in the distinction between description and evaluation that is made in the the former approach, in contrast to analysis in which these are interwoven in a contextualized account that attempts to capture people's lives through their own depictions and understandings. The end result of analysis intends to present the researcher's conceptualizations which, however, retain the logic of the subjects' lives and maintains their views.

This type of analysis in geography is essentially uncharted, for although humanistic work has focused on the experiential aspects of place this has tended to neglect the contextualization of these experiences in a particular structuring of social relations. The analysis I present is thus exploratory in the absence of any well-defined framework in the geographical literature. Hammersley and
Atkinson (1983) comment that although textbooks provide considerable advice on the early stages of ethnographic fieldwork, there is little information on the process of presentation of data collected in this manner. Yet its importance is considerable for the organization of the narrative is an analytical act, conveying meanings as much as explicit points of information. Hammersley and Atkinson provide examples of common types of ordering presentation, including that of the 'chronology' which they state is compatible with interpretative analysis in that it stresses "the processual developmental nature of social life, and of social selves or identities" (1983:219).

A temporal form of presentation is useful for my own material. Rather than a strict chronology, however, it seeks to depict the changing concerns and activities of the women as they take primary responsibility for the care of their children. A guiding theme for the presentation of the data is derived from the narrative of the interviews, and indicates the course of events which provide the contingencies influencing the strategies used by women as they attempt to control the environment through providing 'safe spaces' for their children. The analysis moves from a portrayal of the locality in its representation of the three municipalities of Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody to the localized spaces of mothering work. Giddens' conceptualization of time-space maps is used as a pivotal point in the analysis to link levels of scale and the bounded nature of the women's social interaction in producing an understanding of the constituting of safe spaces.

In order to present the data in a way which shows the embeddedness of these women's mothering practices in the particular local spatial and social organization which 'articulate' the extended relations constituting society, I have also used ideas from D.E. Smith (1986) in the general structuring of the analysis, paralleling the sequencing of events in the presentation. Figure 2 is
modified from her depiction of 'institutional analysis'. The diagram is not intended to be a theoretical model, but marks out the relations relevant to the investigation. Arrows do not connect the 'boxes', for these represent flexible and changeable foci of action which interconnect in different ways according to a combination of personal and contextual circumstances. The dotted lines represent the particularly dynamic relationship between the activities of paid employment and mothering work practices.

Figure 2: Diagram indicating relations relevant to the investigation of the everyday experience of women with young children.

Source: Modified from D.E. Smith (1986)

I have tried to maintain the vividness of the accounts in order to evoke a sense of what it is like to live in this particular place for these women and how they think and feel about their lives. Quotations are used as "apt illustrations"
of the general points I make (Mitchell, 1983). Although the analysis focuses around the narrative accounts of the interviews, the issues emerging are developed with the use of diary material and anecdotal data from participant observation. In doing this I present something of the diversity of the women's experiences and in the ways that women manage and interpret their lives, in the course of which they are actively constituting conditions which further shape their gender identity. Strictly speakly, the analysis I provide refers only to those women interviewed. However, in recognizing that local uniqueness is not independent of a 'wider' structuring of relations, including gender relations, I also suggest that there is no reason to believe the analysis I develop is limited to only these women, although it may be expected that the concrete form of a particular concept may vary according to local circumstances (Sayer, 1984).
Chapter Four Footnotes

1. Examples of recent work drawing on a case study approach include Cornwell (1984), Eyles and Donovan (1986).


3. See Graham (1983) for an interesting discussion on the particular problems of the survey method for documenting women's experiences due to their inherent male bias.

4. For example, Cornwell's (1984) analysis of the grounding of commonsense views of health and illness in the social and economic conditions of everyday life is based on the methodological distinction between respondents' 'private' and 'public' accounts, the former being obtained by 'insider methods'.

5. Thompson (1984) comments on the significance of seemingly unimportant parts of a conversation in interpretative analysis. This emphasizes the value of tape recording and transcribing interviews, and making notes of about the details of the interview situation, for until analysis the significance of some data is not always clear.

6. Erving Goffman's work on 'impression management' in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, New York: Doubleday (1959) is the classic reference to this type of concern.

7. Glaser and Strauss (1967) illustrate this point through the example of an ex-taxi-cab driver, who presented a research paper on the topic of taxi-cab drivers some time after his own experiences of this.

8. The term 'ethnographic interview' is also used to describe this type of interviewing in the production of ethnographies, for example, by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) and Spradley (1979).
9. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) and Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasize the importance of analytic memos in providing preliminary analysis which guides and focuses later analysis.

10. The term 'slice of data' is used by Glaser and Strauss (1967) to describe the use of different modes of data collection within a research project. As they state the actual research strategies used "will be constrained by such structural conditions as who is available to be observed, talked with, overheard, interviewed, or surveyed, and at what times" (1967:66).

11. A full discussion of the locality follows in the next chapter.

12. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) comment on this type of stimulus for research. The stimulus is not intrinsic to the experiences in themselves but derives from how such experiences are significant in relation to current theoretical ideas.

13. Spradley's (1979) example of skid row men's argot clearly shows how 'mainstream' language of largely middle class researchers fails to discover a whole area of experience. Asking where a tramp lives elicits responses which indicate 'homelessness' and cut off further investigation of the myriad of places which tramps do use for shelter, but also incorporate security measures and identify friendship patterns which are not readily identified under the usual connotation of 'home'.

14. Both Cornwell (1984) and Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) comment on the influence on data collection of the researcher being viewed as a trained expert on the matters discussed. This may add to the inequality felt by the respondent which is already inherent in the interview situation and reluctance may be shown in divulging information which the respondent considers sensitive.

15. There is considerable criticism of assessing women's social class on the basis of her husband's or father's occupation as this denies her independent relationship to the social structure, forged in terms of gender. By virtue of their gender, women have many interests, concerns and life patterns in common, as well as constraints and inequities (Acker, 1973; Eichler, 1980; Oakley, 1981). See Boulton (1983:40-46) for a discussion on these points and review of pertinent literature. This is particularly valuable, for she assesses her own selection of respondents, which she carried out before engaging with class issues in the study of women.
16. During analysis it became clear that a variety of resources may be brought to bear by women, through their relationships, on their social circumstances and conditions which are not captured by the concept of 'class' or 'socio-economic position'.

17. One respondent had one teenage daughter but the presence of six other children under the age of twelve, presented an experience closer to those who had only younger children.
CHAPTER FIVE: LOCALITY AND PEOPLE
"A good place to raise a family"

1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the women of the study through the notion of locality, a notion which underscores the inherent spatiality of social life. In using the term locality, I refer specifically to its conceptualization as a point of articulation of economic, social and political processes, taking a unique local form of material organization and set of social practices (Murgatroyd et al., 1985; Scott, 1986; Soja, 1987; Smith, 1986; Urry and Warde, 1985). To depict a locality thus becomes a way to investigate two areas of concern, firstly, the structuring effects of 'wider' society in constituting local uniqueness, and, secondly, the ways in which this articulation of extended social and economic relations is experienced, viewed and interpreted by those living and working there, not forgetting that their actions in themselves are also constitutive of social life. In order to indicate how the organization of social and economic relations have created the locality as a particular type of context for the lives of the women of the study, I discuss briefly in this chapter the development of the three municipalities of Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody through the twentieth century. I then go on to describe how the characteristics of the locality, as the experienced social and physical environment, define the material and social conditions framing the women's everyday lives and how, in turn, these conditions are interpreted by them in terms of their primary identification with the domestic aspects of their lives.

I use the portrayal of Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody as a means of providing a context of interaction for the women studied. The locality serves not merely as a backdrop to the women's actions, but it seems to be
actively implicated in the ways in which women integrate the relations of wage workplace, community and home. Its depiction in this way illustrates the impact on the women's everyday lives of economic and social change in British Columbia which, in turn, is linked to national and international events.

In discussing Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody as a locality, I aim to show this as a unique and local form of a complex social and spatial division of labour, further differentiated by sex, which constitutes the sources of the experiences and actions of the women studied. The particular aspect of the development of the locality I discuss is how the spatial distribution of housing markets and labour markets results in a particular form of the separation of home and workplace, which further incorporates ideas and meanings about family life. The features of the locality are experienced by the women in everyday life as the 'environment;' this includes the spatial and social distribution of resources, including physical attributes, social composition and the less tangible commonly held understandings about its nature and its use. The women's mothering practices and the ideas they hold about their identity are thus located in and ultimately interlinked with courses of action which take place in a variety of settings at local, regional and national scales. The importance which women accord to familial space, that is space understood as contributing to the accomplishment of family life, is shown in this chapter to be integral to the way in which general understandings of a family place become redefined in terms of the women's specific experiences of childrearing. Later chapters investigate more closely how the actions of women, as they respond to the conditions of the locality, in turn are also constituting social life and conceptions of space.

The first part of this chapter describes the historical geographical development of Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody in relation to the settlement and structuring of British Columbia. These municipalities, formerly
distinctive communities based on local economies, have gradually become subsumed as a suburban 'sub-region' in the social and spatial division of labour of advanced capitalism, including the specialized land use around the separation of home and workplace. Their particular path of development reflects a pattern of social and economic restructuring, a process of migration and recent local planning initiatives which have accompanied the increasing concentration of quaternary industry and employment in Vancouver since the late 1960s. Furthermore, the consequences of the occupational transformation of British Columbia's labour force delineate the types of local jobs available for women living in Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody.

I then go on to describe the characteristics of the locality which constitute the contemporary 'environment' defining the social, housing and employment conditions of the women who live there. The availability of a wide variety of services and consumer goods for family provisioning, educational and recreational facilities and a predominance of single-family housing underscore the understanding of the locality as an appropriate form for 'family life'. The nature of the local labour market, which includes considerable opportunity for part-time employment, also is formative of the particularity of the conditions under which women carry out the various aspects of their labour, including both that of the wage workplace and the home. In the last part of the chapter I present material from the interviews to introduce the respondents, not as a 'representative sample' but as 'typical' of the locality; although each woman has a unique life history and set of contingencies influencing the course this takes, her 'arrival' in the Coquitlam area is integral to the constitution of the locality. The women's occupational experiences and housing histories are intertwined with the formation of housing and labour markets in advanced capitalism, reflecting the particular economic and social changes in British Columbia,
including recession. In addition, the ideas the women hold about family life are part and parcel of the reflexive shaping process of people and locality.

2. The Making of Locality

The affinity of the three contiguous municipalities of Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody (Figure 3) is of long standing, but the historical development of this 'eastern trio' of 'new suburbs' reflects both the distinctiveness of their early economies and their increasing incorporation into the residential expansion of metropolitan Vancouver. The small Municipality of Coquitlam, formed in 1891, that was described by local historians Monk and Stewart (1958) as being "in such a wild state that deer, bear, mink, raccoon, skunk, wild cat, muskrat, and other animals roamed freely" at that time, contrasts with Chambers' (1973) later account of the area in which "The changes are so fast, that each day sees a familiar spot gone and a new building in its place. Lots that were vacant are being cleared and new streets are springing up overnight". She adds, "Only the mountains remain the same, as impassively they still stare down at the scene below". To-day, even those mountain views are changing as residential developments climb up the lower forested slopes to the north of the municipalities. The combined population of the three municipalities has grown to 113,400, industrial and commercial areas have mushroomed and the area has been dissected by major highways carrying continuous flows of both commuter and trans-Canada traffic. Yet a rustic quality remains and a majority of detached single-family dwellings in the housing stock lends to the characterization of the Coquitlam area as 'a good place to raise a family', a commonly expressed sentiment which also appears in the municipalities' publicity brochures.

The rapid growth of the 'eastern trio' is framed by their particular
Figure 3: The Locality
location in relation to Vancouver and Vancouver’s dominance in British Columbia’s economy and society. The resource-extraction base of the province’s economy and the economic policies of the provincial government have resulted in a cyclical, boom-bust economic course over the years, while planning in response to urban sprawl has influenced the directions of development, particularly in the last decade. 4 Bounded by the Fraser River to the south and mountains to the north, the municipalities of Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody lie between the still predominantly rural area of Pitt Meadows, across the Pitt River to the east, and New Westminster and the inner suburb of Burnaby to the west.

a) 1850s – 1940s: three distinct localities

The early settlement of the area now occupied by Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody was stimulated by the establishment in 1858 of New Westminster as capital of the mainland colony of British Columbia. The regiment of Royal Engineers that was brought out from Britain to secure the defence of the new capital and to survey the surrounding land constructed rough trails linking New Westminster to the Burrard Inlet and east towards the Pitt River. The eastern route ran through what became, in 1891, the Municipality of Coquitlam. This comprised primarily a farming and logging area focusing on the sawmills at Fraser Mills, which began producing in 1890, and the railway junction at Westminster Junction, later to be renamed Port Coquitlam. By 1881 New Westminster, although it had lost its capital status to Victoria in 1868, was the commercial centre of the Lower Fraser Valley. With a population of about 3,000 it was the largest town in the area. Its stores supplied the increasing number of farmers settling along the north arm of the Fraser River, while its population provided a market for local agricultural products.
Concurrently, Port Moody at the head of the Burrard Inlet was the intended terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway. A short land boom followed the driving of the 'last spike' in 1885 until the extension of the railroad in 1887 to the new terminus of Vancouver. Although the change in railway terminus initially ended Port Moody's boom, this was mitigated by the opening of a sawmill in 1899 and the later establishment of oil refineries in 1910 and 1914. The city of Port Moody was incorporated in 1913, its economy based on the sawmill operations and the refineries.

While the completion of the trans-Canada railway had a particular significance for Port Moody at that time, it also set the direction for the future development of the three municipalities by shifting their relative location. Coquitlam, for example, adjacent to New Westminster, the principal city of the Lower mainland, was over thirty kilometers from Vancouver which was later to become the dominant city. New Westminster continued to share the shipping trade, but was increasingly overshadowed. Instead, Vancouver, which had originated as a small logging settlement called Granville, grew rapidly and had a population of almost 30,000 by 1901. It continued to grow around increased production and processing in forestry and fishing as well as diversification into shipping and transportation. The enlarged urban population provided an expanded market for farming activity. Adding to this population growth was an 'overspill' of the westward migration to the Prairies. By 1941 Vancouver was well-established as Canada's third largest city (Robinson and Hardwick, 1973).

Continued settlement of the Coquitlam area accompanied the expanding economy and rapid growth of Vancouver and, in addition, its local economy reflected the lumbering base of the southwest corner of the Province. Coquitlam's nucleus for growth was the Fraser River Sawmills, a major lumbering operation at the townsite of Fraser Mills, which began producing in
1890 and continued to thrive through different ownerships. As the Fraser Mills operations expanded, the hillside north of the mill became the site of workers' homes, the present French street names of Mallairdville testifying to this 'founding' French Canadian population which remains culturally active through the use of the French language, French institutions such as the Caisse-Populaire and local festivals.

In addition to lumbering, agriculture was another base of the early local economy, witnessed by annual agriculture fairs in Coquitlam and Port Coquitlam which began in 1901 and continued up to the 1930s. In 1911, some of the farmland east of Fraser Mills was used by the Provincial Government to build the psychiatric hospital, Essondale, renamed Riverview, and the forensic institute at Colony Farm. The production, over many years, of prize-winning livestock at the latter institution continued the local farming tradition until the mid 1980s. (Figure 4 shows Coquitlam area in 1923).

Port Coquitlam was originally a clustered settlement within the Municipality of Coquitlam. It seceded in 1913 to form a city during a period of expansion after the Canadian Pacific Railway established it as a rail centre by expropriating 586 acres for a railyard. The CPR Roundhouse and railyards were constructed in 1912, while in the same year a large Agricultural Hall was built and a new commercial district in the city was opened (Chambers, 1973; Pattison, 1985). However, the anticipated industrial growth was curtailed by World War I, and, in contrast to the booming activity of the neighbouring Fraser Mills which was based on the expanding forestry industry, Port Coquitlam "lapsed into a quiet village for more than 30 years" (Monk and Stewart, 1958:33). Prior to World War II, most employment in Port Coquitlam was provided by the Canadian Pacific Railway and the psychiatric hospital of Essondale, with a smaller number of jobs available in two quarry pit operations. Farming also
Figure 4: Map of the Coquitlam Area, 1923.

Source: Detail of map "Fraser River Delta, British Columbia" Canada: Department of Mines Geological Survey, 1923.
continued. Legacies of this focus are still evident in the Farmer's Institute Hall on the north side of the city, while the central Agricultural Hall stood until the late 1970s.

Between 1919 and 1946 British Columbia's coastal economy flourished dominated by Vancouver's establishment as an industrial city. The fishing industry expanded, forestry products found new markets in the United States and Europe, the opening of the Panama Canal enhanced international trading and eastern Canadian manufacturers opened assembly plants, all of which consolidated the southwest part of the Province as the focus of manufacturing, trade and commerce. At the same time management activities were increasingly concentrated in Vancouver (Hardwick, 1974). The results of this economic expansion and the continued location of major work places of employment in the city were expressed in the areal growth of the urban population in municipalities adjoining Vancouver.

Beyond these inner suburbs of Burnaby and Richmond other small established settlements grew more slowly and remained essentially unchanged. The sawmill operations and port activities along the Fraser Valley and Burrard Inlet which were part of the economic expansion of this period firmly established small municipalities such as Port Moody and Coquitlam, while Port Coquitlam remained a place where "dad worked for the CPR and mom at Essondale." As Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody grew the bases for their joint distinctiveness in the region had been laid down and were consolidated. The population of this early period formed an 'old community' that gave its names to city streets and laid down 'traditions', such as Port Coquitlam's May Day Celebrations, which would be followed by the later rapid influxes of residents with little connection to these early local economies. The population and economic growth that was later to shift the conceptualization of
Port Moody, Coquitlam and Port Coquitlam from distinctive localities to the 'eastern trio of outer suburbs', however, continued to be closely tied to the continuing primary resource base of the province's economy.

b) Post World War II to the 1970s: an emerging suburban 'sub-region'

After World War II Vancouver continued to establish its metropolitan ascendancy and the population grew as a surge of westward migration in Canada occurred and immigrants continued to take advantage of the employment prospects in the city and surrounding municipalities. In addition, the dispersion of industrial activity to Vancouver's suburbs and the city's pronounced shift to tertiary and quaternary economic activities shaped the growth of the Lower Mainland of the next three decades in such a way that the municipalities of Port Moody, Coquitlam and Port Coquitlam gradually merged into a 'suburban' sub-region, largely undifferentiated to the 'outsider'.

The continued reliance on primary resource extraction, such as forestry, minerals, fish, agricultural produce and energy, has resulted in a staples-led economy in the province with forestry being particularly pervasive in its influence on the development of Vancouver's and the province's urban regions (Hayter, 1978; Marchak, 1984). The forestry industry, in particular, has resulted in specific geographical patterns which reflect the spatial separation of industrial activity and its management. For example, the spatial expansion of the forestry industry and the physical separation of its component operations, such as logging, processing and the manufacture of paper or wood products, are integrated through large corporations, such as Macmillan Bloedel Limited, many of whose head offices are in Vancouver (Bradbury, 1978; Robinson and Hardwick, 1973). The previously locally owned sawmills of Port Moody and Coquitlam exemplify this process, for they became subsidiaries of the United States
companies of Weldwood and Crown Zellerbach during this period and their British Columbian offices relocated to Vancouver. Such examples may be multiplied to produce a picture of the concentration of management, administration and finance in Vancouver, for although many small firms, such as sawmills, form part of the overall forestry operations, the large corporate oligopolies dominate the production and manufacturing of forest products in the province. Indeed, the rapid growth of the forestry industry such as that experienced in the 1970s has been facilitated by access to spatially proximate managerial and technical expertise as well as through international sources of finance (Hayter, 1978).

A continuing trend was also set during the 1950s and 1960s in which industrial and wholesale plants were decentralized, particularly to the inner suburbs of Richmond and Burnaby, a trend that would later spread to municipalities farther away from the city of Vancouver (Steed, 1973). As the development of the Lower Mainland followed a decentralizing trend of industry and manufacturing, Vancouver increasingly became the home and workplace of those in the tertiary and quaternary sectors of economic activity, a development given physical expression in an expansion of office building in the 1960s. By the 1970s the quaternary service sector was of major significance in land use. Moreover, by 1971, metropolitan Vancouver housed half of British Columbia's population. Robinson and Hardwick comment, "Vancouver is now a city where the professional and technical, clerical and service, and recreation classes of occupation are dominant." (1973:54). Hayter (1978:95) asserts much of this activity continued to relate to forestry for "to a large extent Vancouver's head office, research and development, trading and manufacturing functions are oriented towards the harvesting, conversion and export of the provincial timber resource". However, in addition to being the hub of the forestry industry, Vancouver had also become the headquarters of other professional and business
services. It was the major port of the west coast of the Americas in tonnage, a centre for finance, medicine and higher education, and it also encompassed a substantial hotel and theatre district. Thus, in common with other metropolitan centres in advanced capitalist society, the city not only was the hub of corporate management and control, but also provided a wide range of business, personal and government services (Scott, 1986).

The building of roads and bridges have facilitated this spatial restructuring of the Lower Mainland economy and have also encouraged the spread of population outwards from the inner suburbs to outer municipalities such as Port Moody, Coquitlam and Port Coquitlam. The 'eastern trio', however, did not experience residential expansion to any great extent until the second half of the 1960s when their growth rate rose to between fifty and seventy percent. The Lougheed Highway, running through Coquitlam and Port Coquitlam, was completed in 1950, fostering access by car to Vancouver and surrounding municipalities. At the same time bus and train travel was curtailed (Chambers, 1973). The eastern trio became essentially automobile suburbs, remaining without regular public transport to Vancouver until 1973. They provided housing for workers employed in New Westminster and the industries of Burnaby, but also for higher income central city workers who 'leap-frogged' the older residential areas of East Vancouver and Burnaby to new subdivisions in Port Moody and Coquitlam (Hardwick, 1974).

The detached single-family home was a common goal and Hardwick (1974:142) states that amongst these homeowners, "The ideas of open space, low traffic, lack of congestion, and inner city pollution and the ideas that the area is good for children, are being expressed repeatedly." Throughout this period shopping centres and related services were constructed to serve the expanding population, while the opening of institutions away from the central city, such as
community colleges and Simon Fraser University, provided greater numbers of professional and clerical jobs. Hardwick notes that by 1971 that over a third of metropolitan Vancouver's employment was located in the periphery, six to fifteen miles out of the central city.

The housing needs of the rapidly growing population of metropolitan Vancouver in the late 1960s that was accommodated in Coquitlam, Port Moody and Port Coquitlam was primarily in the form of in-filling previously subdivided small-holdings. Development thus focused around the existing population. Exceptions to this were the extensive new subdivisions cut into the forest on the south side of Port Coquitlam, and in Port Moody on the hillslopes south of the Burrard Inlet. Concerns over difficulties in supplying basic urban services at a reasonable cost to the expanding residential areas and the destruction of viable farmland had been voiced as early as 1958 by the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board, whose jurisdiction then encompassed the whole of the Lower Fraser Valley. However, its concerns were not substantially addressed until the 1970s, by which time a Provincial Government initiative had resulted in the demise of the Board in favour of smaller districts. This included the Greater Vancouver Regional District which was created in 1967, its boundaries defined by the 1961 Census statistical area of Greater Vancouver and whose members were municipal representatives. During its one term in office the New Democratic Party of British Columbia established a Land Commission that, in consultation with regional districts and municipalities, drew up the Land Commission Act of 1973. This Act designated 32,160 hectares within the Greater Vancouver Regional District as Agricultural Land Reserve. Although most of this lies in Richmond, Delta and Surrey, a portion consists of the well-established Colony Farm area in Coquitlam while a section in northeast Port Coquitlam helps to maintain the rurality of the city's 'character'.

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The initial purpose of the Greater Vancouver Regional District was to co-ordinate local government initiatives, but soon it took on major planning functions. Indeed the plans of this body have had a major impact on the Port Moody, Coquitlam and Port Coquitlam area. The ‘Livable Region Plan’, published in 1975, which began to identify issues and alternative futures of the GVRD, has allayed, at least in this area, the concerns expressed in the 1970s as to whether acceptable levels of services could be provided for the expanding suburban population.9

A major aim of the GVRD’s Livable Region Plan was to decentralize employment and residential growth in order to counteract future overcrowding of Vancouver and the build-up of commuter traffic. It was phrased in terms of achieving a better balance between home and work location. These goals were to be achieved by the creation of regional town centres in selected suburban areas, including Coquitlam, which would attract substantial business communities and office developments. These new settings would offer amenities such as a variety of shopping, entertainment, cultural and recreational facilities. Job opportunities would thus be created for people living in these suburban areas, while new housing nearby the new town centres would accommodate the anticipated growth in population. Plans to protect and develop open spaces would also add to the attractiveness of the region. The initial intention was to link residential areas, regional town centres and major work areas with the existing bus system and a new commuter rail link between Vancouver and the Coquitlam town centre. Rapid transit would follow at a later date, slated as the form of transportation linkage between other centres and downtown Vancouver (GVRD, 1975). The proposed Coquitlam town centre area and Surrey were particularly targeted for employment growth (GVRD, 1981).
c) Into the 1980s: social and economic restructuring, and occupational transformation

i) 'The Livable Region'

Some decentralization of employment and population growth has followed the inception of the Livable Region Program, with Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody, referred to in this initiative as the North East Sector, increasing their relative share of employment and population growth more than the region as a whole. (See Figure 5 for population trends in the GVRD). This is largely due to the opening of the Coquitlam Centre Mall in 1979 as the first phase of the creation of the Regional Town Centre in Coquitlam, and the establishment of industrial areas in Coquitlam and Port Coquitlam. These have provided a strong impetus for the area's economic growth and have been accompanied by a refocusing of residential development around new sites neighbouring the Coquitlam Centre.  

Population growth in the North East sector has surged ahead and has been accompanied by a burgeoning of commercial services. In addition, between 1971 and 1981 it has been prominent in sharing the creation of new jobs in the GVRD. Whereas in 1971 Vancouver, Burnaby and New Westminster had seventy-three percent of employment in region, by 1980 this had been reduced to sixty-five percent. More than half of the new jobs were located in suburban municipalities, especially Coquitlam, Delta, Port Coquitlam and Richmond. However, as these new jobs are mainly in the industrial and population serving sectors, Vancouver has retained its primacy as a place of employment in tertiary and quaternary sector jobs and the GVRD's anticipation of a relative decline in commuting has not occurred. In 1981 the city of Vancouver, including the University Endowment Lands, had forty-five percent of the metropolitan area's jobs, while providing only thirty-three percent of the labour force (GVRD, 1985).
Figure 5: Distribution of Population Within the GVRD
Although this number of jobs is nearly seven percent lower than in 1971, Vancouver still attracted 33.85 percent of the new jobs in the region.

What has not been achieved by the Livable Region Program is any significant increase in office space in suburban municipalities, with the exceptions of BC Tel in Burnaby, the Workers' Compensation Board in Richmond, the Surrey Taxation Centre and the Insurance Corporation of British Columbia in North Vancouver. The North East sector has seen relatively little office development, the only new office block being a seven-storey building, not yet fully leased, in Port Coquitlam. In contrast, between 1967 and 1984 the urban core of Vancouver had seen a tripling of its office space and this spatial unevenness is reflected in Ley's estimate that between 1971 and 1975 white collar expansion probably accounted for ninety percent of new job creation in the city of Vancouver, this including work in hotels, retail and public service facilities (Ley, 1980).

The Livable Region Program may have steered the direction of the geographical distribution of population and employment growth in Greater Vancouver, but an occupational transformation of British Columbia's labour force, also with a specific spatial distribution, has occurred over the last few decades in keeping with trends in other western advanced capitalist economies. Indeed, although the nature of the provincial economy has shaped the particularities of Vancouver's growth, like many other major cities in the western industrial world it has, in the wake of a de-industrialization which has resulted in economic and social restructuring, become what has been characterized as a 'post-industrial' city (Hardwick, 1974; Ley, 1980). Although the theoretical underpinning of the post-industrial society hypothesis may be challenged in its rejection of the continued prominence of the social and economic relations of industrial capitalism, the empirical characteristics of
occupational shifts and landscape changes are commonly accepted as reflecting the technological changes accompanying economic restructuring.  

**ii) Occupational transformations and housing markets**

Two features of post-industrial or advanced capitalist society have had major consequences for the shifting occupational profiles of metropolitan centres. First, the growing importance of technology has pervaded manufacturing, service industries and administration. The percentage of unskilled and blue collar workers in the labour force declines in favour of occupations concerned with the increasing importance of information and theoretical knowledge in the economy. Second, a more active role taken by government has increased the proportion of employees in the public services.  

These changes include the spatial clustering of quaternary sector employment in high rise office buildings in the central business districts of major cities, the decentralizing of units of industrial production, facilitated by improvements in transportation and communication technologies, and the growth of large populations which provide labour skills throughout the system of production (Scott, 1986). It is not surprising that, despite the Livable Region Plan, a trend has continued towards specialization and a spatial concentration of a new elite of higher income professional, technical and administrative workers in Vancouver which has not been significantly counteracted by a decentralization of jobs (Ley, 1980; 1983). The city remains a centre for cultural experiences, with a wide variety of restaurants, speciality shopping, arts events, ethnic diversity, entertainment facilities together with the added attractions of beaches, mountain views and Stanley Park as a major recreational resource.  

The impact of increased white collar employment has been prominent in this economic restructuring. This includes senior managerial, administrative,
professional and technical occupations and service and clerical jobs of varying skill levels, all of which are concentrated in the tertiary and quaternary sectors of economic activity. In Canada, from 1971 to 1975, white collar employment increased by twenty-six percent, and within this category professional and technical occupations grew by thirty-three percent, while managerial and administrative positions rose by sixty-five percent. By 1975 one in seven workers in both Canada and the United States was in a professional or technical occupation and by 1984 more that a quarter of British Columbia's employed labour force was in the quaternary sector (Ley, 1980; Ley and Mills, 1986).

In addition to the spatial concentration of quaternary sector employment in Vancouver, other aspects of occupational shifts and their spatial distribution are significant to the division of labour and its gender differentiation. The rapid growth of white collar jobs during the 1970s was an important part of women's participation in the labour force. Indeed, economic restructuring has been accompanied by the increasing participation of women proportionately and in actual numbers in the labour force in all age groups, contrasting with a more stable pattern of men's employment (Table 1). Married women's participation rates have shown the greatest increases and in the Greater Vancouver Regional District they rose from thirty-seven percent in 1971 to fifty-two percent in 1981. 

Much of this employment is in clerical, service and health occupations, and forms a gender differentiated part of the labour market which, in general, pays lower wages and has fewer opportunities for career advancement for women than do the occupational categories of male employment. Indeed, women in Canada earned less than men in every occupational category (Labour Canada, 1983; Statistics Canada, 1986). Another occupational category clearly differentiated by gender, that of unpaid family workers, accounts for 1.6 percent of the labour force and exhibits an uneven spatial distribution.
## VANCOUVER CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES, 1961 - 1981

(Proportion of Age Group)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTUAL</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
<th>45-54</th>
<th>55-59/60-64</th>
<th>65+</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>34.4</td>
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<td>34.3</td>
<td>36.4</td>
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<td>48.1</td>
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<td>38.2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>58.4</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>47.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>83.1</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>47.8/32.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>56.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## VANCOUVER CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA MALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES, 1961 - 1981

(Proportion of Age Group)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTUAL</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
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<th>55-59/60-64</th>
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<td>39.5</td>
<td>85.9</td>
<td>93.1</td>
<td>93.6</td>
<td>90.5</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>73.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>95.4</td>
<td>92.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>86.3</td>
<td>90.7</td>
<td>92.2</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>74.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>93.1</td>
<td>84.7/69.3</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>79.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Greater Vancouver Development Services, 1984
Three-quarters are women and a higher proportion work in the suburbs than the city (Lioy, 1975). Employment patterns for Coquitlam and Port Moody for men and women reflect regional averages, while Port Coquitlam has a higher percentage of females in health occupations and a higher proportion of males in transportation, continuing long held trends for this municipality (Lioy, 1975).

An important dimension of the gender differentiation of the labour force is the phenomenon of part-time work, which is predominantly a female pattern of employment. Part-time employment in British Columbia in 1981 accounted for 15.6 percent of total employment, one of three provinces (the others are Manitoba and Saskatchewan) with over fifteen percent of all those employed being in part-time labour. National figures indicate that part-time workers are likely to be mainly women who are employed in the wholesale and retail trades and in community, business and personal services. Those with managerial and professional occupations are mostly nurses and teachers. By 1984 71.0 per cent of part-time workers were women, and part-time work in all occupational categories increased between 1979 and 1984. The largest increases were observed in the clerical category, a growth of 31 percent, and in the managerial, administrative and professional groups, a jump of 44.6 percent (Labour Canada, 1983, 1986). There is certainly evidence that women are gradually moving into more senior occupations in Greater Vancouver also, but the majority of women’s employment remains in lower-paid non-professional clerical, sales and service occupations (Lioy, 1985).

The Vancouver area’s expansion in population and employment through the 1970s was part of the growth particularly experienced throughout the western one-third of North America. In British Columbia the flourishing staple-based provincial economy was linked not only to a growth of jobs in the service sector, but also to the housing market so that house prices inflated substantially.
between 1972 and 1974 and again in the late 1970s, escalating rapidly to a peak in the spring of 1981. This last jump coincided with a growth in service employment of over ten percent in 1981 (Ley and Mills, 1986). This aspect of the boom is important for understanding social aspects of employment changes. Just as there was an uneven spatial distribution of quaternary employment, housing market conditions contributed to changes in the distribution of households. As house prices rose in the first half of the 1970s, single income families with children moved out of Vancouver to suburban municipalities where ground level, single family housing could be found at lower cost. At the same time one and two person households moved into the city’s growing stock of condominium housing. This trend has continued into the 1980s (Ley, 1980; City of Vancouver Planning Department, 1982). In describing the particularities of the GVRD’s historical development and growth it is evident that such phenomena are part of a general process tied to wider economic and social structuring. This continues to affect local conditions. Just as economic growth surged ahead in the 1970s, a substantial slump in house prices in mid-1981 signalled the effects of global recession.  

**iii) Recession**

British Columbia’s economy has traditionally relied on imported capital (Denike, 1978) and exporting raw materials, particularly forestry products (Marchak, 1984). Thus the local impact of world recession during the early 1980s reflected the province’s extreme dependence on external markets. Provincial economic policies may have exacerbated the downturn. For example, Canadian unemployment figures indicate that in British Columbia unemployment rose from 13.8 percent to 14.4 percent between 1983 and 1985, even though export markets improved, while figures for Canada as a whole in the
same period indicate a drop from 11.9 percent to 10.6 percent (Gunton, 1986).

The effects of this recession reached workers in many occupational categories due to a combination of automation, the provincial government's restraint program, in which 'downsizing' particularly affected the public service sector, and a multiplier effect in the economic downturn that had ramifications throughout the different economic sectors. Major budget cuts were experienced in the forestry service, funding for research and development, public schooling, post-secondary education, day-care, vocational training and health care services (Marchak, 1984). Small business bankruptcies in British Columbia rose to three times the national average during the recession. 'Downsizing' led to clerical unemployment in excess of ten percent in Greater Vancouver in 1984. As this type of employment is the major source of women's paid work, a loss of jobs, together with cuts in public services is likely to result in a shift for many women towards more domestic and voluntary work (Marchak, 1984).

In the North East Sector of the GVRD, economic development programs were initiated in 1984 in response to high unemployment and small business failures, although the visibility of the recession was largely focused by the public outcry around teacher cutbacks. Local agriculture was also seriously affected. Although marketing boards afford some protection to farmers in egg, poultry and milk production, Warnock (1986: 151) states, "Like farmers elsewhere, B.C. producers are experiencing declines of prices, devaluation of farm assets, and enormous debt problems". Some recovery from the recession has been experienced, evidenced initially by a surge of development in Coquitlam in 1983 which, however, would not be equalled again until 1986.
3. Locality and People
   a) Locality as experienced environment: social, housing and employment conditions

   Although the women I interviewed have unique life histories, their experiences are also located within the structural changes of economic and social development which are subject to particular geographical patterning. While much attention in geography has been drawn to dramatic changes in city landscapes signalling the 'gentrification' of inner cities, suburban changes which result in the residential environment of the women of the study, are also an integral part of the spatial aspects of social and economic structuring. The articulation of social and economic processes forging the pattern of urban growth of Vancouver and its sub-regions emerges in the particular locality of Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody as the housing, social and employment conditions for the women who live there. Boulton (1983) suggests that looking at the specific components of women's material and cultural circumstances may clarify our understandings of their experiences as mothers more than reference to their husbands' occupations. These components may include such factors as housing conditions, amount and security of income, access to community facilities and a woman's identification with domestic activity.

   In the remainder of this chapter I discuss the locality in terms of how its physical and social features act as the 'experienced environment' of the women of the study. These features provide the conditions under which the women carry out their occupation of mother, and are evaluated by them in terms of their identification with their mothering activities. The women are 'introduced' into the study in the chronological order in which they 'arrived' in the locality, their move in itself reflecting the direction of development of the three municipalities. Succeeding influxes of population reflect the intersection of labour and housing markets in Greater Vancouver result in a juxtaposition of
'new' and 'old' communities as the new subdivisions overtake infill housing development.

The accumulation of change in the Coquitlam area has also been accompanied by an increasingly urbanized environment. The impact of this on women’s everyday lives is apparent in the ways and destinations of their travel, the nature of their work, and the conditions under which this work is carried out. During the last ten years an increased variety of amenities, consumer outlets, services, recreation and medical services have been made available to the residents of the three municipalities while, at the same time, huge tracts of housing have been built on subdivided forest slopes. This surge of growth has been instrumental in 'merging' the distinctiveness of the three municipalities. (See Figure 6).

To-day, the three municipalities have a combined population of 113,400, composed principally of young families living in detached single-family dwellings. In municipal publicity brochures these are described as good places both for business investment and making a family home. The Coquitlam town centre area provides the commercial focus for its neighbours, Port Coquitlam to the east and Port Moody to the west, with little to distinguish the borders between them. However, each civic administration continues to have its own municipal priorities and development plans. In addition to the continued thrust of the town centre development, which includes the recent initiation of a town centre park with extensive sports facilities, Coquitlam has plans for the revitalization of Maillardville and a new 'superstore.' Port Coquitlam is encouraging further secondary manufacturing and has the additional boost of receiving the new Provincial Court House. Port Moody’s primary aim is to increase its residential base on a large scale and move towards an increase in light industry.
Figure 6: Map of Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody, 1987.
Port Moody, with a population of 15,649, has a well-developed industrial sector at the head of the Burrard Inlet, including a bulk loading terminal, a sawmill, oil refineries, a winery, steel and other manufacturing and warehousing facilities. Most of the housing prior to the 1970s was located in the older section of the city bordering the commercial area of St. John’s Street and up the slopes to the south of the city which lead into Coquitlam. Housing also borders the road to loco on the other side of the Inlet. The newer housing tracts of the late 1970s and 1980s have largely been located on the slopes north of the city and on flatter land to the east of the Inlet, these developments merging into the burgeoning residential development of Coquitlam and to the north and west of the Coquitlam Centre. From a viewpoint the observer can see the patches of cleared forest, the houses and winding roads of the subdivisions appearing like a planner’s map.

Coquitlam’s larger area and larger population of 68,815 dwarf Port Moody, which lacks a major shopping area and is approximately midway from the Lougheed shopping centre, on the border of Coquitlam and Burnaby, and the Coquitlam centre. The longer established areas of southwest and central Coquitlam contain several neighbourhood shopping facilities, the recreation centre, municipal hall and the District School Board Office. However, the shift of mercantile and residential growth in Coquitlam to the new town centre area has resulted in the merging of the commercial areas of Port Moody, Coquitlam and Port Coquitlam. Whereas in the mid-1970s the road between Port Coquitlam and Port Moody was in parts two-lanes running through patches of ‘bush’ between small pockets of commercial development, in 1986 the same road is a four-lane highway carrying high volumes of commuter and local traffic along a continuous commercial strip including two shopping malls, three shopping squares, automobile dealerships, two grocery superstores, two movie theatres and
numerous fast-food outlets.

Port Coquitlam, dissected by the Lougheed Highway, finds its downtown area off to the side of this major 'strip', retaining something of its individuality in the long-standing small business enterprises that are located there. Its growing population, 28,936, again is housed in developments standing on previous forest areas although much of this is within pockets around already developed housing and includes some infilling. The northeast sector of Coquitlam bounds the northside of Port Coquitlam and the older smallholdings and the one acre lot subdivisions opened in recent years essentially bring this population within that of Port Coquitlam in terms of the use of its facilities and schools. A medical area in the downtown area and an adjoining industrial park, both close to the Canadian Pacific marshalling and maintenance yards, provide employment in a compact area with the ambience of a small town. Across the Lougheed Highway on the separated northside of the city, small farms occupy the Agricultural Land Reserve along the dyked De Bouville Slough. These, together with a regional park a few minutes drive away and mountain views, provide a rural setting a short walk away from the suburban subdivisions.

Throughout the residential areas the greenery of trees abounds as established plantings meld with local parks and remaining forest. In many neighbourhoods mountain views add to the scenic quality of residential pockets farther away from the commercial centres and road arteries. Major recreation areas providing beaches and hiking trails can be reached by car while municipal parks are within walking distance of some subdivisions. However, for most residents shopping areas are not closeby, except perhaps for a corner store. The inhabitants of the newer subdivisions with minimal bus services are particularly reliant on a car to gain ready access to the wide variety of recreational facilities and optional educational programmes offered by the School District.
The women living in the three municipalities have the potential use of a wide range of amenities and services to do with everyday provisioning of families and child-rearing. A certain range of employment opportunities also exist locally, although consistent with the emphasis on commercial development, these are likely to rest in the lower-paid part-time employment of sales and service occupations characteristic of much of women's employment. Three hospitals provide employment opportunities in several occupational categories. A variety of clerical work, however, also can be found in banks and professional, medical, business and public service offices, although senior white collar jobs are more likely to require commuting into Vancouver. Medical services have consistently been a major source of women's employment (Chamber of Commerce, 1986). (See Table 2 for major employers in the Coquitlam area.)

In the wake of recession and expensive government megaprojects, neither commuter rail nor rapid transit has yet been introduced to link the area to Vancouver although three major routes carry road traffic to the city's downtown core within 35 to 50 minutes by car. Bus journeys increase commuting time considerably, to over an hour, and in fact commuting time by car has increased in recent years (GVRD, 1982). Each municipality offers a range of housing types in differing price ranges, including apartments and townhouse developments, although the majority of the housing stock consists of single-family dwellings of varying age.

The twenty-five women I interviewed live in residential areas dispersed throughout the municipalities of Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody. Their homes range quite considerably in age, design, size and relative location to arterial roads, public transportation, shopping and recreational facilities, medical services, parks and schools. But all live as nuclear families with their husbands and children in streets where this is the norm, and all but two are
TABLE 2
MAJOR EMPLOYERS IN THE COQUITLAM AREA, 1985

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMPLOYER</th>
<th>NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1. School District #43 (Coquitlam)</td>
<td>1,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Riverview Hospital</td>
<td>1,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. C.P. Rail</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Valleyview Hospital</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Crown Forest Industries Limited</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Wometco (B.C.) Ltd.</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Woodward’s</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
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<td>8. Weldwood of Canada Ltd.</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. District of Coquitlam</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Scott Poultry Co-op. Association</td>
<td>300</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


owner occupiers. The incidence of new or nearly new housing in many cases ensures a high standard of housing conditions for the women, while those owning smaller and older accommodation felt they were quite comfortable with their present situation, although newer kitchens or more space were mentioned as preferred ideals. In addition to a modern stove, refridgerator, washer and dryer several of the women also had a freezer and microwave. All except one live in ground level detached single family dwellings that have backyards of varying size affording playspace for their children. The one exception lives in a large townhouse development with a ground level entrance and considerable grassed area around the rows of housing for children to use. This woman is also one of the two renters interviewed.

In the next section I introduce the women of the study, showing how their 'arrival' to the Coquitlam area and their current living conditions typifies and is
part of the process of social and economic changes at the local, regional and national levels. At the individual level, it is also the first step in negotiating 'safe spaces' for rearing children. (The profile on the respondents is placed in Appendix A for easy reference throughout the thesis).

b) Housing situations and divisions of labour
i) 'Arriving' - work and the family home

There is a considerable literature on residential decision making and residential differentiation. This makes clear that the position of the aggregate household in the labour market, accompanied by income differentials, sets down limitations on house price that can be attained. Other factors such as family size, life cycle stage and preferences according to life-style and type of tenure are also recognized. Much of the literature from a behavioural perspective has emphasized the primacy of consumer choice in residential decision-making. Yet in doing so such work has tended to neglect the social and economic processes resulting in a particular structuring of the housing market, and so the residential environment in which such decisions are located (Badcock, 1984). Marxist literature in particular acts as a critique of 'preference' oriented studies (Harvey, 1973; Walker, 1981). My purpose here is not to examine factors affecting migration decisions, but rather to contextualize my respondents generally within the processes that have structured the particular development of the locality. Thus, although the reasons given by the women for their move supports the residential mobility literature that has emphasized life-cycle stage in the decision-making of individual households (Preston and Taylor, 1981; Rossi, 1980), my intention here is to depict the women's moves as an integral part of shaping the locality which in turn provides the environment for their mothering work.
The specific details of the women's respective housing situations may differ according to their (and their husbands') personal circumstances and incomes, but these also are linked closely to the landscape changes and population growth which have accompanied the economic restructuring described above. The availability of today's housing stock reflects the layering over time of these developments and the local geographical patterning of ongoing residential, commercial and other economic sector growth. I also wish to indicate what sort of knowledge, expectations and ideas they brought to their homes and neighbourhood, recognizing that the physical structuring of the landscape, including specific houses, presents an environmental form to the subjects which will be interpreted in the context of their personal biographies. In particular, I focus on the women's evaluation of the outcome of their residential decision, in terms of it providing an appropriate domestic workspace.30

In common with the population of other regions in the GVRD, over half of the women are migrants or immigrants (GVRD, 1982). Five came to Greater Vancouver from other parts of the province or Canada as single women, as did one immigrant, but the majority were married. Only two of the women grew up or spent some of their childhood in the area where they now live. Donna grew up in Port Coquitlam and, apart from a short period of work as a bookkeeper in eastern Canada, has remained in the municipality. Joanna came to Coquitlam as a teenager with her family, who were seeking the specialized medical facilities of Vancouver for a family member and stayed. She has worked in several places in British Columbia as a nurse but since marriage has lived in Coquitlam again. Seven of the respondents grew up in other suburbs of the GVRD or in the city of Vancouver. Most of the women are in their thirties and came to the Coquitlam area with small children or anticipating motherhood. (The women's employment
Six of the women live in households which bought houses in the Coquitlam area in the first half of the 1970s. The timing and place of their home purchase, together with their husband's position in the labour market reflect the occupational shifts and spatial distribution of population growth in the early part of the 1970s. (See Table 3 for a list of husbands' occupations). Although the specialized trade job of Pamela's husband is located in Vancouver, the move of these families preceded the larger part of the influx of high income workers from Vancouver which began in the 1970s (Hardwick, 1974). Two of the husbands are in tertiary occupations serving the expanding populations of the local area and neighbouring suburbs. One is a tradesmen, running a family business with his father, and two are employed in long-established secondary industries in New Westminster and Port Moody. The latter two, Tricia and Pamela's husbands, have now gained considerable seniority in their blue collar occupations. Helen's husband is a successful automobile salesman, Ellen's is a high-school teacher while Donna's husband has experienced considerable fluctuation in his business, reflecting general economic trends. All live in Port Coquitlam.

In each case their home purchase was predicated on the understanding that the husband would be the sole wage-earner. At the time of their move none of the women continued with employment outside the home at the time of their move and had no immediate plans to do so, as in all instances they anticipated 'starting a family' or already had small children. At that time the Coquitlam shopping centre complex had not been built and bus routes were not well developed. Small shopping plazas served local neighbourhoods, while a shopping mall on the borders of Port Coquitlam and Coquitlam housed a K-Mart store and other small retail outlets. Until the Coquitlam centre was built the Lougheed
### TABLE 3

**INVENTORY OF HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONS AND PLACE OF WORK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accountant ( uncertified)</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager (primary resource corporation)</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager (financial sector)</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police detective</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales representative</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled tradesman</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager (crown corporation)</td>
<td>inner suburb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>inner suburb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truck driver</td>
<td>inner suburb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physician</td>
<td>New Westminster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreman (secondary manufacturing industry)</td>
<td>New Westminster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>Port Moody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentice mechanic</td>
<td>( presently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unemployed )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Port Coquitlam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance adjuster ( crown corporation )</td>
<td>Coquitlam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance worker</td>
<td>Port Moody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed ( construction related businesses )</td>
<td>Port Coquitlam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>Outer suburb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesmen - retail (2)</td>
<td>Outer suburb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Outer suburb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
shopping centre provided the greatest variety of shopping outlets for Coquitlam and Port Moody residents while those on the north side of Port Coquitlam had to drive about twenty-five minutes, or take a more lengthy bus journey, to reach the Lougheed Mall or across the Fraser River in Surrey. Job opportunities in the local area were minimal for women in general, and there was little work available for Donna, Pamela, Maureen, Helen or Ellen to employ their clerical and bookkeeping skills even had they wished to do so. Tricia's job as a laboratory technician was located in Vancouver, but she left this in order to have children and bring them up in what she and her husband considered a family environment. The predominantly rural character of the environment, a character that remained into the 1970s, emphasized the spatial separation of women's job opportunities from their home workplace. Jan's move to the area in 1975 was directly related to the agricultural base of the municipality, occasioned by her marriage to a farmer already living there. In her case she had no immediate plans to have children and continued to travel to Vancouver to see friends, but her lack of skills and her desire to be 'a good wife' precluded consideration of paid employment on her part.

Thirteen of the respondents moved into the Coquitlam area between the mid-1970s and the period when house prices peaked in 1981. Eight of the moves coincided with the real estate 'boom' period of 1978 to 1981. Some of the women and their husbands moved to the already established areas of central and southwestern Coquitlam, which still offered the open space and advantages of higher elevation that some preferred at prices they found affordable. Again the move of these families to the Coquitlam area reflects the pattern of the rapid increase of employment opportunities in tertiary and quaternary economic sectors in the 1970s, the trend towards a concentration of the quaternary sector in Vancouver and the spatial distribution of housing and labour markets. At this
time ten of the husbands were at early stages of white collar careers, in a variety of occupations in both tertiary and quaternary sectors. Three were in blue collar occupations, one of which was running his own business in a construction-related trade. At the time of the interviews, only three of these husbands actually worked in the Coquitlam area, while one had not had steady employment. For the majority their income and their status as a one-earner family limited the range of housing they could consider buying, within their choice of single-family housing, to outer suburban areas. Over half had taken advantage of new or nearly new housing of both infill and new subdivision form, either when first arriving or at a later date.

Four of the women moving between the mid 1970s and 1981 had children at the time of their move, while others came during pregnancy or in anticipation of shortly becoming so. Although there are differences in individual cases of later patterns of employment, most of the women had left or intended to leave their jobs for at least a few years while the children were young. Their occupations, prior to having children were typical of the sex differentiated labour market, most being either in clerical or health occupations, although at varying skill and educational levels, with one teacher and one in management. Only Monica and her husband bought their house with no short-run expectations of family life with children, and it was four years later before she had her first child.

Five of the women moved into the area after 1981. Kathy and her husband, both employed in junior accounting jobs in Vancouver had moved from an apartment in North Vancouver in order to buy a home, finding one in an established subdivision of modest housing in 1983. This coincided with her first pregnancy and she left her job just before the birth of her first child. Jennifer had moved to the province in 1982 when her husband had been offered a practice
In his professional field in a municipality neighbouring the Coquitlam area. They immigrated to Canada in 1980, originally leaving the uncertain political situation of South Africa in 1977 and living in the United States and Britain before reaching Canada. Jacquie and Diane had moved from outer suburban municipalities east of the Pitt River to new subdivisions in 1982. Diane’s husband was now closer to his quaternary sector job in a crown corporation and Jacquie’s husband was closer to the main markets for his construction-related business. Both Diane and Jacquie had wanted to be closer to the amenities of the Coquitlam area. Alison’s house purchase was directly occasioned by the recession as her husband, a manager in the forestry industry, had been laid off in 1982. They left Vancouver Island in order for him to take up new employment in a different industry in Vancouver, although also a quaternary occupation. They had found housing they could afford in the Coquitlam area, more modest than that which ‘they had left.

ii) A “family area”

The arrival of the women in the study in the Coquitlam area has been shown to be part of the patterning of housing development and population growth emanating from particular economic and social changes, but significant also was that many of these moves coincided with a point in the women’s lives when their identities as mothers were becoming clearly established. The women, themselves, interpret their choice to reside within the area as a function of income and house price, although the specific location of their housing was described as a more ‘happenstance’ outcome with real estate agents steering their choice. Certainly in the women’s experience access to housing markets was narrowed down swiftly by income and the type of housing understood to serve the needs of ‘family life’, usually represented by a clustering of
single-family dwellings in predominantly residential areas.  

Several of the women had a general knowledge of the Greater Vancouver area through growing up or working there, or having visited relatives. But apart from Donna and Joanna, very few of the women had any knowledge of the specific neighbourhood, or even the particular municipality, in which they found housing. It was, however, clear to the women that it was a 'family area' that they were moving to, and the locality had been assessed by the women in terms of its appropriateness for their perceptions of family living.

Some women or their husbands had specific requirements in mind, such as a preferred housing layout, or a new house and many had commuting considerations. Beyond that, housing type or location was expressed in terms of a more generalized notion of a "family home." The incidence of the women's moves often coincided with 'starting a family'. Yvonne's comment typifies this view, "We were thinking of a family. We just decided it was time to have a home, no particular choice as to where. Just a nice house, somewhere we thought we'd like". Despite the happenstance nature of their house buying and their lack of knowledge of the area, most women of the study now felt quite settled here and found their municipalities family-oriented and "a good place to raise kids."

Evaluation of the municipalities in relation to 'family life' was expressed in terms of physical features and the provision of facilities. With one exception all the women have cars and so have ready physical access to an array of everyday facilities, such as shopping, schools, recreation centres and health care. The many recreational programs offered by the different Parks and Recreation Departments, a variety of sports organizations available and satisfaction with local schools were characteristics of the "community" that many of the women valued. Helen's statement sums up many of the women's
comments about the Coquitlam area, "It's quiet. There's open space. It's family oriented. There's lots of services around, lots of Rec. Centre programmes. Shopping, it's all right here. I think it's a great place for a family." Although considerable change has occurred in the actual distribution of services and amenities since most of the women came to the Coquitlam area, a favourable balance between children's play space and convenience for the women was, in general, perceived. Depending on the specific location of housing, however, commercial encroachment could alter a woman's specific working conditions.

The continued 'spacious feeling' of many of the residential areas, in spite of considerable commercial and housing development since the mid-1970s, was a feature several women liked. Mature yards, park spaces and mountain views from some streets maintain a rustic quality in most parts of all of the three municipalities, while new subdivisions in forested areas provide an alternative 'rurality' to fields and farms in the form of nearby forest and wild fauna and flora. Valerie, for instance, living in a recent subdivision in a previously forested area, valued the open space for her children:

"We live in an area where there's not a lot of traffic so you can let your child ride their bike on the street. We had deer, we had bear, we have a cougar on occasion and racoons - and you don't get that in downtown Vancouver! It's nice for them to have open space".

Similarly, Cara talks of the "rustic feeling" of Coquitlam and speaks of the advantages of such a neighbourhood in terms of her children, "We live in a really nice area with lots of trees and grass that are natural play areas for the kids". Nicole, living in a longer established area, also valued the open space that remains:

"It's not too crowded here. That's why I like the suburbs - there's space. I like the trees and stuff like that, and there's snow in winter."
We had thought of living in Richmond, but I don't think I'd like it - it's low-lying and there are a lot of ditches. It would be nice to have more of the city amenities like Stanley Park and U.B.C. but then it wouldn't be a suburb, have open space anymore. As a suburb it's fairly nice.

The former rurality of the early 1970s remains particularly apparent to those women living in North East Coquitlam and the north side of Port Coquitlam where small farms in the Agricultural Land Reserve abut neighbourhood parks and subdivision housing. For the majority of residents in these areas a few minutes walk or drive can take them to a setting where scenic views of the mountains can be enjoyed while walking, biking or horse riding along "the dyke" and the banks of the Pitt River. Maureen, for example, appreciates the quietness and specific location of her housing, commenting,

"I can walk half a mile down here and be by the river. I'd never know I was in the suburbs. Sometimes you still still see deer, and of course the racoons! The salmon still come too, but they're fewer than when we were first here."

Such features were part of the attraction of the area for both Donna and Helen also, especially appreciating a 'countrylike' atmosphere in combination with easy access to shopping facilities. Ellen said,

"I like it, especially right here. It is quiet. Not as much any more, but we hear the cows - the farms are just two blocks away. It's just so quiet here, I don't even hear any traffic on the highway."

In fact Ellen's house is located in a pocket of older housing built about fifteen years ago, and although little change has taken place in the immediate vicinity, extensive subdivision and infilling has taken place which has increased the volumes of local traffic as well as that on the Lougheed highway, over a kilometer away. Donna has noticed the increasing frequency of traffic passing
her house on a minor arterial road, saying, "There was hardly any traffic when we were first here, but now it's quite bad, especially in rush hour. I make the kids use the crosswalk up there to go across to the park."

Certainly, throughout the Coquitlam area, the rapid growth in the provision of commercial services since the late 1970s has resulted in a changed environment. For example, Tricia and her husband moved into a small older bungalow in the first half of the 1970s which originally stood in an orchard area located close to the Lougheed Highway. Tricia commented that one of her neighbours is eighty years old and used to sell eggs on the highway. But the original small farms have now been infilled and new houses have replaced some of the older homes. This particular neighbourhood has seen enormous change over the last decade as the highway has been widened to carry the increasing volume of traffic flow and commercial development has begun to encroach as the nearby Coquitlam town centre grows. Despite this, away from the highway the streets within this discrete housing area are quiet, "apart from the trains sometimes," and the established trees hide any visual impact of the neighbouring commercial landscape. There is very little traffic and there is a small neighbourhood park about a block away, providing a pleasant open area with a playground and large shade trees. Tricia enjoys living here and she and her husband feel very settled, but she is concerned over what will happen to the general area in the long run:

"I've seen the population projections. Huge numbers of people will be moving in. I wonder what it will be like, if it'll end up like one big city - when you look at a map it's [Port Coquitlam] surrounded by Coquitlam. We have wondered what we'd do if they put up an apartment building up across the road. There are four rented houses on that parcel of land right now."

The 'city' characteristics of noise and traffic had not been anticipated by two of the women. Louise recounts the time when they bought their first house
in the area:

"This was about as far as we wanted to go out. It still wasn’t too far from Jack’s work. It was quite a nice house and the road looked almost like a country road. It looked as if there was just the mountain at the end, but we were wrong! There was a lot of traffic, and with the high school behind we got lots of squealing tires, that sort of thing. Every year it got worse, and when we heard they were going to make it a four-lane road we decided to move. I couldn’t let Susan out at the front as it was."

Sharon was similarly surprised:

"We didn’t realize we were on such a busy street. At that time there were deer in the back, and birds twittering, and the real estate guy said there’d never be houses behind us, and now we’re all houses behind. My husband says they must have got the police to hold the traffic up and it must have been a mechanical deer!"

Yet, despite the implications of busy roads for restricting children’s playspace, the increased commercial development around the Coquitlam town centre and upgraded highway systems provide considerable convenience to women living closeby and to those in the more distant subdivisions. This was mentioned both by women who were employed in the labour force and those whose work centred around family provisioning and childrearing. Mary and Deirdre, for instance, live quite close to the developing town centre, and comment on the convenience of the shopping malls and squares which are only a few blocks away, where each does most of her shopping. Mary says, "We’re so central to everything, the whole shebang. You don’t need to go anywhere else." Diane, in another neighbourhood is also close to shopping and recreational facilities and comments, "I don’t see this as the suburbs. It’s city, really. There’s everything you want here."

In expressing general satisfaction with the social and housing conditions that frame their experiences of the locality, the women were referring to
general characteristics of the municipalities and specific features of residential areas which supported the accomplishment of the domestic activity of their lives. Certain housing and physical neighbourhood characteristics, imbued with social meanings such as the notion of the single-family dwelling as a desired form of family home, were interpreted against ideas held by the women about what was an appropriate social and spatial location for their life at that moment.

Definitions of a 'family place' were particularly oriented around and built upon meeting the needs of children, and later changes of residence within the locality or housing alterations were predicated on this basis. Such actions provide the physical underpinning for a continuing adjustment of life-style oriented around the two-parent family with children and are themselves part and parcel of the constitution of the conditions underlying understandings of the municipalities as good places for "raising a family." For physical structures are translated into use within the predominant meanings according to them. Acknowledgement of the locality's continued ability to provide for a family's foreseeable needs is indicated by the women's accounts of their recent residential moves and modification of their housing conditions.

iii) "Family area" as workplace

At the time of the interview eight of the women were living in houses other than the first one they occupied in this locality, moving in order to acquire a larger or newer house. Four lived in houses specifically built for them, while a few have made considerable structural alterations to older houses, restructuring kitchens or adding more space to existing main living areas. Others had finished basements to add office space, a recreation room, extra bathroom or workshop. Outdoor construction over the years included the building of garden sheds or a
sundeeck, while one family had added a swimming pool. Fencing a backyard and adding children's play equipment, such as a sand box, swings or playhouse tended to be more immediate projects coinciding with children's early years. Some would have preferred to live "closer to the city", especially migrants from large cities and those brought up in the inner suburbs. But while the children were young and houses in the area were seen as being affordable it was seen as a good choice as a place to live. None of the women had any immediate plans to move out of the Coquitlam area. An over-riding consideration for the majority of the women was that the house and neighbourhood would serve the needs of their ideas of 'family life.'

The two families renting houses also shared a preference for purchasing their own home in a neighbourhood convenient for rearing children. Joanna was living in an old, small bungalow in an older established area of Coquitlam and she and her husband were saving to buy a newer home in the same or a nearby part of Coquitlam.37 They have three children. She comments,

"I'd like more space! This house is very small for us, especially since we've had the baby. Somewhere bigger and I'd want all my living space on one floor, and on the ground floor, so you can walk right outside. We really like the school. Now my daughter's in school that's a big consideration. I never thought about things like that before. Now she's in this French Immersion we quite like it, and we wouldn't want to leave it behind. I wouldn't want one on a busy road and - parks nearby, probably. That's what I'd like".

Lyn lives in a rental townhouse development, part of a large residential neighbourhood. Her anticipation of a 'family home' is more or a dream. Lyn and her husband's present low earning potential, due to a lack of training and skills and her husband's job insecurity, precludes any possibility of buying a house in the foreseeable future. While the townhouses for many are 'steppingstones' to
house purchase it has not been so for them. On their particular ‘block’ of townhouses they have been there the longest:

"We've been here for six and a half years. We heard about it [the housing project] from my husband's parents - they have a house near here. We were on a waiting list, but we didn't have to wait too long, just a few months. We've been here the longest, there's only two other couples who've been here almost as long as us. Most of the other husbands have steady jobs and they've moved into a house."

It is something she would like, and she speaks admiringly of her friend's situation, who was a previous next-door neighbour, "She has a nice house with a big backyard, and swings for the kids."

Only Jan and her husband had "looked into" moving out of the general area, even considering emigration. Their situation related to their source of livelihood rather than other aspects of the municipality. After many years of farming they were looking for a more secure and less demanding life than they had experienced in British Columbia. Jan's perceptions of such a move, however, continued to focus around thoughts for their children's future:

"We're really burnt out. All this thing about farming and health; it's not true. It's very unhealthy, very stressful, very demanding. It's a beautiful place but when it's raining it's mucky, it's not fit for human habitation! Just about eight months out of a year! We have thought of New Zealand. It's a good place for children, a good place to grow up. They've good social programs. Very good for children. They go to school, get training and they get a job on training. It's a slower life-style. You don't have to burn out."

Joanna's experience of farmlife on the Prairies as a child had left her with fond memories. On this basis she had formed certain notions of 'family life,' but had changed her mind over time:

"We are looking to buy a place and I'd hate to leave Coquitlam now. I know so many people. I can go to the Mall or shopping and I always run
into people I know. It takes years to do that. We’ve thought of the island. We’ve always like it when we’ve been over there – weatherwise and ....I think my husband has a dream of eventually retiring there. We used to want to move out and, you know, bring up our kids in a more rural setting – I was brought up on a farm – but I don’t know that I’d want to do that anymore, whereas ten years ago I might have. I used to think the kids would be better off, that it would be a better way of life, but I don’t think so any more. I guess I thought there’d be more emphasis of family and neighbours because that’s how I grew up and it was so different when I moved to the city, but I think you can have the same thing in the city. I think it’s the length of time you’re in a place”

Others had also thought of moving, but had changed their minds, at least until the children were older. Although they would have preferred greater access to more cultural and arts amenities and other aspects of city life for themselves, they now defined their housing situation in terms of their children and their work as mothers in rearing them. Valerie thought they might move at some point, “...when the children don’t need the space so much.” Louise would like to be closer to her job in Vancouver, but she explains, “Everything’s so well set up for the kids here. I’ve got good neighbours, who’ll always watch the kids if I need that. Perhaps when they’re older we’ll make the move”. Four of the women had more immediate plans to move, but within the general Coquitlam area. They expressed their anticipated change in residence in terms of providing an improved environment for themselves and children. Agnes, for example, commented on the effects of the expanding town centre, which she had experienced as encroaching commercial development on nearby streets. She mentioned specifically the cutting down of trees to build a new shopping square, which had previously shielded their house from highway noise. She hoped to move to a quieter neighbourhood when she and her husband could afford it. Others wanted to move in search of neighbourhoods with particular social characteristics, for instance in order to be close to particular school
programming, closer to friends or where there would be families with children of similar age to their own.\textsuperscript{38}

The women who had been involved in recent housing changes or were making future plans to move within the area appeared to have played an important part in the making of these family decisions. Over time, through their work as mothers, they had acquired knowledge of the patterning of the built environment, the quality of and ease of access to recreation and educational programs for their children, and the social characteristics of their neighbourhoods. All these are pertinent aspects of the home and neighbourhood as domestic workplaces.\textsuperscript{39} Although their knowledge was not complete, it was considerably greater than when they had first arrived as newcomers to their neighbourhoods and municipality. In essence, their general notions of 'a family place' had been translated into specific experiences of day-to-day life. Thus, their understandings of the locality had been constructed through the meaning of domestic activity as work.

4. Conclusion

In examining the women of the study as part of the locality of the Coquitlam area, it has been possible to introduce a complexity and refinement to notions of the environment underlying previous work in geography and the 'women and environment' literature that has examined the activity patterns of women. This literature has cast understandings of the environment and women's activity within an underlying assumption of the separation of home and wage workplace. Women have been viewed as consumers of a range of services whose distribution in time and space are analyzed in terms of either constraining or enabling women's participation in the wage workplace (Wekerle, 1985). The restricted mobility of women with children has been emphasized. The use of the locality
framework in this chapter accords with geographical work that sees the built environment as socially constructed, but instead of regarding women as 'victims' of this social structuring aims to show that while human action is bounded socially and in time and space, people's lives are contextualized within this boundedness in a way that suggests that their actions are both space forming and space contingent. People shape locality, through their actions and production of understandings, as locality shapes people. Most important in understanding the environment as the experienced 'face' of locality is that everyday action is located within and linked to the extension of generalized social and economic relations over space and time.

Rather than the environment acting as a somewhat detached background to which the women respond, this chapter has shown the material and social conditions that form the experienced environment of the locality to be in a state of constant change intimately connected to both broad trends of housing and labour developments. These developments are specifically translated into not only physical and social resources, but an array of meanings about families. These meanings derive from different levels of interaction within a complex social, spatial and sex division of labour that makes any simple separation of home and workplace analytically invalid. Furthermore, the women through their domestic work activity add to the construction of the locality as a family place.

Residential differentiation literature suggests that the position of the household in the labour market may delimit the range of housing choices possible; yet the predominance of 'family' values and the activities women assume within a particular family structure suggest it more pertinent to look at the meaning of the resultant environment has for the women in terms of their social and housing conditions, rather than class position. By virtue of their gender, women have many interests and concerns in common in relation to the
home and neighbourhood as their primary workplace (Acker, 1973; Boulton, 1983; Eichler, 1980; Oakley, 1981). Instead of understanding residential choice as a function of preferred life-style, it is apparent that choices are located within the women's experiences of and evaluations of conditions supporting their domestic work. Certainly the women of the study, within the bounds of the wider structuring of power relations, which become experienced through 'local', everyday activity, exert choice and express general satisfaction with their familial space. Changes in the locality which have resulted in increased urbanization and a greater range of available services for family provisioning, and the fact that all but one of the women have a car for their own use increases its convenience as a 'service centre' for family provisioning (Wekerle, 1985) and supports Darke's (1984) cautionary note that physical and social isolation of women cannot be attributed to the suburbs per se, for their characteristics vary widely.

This chapter has also indicated that the home and community had become defined in terms of the perceived needs of a domestic workplace, particularly one where childrearing was taking place. Definitions of the locality as a 'family-oriented area' had been maintained. During the course of everyday life the women had derived quite specific ideas about what sort of housing they would like and particular neighbourhood they would prefer, at least at this point in their lives, and this has been achieved by some of the women. But what did this mean to individual women and how had they come to define their "community" in this way? Although characteristics of housing, together with those of the built and natural environment, and the provision of a variety of facilities and services provide a range of possibilities and options that women may take up, social experiences varied quite markedly. The expressed likes of the women about their environment in general terms were generated from a
multitude of specific actions and experiences related to the mother-child relationship. It is through their working activities as mothers that the locality becomes constructed and understood in terms of the provision of safe spaces for the women's children.

A common theme that emerged from the women's accounts was a process of gaining control over their social and material conditions. By control, I refer to the ability of the women to gain access to valued resources in a way which promotes conditions conducive to performing the different aspects of their work. This had been achieved by the women to different degrees and in different ways, and was embedded in the economic and social relations which impinge on women's activities and ideas in all aspects of their lives. Their move to specific residences is one part of this process. The acquisition of a family home is the first stage, on an individual level, in constituting 'safe spaces' for children, which is expressed in a generalized sense by the women as the locality "being a good place to raise kids." The next chapter is one of three that build on one another in investigating more closely the women's experiences of the locality and how they have come to construct understandings of its use. In this next chapter I look at how the gender specificity of the different aspects of their work further differentiate the locality in terms of family meanings and mothering work, themselves firmly embedded in the women's specific relationship to the locality. This relationship in turn is derived from the interlinking of social, economic and political conditions with the differential experiences of the women and their husbands of labour markets and the domestic workplace. A primary component of these experiences is the identification of the women with their mothering activities and domestic aspects of their lives.
Chapter Five Footnotes

1. In parts of the thesis the use of the term 'Coquitlam area' is used to incorporate Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody, where these distinctions are not necessary to the discussion.

2. The nomenclature of the 'eastern trio' of outer suburbs in describing Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody is that of Hardwick (1974).


4. See L.J. Evenden (ed.) (1978) for characterization of Vancouver around this theme.

5. Port Moody is named after the Officer-in-Charge of the Royal Engineers Regiment, Colonel Richard Moody. Several officers were given land grants in Port Moody.

6. This characterization of employment in Port Coquitlam was often encountered when talking to descendants of 'founding families.'

7. Tertiary economic activity is represented by the service sector and includes the clerical, sales and service occupational categories, while quaternary industry refers to the information sector of economic activity where occupations are those of the senior white-collar categories, such as professional, technical, managerial and administrative positions. This categorization of economic categories is appropriate to the present objective, but is somewhat simplified. For example, there may be many different occupational categories represented within a single institution which is considered to belong to a particular economic sector, the hospital being one instance. Within economic geography the complexity of these categories and confusion over their understanding is subject to discussion. See B. Berry, E. Conkling and D.M. Ray (1987) and R.R. Boyce (1978).

8. It should be noted that the boundaries of the Metropolitan Vancouver census area and the GVRD do not coincide. The former includes the municipalities of Pitt Meadows, Maple Ridge and Langley, and the city of Langley, all of which lie to the east of the GVRD.
9. The development of the Livable Region Plan corresponded with the emergence of the dominant quaternary sector in Vancouver's development and took place in the same period when the Electors Action Movement, an elected urban reform party, was recasting ideas about city development priorities. Made up of professional and other senior white collar employees of the quaternary sector, their views and plans for a 'livable city' constrained with the 'economic efficiency' approach of previous civic administrators. 'City' views, Hardwick (1974) asserts, would also be expected to dominate GVRD decisions. Vancouver representatives were able to exercise considerable influence in developing policy as voting strength was based on the size of population they represented.

10. Sixty percent of Coquitlam's housing starts in 1985 were in the town centre area. Commercial floor space in the town centre grew from about 800,000 square feet in 1981 to approximately 1.25 million square feet in 1986 (Coquitlam Municipal Planning Department).

11. Between 1981 and 1986 (Census preliminary figures) Coquitlam's population increased by 12.7 percent, the second largest rate of growth in the GVRD, following Surrey's 22.4 percent and just ahead of Richmond's 12.1 percent. Port Coquitlam grew by 5.1 percent and Port Moody showed a 4.9 percent change (GVRD News, 1987).

12. The total office floorspace in Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody was 1.1 percent of the regional total.

13. The term of post-industrial society was coined by Daniel Bell, (1973) *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, New York: Basic Books, to explain changes in modern western society, including the economic and employment shifts of the late twentieth century, in terms of an emerging economic centrality of information processing. The post-industrial hypothesis has been subjected to theoretical debate, and an alternate view conceptualizes the observed shifts as a move from early to advanced capitalism. I favour Scott's (1986) view, which criticizes the post-industrial hypothesis on the grounds of its lack of accommodation of the centrality of capitalist relations of production and reproduction in the urban process. He maintains that industrialization remains the basis of modern urban development, for the growth of office and service functions is oriented around increased effectiveness of commodity production.

15. Hayter (1978), for example, comments on the multiplier effect of corporate head offices in Vancouver in creating employment opportunities in white collar occupations, including research and development and a variety of financial, consulting, legal, and marketing services.

16. Ley (1983b) comments that downtown office booms in the 1970s have been common throughout advanced industrial nations including France, Britain, Australia and the United States, as well as Canada, manifesting the extreme concentration of quaternary occupations. Decentralization, similarly, has mainly been that of service employment in low-priority activities serving local suburban populations.

17. Female labour force participation rates in Canada for all women was forty percent in 1971 and increased to fifty-two percent in 1981.

18. Ley and Mills (1986) state that three-quarters of major corporations participating in a survey attested to women moving into senior positions at an accelerating rate between 1980 to 1985.

19. House prices continued to decline more gradually until 1985, and although they have increased since that time 1987 house prices have still not risen at the 1981 'high' (Royal LePage Survey of Canadian House Prices, Spring, 1987).


21. The Coquitlam Chamber of Commerce set up an Economic Development Committee and the three municipalities also prepared individual economic strategies (GVRD, 1986).

22. Coquitlam School Board figures indicate that between 1981 and 1983 a total of two hundred and forty-nine teachers and staff were laid off.

23. The changing nature of the built environment of the suburbs in other parts of North America has been the focus for research on the effects of the environment on women's lives. The multiplication of services and the extent of consumer goods that are available has been especially noted (Franck, 1985; Saegart, 1985; Wekerle, 1984).

24. Municipal officials list Coquitlam's industrial activity as gravel and sand extraction, wood products, wholesaling, warehousing, CP intermodal facilities,
trucking depots, concrete, bricks, pottery, food processing and appliance manufacturing.

25. Port Coquitlam's employment from 1971 to 1981 grew at twice the rate of the Greater Vancouver regions as a whole. Industry includes metal fabrication, high-tech manufacturing, transportation related industry and poultry processing.

26. The Parks and Recreation departments of each municipality provide a wide range of facilities and recreational activities throughout the year, and local sports associations also provide a variety of team sports for children which together span most of the year. The School District has sixty-two schools in total serving a student population of 20,850 (1987) and offers the optional programs of French Immersion and Montessori, although these are not offered in the majority of schools.

27. These megaprojects include The Stadium at B.C. Place, North East Coal, Expo '86, the Skytrain and the Coquihalla highway.

28. The townhouse complex is a low-income housing project, and is amidst several other townhouse complexes, some of which are owned and some rented. It is an area where lower cost family housing can be obtained in a quiet residential setting. Although two-parent nuclear families are in the majority, this census area has between fifteen and twenty-five percent single-parent families, which is above the average of 11.5 percent for the Vancouver C.M.A. (1981 Census of Canada).

29. Any urban geography text includes reference to literature on these topics. See Carter (1981), for example, for their different theoretical underpinnings. Palm (1982) also reviews the literature. Brown and Moore (1971) is a good example of a demand-oriented approach to residential mobility which phrases household decisions to migrate in terms of a stimuli-response model.

30. As the study was focused on interviews with the women, men's views are only presented if mentioned by the women and, of course, are in their terms.

31. See Palm (1976) and Bordessa (1978) for discussions of the influence of real-estate agents on housing choice.

32. In two cases the choice of housing in the Coquitlam area was directly related to the location of the husband's professional practice. For a few women kin or close friends influenced their moves, or would have done had housing
prices permitted. Joanna and Donna have stayed close to where their parents live, while Barbara comments that her siblings were one reason "we ended up here." Valerie and her husband specifically moved to the same subdivision as friends who had built there.

33. Monica was one exception to the family orientation of home buying. At the time of purchase she was working in New Westminster as a trainee bank manager, and the location of the house fitted with her own and her husband's commuting requirements. It was in an older established neighbourhood which Monica felt would suit their way of life at that time.

34. Status was not explicitly mentioned by the women. Later discussion will show, however, that the appropriateness of a family environment is defined in relation to other people sharing this physical space.

35. Maureen relies on rides from friends to travel to the many meetings she attends as a volunteer worker, or will drive her husband to his job in New Westminster in order to have the car for the day. He then will come home on the bus.

36. This finding differs from the work of Michelson (1973) and Saegart (1980) who found women tended to express feelings of dissatisfaction with suburban living. As these studies did not investigate the implications of social linkages for modifying women's feelings of isolation or note the ambiguous experiences of childrearing, it is difficult to make any direct comparison with this study. As Darke (1984) states, caution must be exercised in drawing parallels between physical characteristics of an environment and expressed life satisfaction. Furthermore, in expressing general satisfaction, the women were not denying feelings of loneliness, but assessing conditions relating to the support of childrearing.

37. This was achieved some months later. Joanna had moved to an area in central Coquitlam less than three kilometers away, close to a park and elementary school.

38. Wekerle (1985) discusses literature with similar findings to these. These include the desire for proximity to schools, balancing the perceived needs of children and convenience for adults, and the deferral of a woman's own satisfaction in order to provide what is viewed as a better environment for children in the form of the suburban single-family dwelling.
39. Here I am referring to how the women define their neighbourhoods, that is in terms of demographics and their perceived compatibility with fellow neighbours on their street and immediate neighbourhood. How neighbourhoods are operationalized as workplaces is developed in following chapters.

40. Gaining knowledge of the physical features of the environment in terms of its 'legibility' and use form a distinct area of literature building on Lynch's work (1960), while humanistic geography has been concerned with the development of meaning about an area and 'attachment to place' (see, for example, E. Relph, 1976). In my approach, however, I am more interested in how social knowledge and understandings are constructed in the course of everyday life, with space integral to the process.
CHAPTER SIX: WOMEN'S CHANGING RELATIONSHIP TO WORK AND LOCALITY – "I wanted to be at home with the kids"

1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the transition between wage work and family life for the women of the study, the uncertain course of this transition, and how it is framed by the centrality of the mother-child relationship to the women's lives. Generalized understandings of the locality as a 'family place' become more specifically defined and understood by the women as the localized domestic workspace becomes a central constituent of their lives. In the chapter I begin to sketch out the relations and processes that shape the women's changing relationship to the locality, which result in altered experiences and understandings. Through the women's experiences within the division of labour in both wage workplaces and the home, the locality becomes 'particularized' in terms of the women's access to resources. How resources, including safe space for children, may be created and utilized become part of the process by which people and locality are engaged in an ongoing course of shaping each other.

As the women made a transition from a situation in which the majority had relatively little knowledge of where they had come to live to one in which they had considerable knowledge, they also gained varying degrees of control over the environment, as the experienced physical and social form of the locality. Women's ability to control the environment in such a way that safe spaces are created for their children both contributes to shared understandings of the locality as appropriate for childrearing and to the forging of conditions that facilitate women to move between the different types of labour of the home and wage workplace as families respond to changes in labour market conditions and
personal circumstances. Safe space is an important resource to women as potential or actual participants in the two types of workplace, providing them with a means to adjust time and space and allay value conflicts as women continue to place primary importance on their mothering work.

Indeed, the desire to create safe space is predicated on a woman's identity as a 'good mother'; it is through her attempts to be a good mother that space is evaluated, understood and interpreted against ideas of what is appropriate for her children's physical and social well-being. Thus, as the control of the localized space of the street and neighbourhood lays down conditions which define the experiences within the more generalized context of the locality, women are also fostering flexibility in the concrete form that the complex interplay of divisions of labour will take.

The chapter is organized to show two main threads running through the overarching process of the women's changing relationship to, experiences of and understanding of the locality. First is the definition of the locality through the mother-child relationship, itself operating within changes in the conditions of the wage workplace and a division of labour upheld by notions of family life. Second is the re-interpretation of a 'family place' in terms of a small scale, localized domestic workplace, zoned and differentiated from the wage workplace in time and space. The first part of the chapter presents briefly the case of one woman, to provide an illustration of the overall process of how an unknown locality becomes differentiated into particularized spaces and experiences over which control may be established. It indicates the complexity of this women's relationship to the wage workplace and the domestic workspace as her relationship with her children mediates her work in productive and reproductive spheres of activity. This case is used to give an overall picture of changing relationships against which the disaggregated data from other cases may be
located. This forms the second part of the chapter. It is not intended to suggest that the form and rate of transitions between wage and home workplaces is the same for each woman, but that there are common elements which potentially pose the women with a value dilemma arising from the contradictory demands between mothering work and wagework. The third part of the chapter focuses on the relationship between women and the domestic workspace, particularly that of the street as the core from which a ‘supportive neighbourhood’ is developed. A case illustration of the outcome of an effective negotiation of the street as safe space for children is provided, suggesting this localized space to be an important pivotal point around which women’s life experiences are defined, whether as mothers or wage workers.

2. "Barbara’s" Case

In the last chapter it was suggested that although each woman’s life course is unique, the circumstances and specificities of the action she takes is located within the broad structuring of social and economic relations that emerge in a particular form of locality. The occupational shifts associated with advanced capitalism have consequences for the availability and location of certain categories of waged work which have ramifications for the organization of domestic labour, both socially and spatially. These different aspects of the social division of labour are overlaid by a sex differentiated labour market, which further constrains occupational opportunity and reaffirms pervasive ideas about family life: how it should be organized according to gender and where it should take place, including housing type and particular urban or suburban forms which constitute the built environment. The structuring of economic and social relations thus extends into the everyday facets of people’s lives, yet through their actions they are at the same time responding to changes and in so doing are
actively constituting the conditions under which these extended relations are experienced in particular localities. Each woman’s account demonstrates the links between aspects of home, wage workplace and community and the ways in which they combine in organizing productive and reproductive labour among different households.

Within the context of the locality, Barbara’s situation indicates how contingencies and the sequencing of specific events combine to shape transitions between wage labour, ‘family life’ and mothering work. Her case illustrates the way in which domestic workspace becomes a central constituent of a woman’s life, as she takes primary responsibility for childrearing from which future definitions of social relations will be negotiated. It also indicates the importance of social linkages in the process of controlling and defining working conditions, including the ability to negotiate safe space for children. Barbara’s experiences act as a particularly useful entry into these themes, which themselves emerge from the totality of the women’s accounts, for these themes have been pertinent to her life over a short enough period of time that they emerged in this one interview situation. For other women, transitions may be slower or particular details of themes may not arise at all. But in common is the centrality for these mothers, who see themselves as ‘good mothers,’ of the mother-child relationship to the ways in which the women’s work activities and local space is linked.

Barbara is in her early thirties and lives in one of the few large subdivisions built in the late 1960s in the Coquitlam area. As with much of the Greater Vancouver Regional District’s population, both she and her husband are migrants, arriving in British Columbia during the economic growth periods of 1978 and 1981 and reflecting conditions in their own province (GVRD, 1982). She was born and grew up in Montreal where her parents still live. She liked the
cosmopolitan character and diversity of that city, qualities that she continues to miss. Her present life-style differs considerably from that which she knew before moving to British Columbia with her husband. Barbara described the course of events that resulted in their living in Port Coquitlam. She and her husband, whose first language is English, left Quebec in 1979 when they found they were having difficulty with the increased use of the French language in their jobs. Barbara stated that for her husband to do well in his sales career in Montreal he would have had to work increasingly in French, while she observed an emerging trend in her own clerical job with a large corporation towards the use of documents in French only. The precipitating incident for their move was the refusal of her husband's firm to give him vacation time for a planned honeymoon trip to Europe. They first went to Calgary, where her husband's mother lives, but as neither of them liked it they moved to British Columbia about a year later where Barbara's brother and two sisters were living in the Coquitlam area. Both she and her husband found work requiring similar skills to their previous jobs in Montreal. Barbara worked in Burnaby at one of the few corporation head offices located outside the central business district, while her husband continued in a sales career at a precision manufacturing firm on the southern periphery of Vancouver.

Barbara and her husband first lived in rental accommodation but bought their present house shortly before the birth of their first child. Although they see themselves as 'city' people, the structure of house prices precluded thoughts of living in a family oriented area of Vancouver or an inner suburb. Barbara commented, "If I could afford to live somewhere else I probably wouldn't live here to tell you the truth. I think I would live closer to the city - probably Burnaby or, I don't know, maybe Richmond or Vancouver itself. There are lots of areas in Vancouver, the residential areas, but where you have really good access
to the city." However, in addition to the influence of house prices on their choice of residential location, the proximity of kin was a drawing factor. Barbara said, "It's not that I had a really good idea of the Lower Mainland, but I sort of gravitated here because of family. I have an older sister and my brother living in Port Coquitlam. My other sister lives in Maillardville". Whereas family structure, housing and labour markets intersect for high-earning quaternary sector workers without children who live in gentrified areas of the inner city (Ley and Mills, 1986), other white collar workers with children, such as Barbara and her husband, are likely to experience a disjuncture between the location of jobs in their occupational categories and housing which they deem appropriate for family life. One problem posed by this spatial separation of home workplace and wage workplace was met by kin links, for Barbara continued with her job after the birth of her first child, leaving him with one of her sisters during the day. A number of factors combined to change this situation. A family dispute resulted in less frequent contact among her siblings, and the babysitting arrangement with her sister came to an end. Barbara was left with a dilemma. She wished to keep her job, but was concerned about her son, particularly as he was prone to bronchitis and heavy colds. She wanted to leave him with someone she could trust. The local health unit had a limited list of licensed daycare operators, but Barbara also found a 'babysitter' through newspaper advertisements. As she said, "I called her up and something clicked." She visited the home, which was close by, and was very pleased with the situation. She described it as more like a preschool than a daycare; "I hate to use the word babysitter. She was much more than that. I was really lucky."

But while the quality of daycare was excellent from Barbara's point of view, her occasional absences from work due to her own child's illness or the inability of the babysitter to care for her child on certain days because of this
person's child's sickness or other exigencies created tension with her superior at Barbara's job. The absence of guaranteed institutional daycare to cover such contingencies, coupled with Barbara's wish to care for her child herself when he is ill, added to the conflict she experienced in combining home and waged work. These difficulties culminated when she was pregnant with her second child and she left her job shortly before his birth. At the time of the interview Barbara did not intend to go back to her clerical position because of the conflict between the demands of the job and the unpredictability of children's illness. She was considering a career change but felt she did not have enough information to guide a new decision. She had been at home full-time for eight months and stated that she had wanted to spend a period of time at home with her children. However, she had found the experience lonely and lacking stimulation.

The subdivision in which Barbara lives is a quiet residential area of detached single-family dwellings, relieved only by a low-rise apartment building a few blocks away. Curving streets wind over the sloping land, and an established ambience throughout the area is created by mature tree and shrub plantings in front and large back yards, the latter providing private family space and a play area for children. Views of the mountains, visible across the valley from several streets, form a scenic backdrop. Barbara's house is typical of those in the neighbourhood, having a ground level entry with a short flight of stairs down to a full basement, and a similar flight up to the main living area where there is the living room, dining area, kitchen, bathroom and three bedrooms. At the time of the interview she had lived in the house for four years. The interior of the house is light and airy and is simply and comfortably furnished in a way that suggests care has gone into the choice and arrangement of belongings. There is an impression of tidyness and order. A high chair and feeding utensils in the kitchen give evidence of her two children, aged three and
seven months. The kitchen is bright and overlooks the private back yard where her son plays in good weather for short periods of time.

The large living room window at the front of the house looks across to similar houses on the other side of the minor arterial road, which serves as a bus route. On the day of the interview, a bright, sunny day in February, cars and the bus occasionally passed, but otherwise there was no sign of neighbouring residents. This emptiness of streets, is typical in many residential neighbourhoods of the Coquitlam area, particularly in the winter and during daytime hours when children are in school. Children, Barbara reported, were most likely to be seen walking along the sidewalk to and from the elementary school a few blocks away, or in the summertime on their way to the outdoor swimming pool in the 'participark' abutting the school. There is no corner store within walking distance and the nearest shopping area is about three kilometers away. But as the family has two cars Barbara was able to reach the local downtown of Port Coquitlam or the Coquitlam Centre area in less than fifteen minutes.

The quietness of the street seemed to emphasize Barbara's own situation. She described her days as long and sometimes lonely, as her husband was away from the house for long periods of time. As with over a quarter of the labour force resident in the Coquitlam area, he commuted to Vancouver, the drive taking approximately fifty minutes. This required him to leave home early in the morning and not return until early evening. Her young children had confined her to the house to a considerable extent, despite her access to transportation. This was in part due to the baby's schedule, which included a daytime nap. At this time her eldest son was attending a pre-school on the other side of the municipality, to which she drove him two days a week, but otherwise her days were mainly filled with the practical tasks of looking after the baby, housework...
and the errands and shopping trips necessary to provide for the family's everyday needs. A gender division of domestic activity within the household was evident. Barbara stated that she and her husband had always shared household chores and time with the children, but since she had been at home with the children full-time she had taken primary responsibility for the inside of the house and routine care of the children. "He used to help out more. On the weekends he would start vacuuming the house and that sort of thing, but now I feel I have the time to do it, so I try to do everything". Her husband had continued taking the children out with him, particularly the eldest son, in the evenings occasionally or at the weekend, and would be at home with them when Barbara took advantage of a recreational evening class in a neighbouring municipality. Apart from rare family recreational outings to Stanley Park or other recreational attractions in Vancouver, Barbara's activities were localized within the Coquitlam area.

Her social contacts had been few, for her immediate neighbours had grown up children and she found little occasion to meet them. She had little contact with her former work colleagues, for they were dispersed throughout Greater Vancouver, commuting to the spatial clustering of white collar employment as she had done. She missed the stimulation provided by social contact in the workplace. "That's one thing I find hard. I'd prefer to be on a street where there were younger neighbours, people who I'd have more in common with, especially for my children. I'd like to be able to sort of send them out to play, you know, have other kids to play with. I wish I did have more friends or neighbours that I could see a little more often, or someone to talk to a little more often."

Barbara, at times, has felt quite depressed and she commented, "Sometimes I would get in the car and just drive to the Mall and walk around. I might see a familiar face." She found herself curious to know what other women living nearby were doing during the day. Nevertheless, she made one good friend, the
woman who had babysat her eldest son when she was last employed. She and her husband would visit her in the evening sometimes, but daytime contact was limited due to the demands of her friend’s daycare business.

Despite Barbara’s apparent isolation, the few areas of control and sociability she had achieved were important to her. So much so that it has been a factor in her husband’s employment decisions. She stated, "A little while ago we were thinking of following up a possible job in Edmonton, a good career move for my husband, and I was really worried about what we would find there as far as were they community minded, what sort of facilities would they have for myself and for the children, so all in all I think it’s alright here. I think it’s a good community, it’s good for children. I think they offer a lot of good programmes for families, you know.” Although Barbara missed the city for herself, she had come to define her residential situation according to what it could offer in terms of childrearing.

Not content with her domestic way-of-life, Barbara had begun to take some action to alter the conditions of her everyday life. Seeking stimulation away from her children, she had recently attended a seminar series, organized by the local Women’s Centre and Parks and Recreation Department, which coincided with the time her eldest son was at preschool. She left the baby with one of her neighbours with whom she had talked a little, although she stated this was not ideal as there were no other children there and she was not able to reciprocate. The talks addressed a variety of issues ranging from motherhood to peace and religion. She had found them interesting and more importantly had made some links with other women, most of whom were also at home with their children. In addition to initiating new friendships, a range of information previously unknown to her was opened up, which she anticipated would lead to some of the practical support necessary for her to change the present patterning of activities centred
around looking after her children. One resource she came to know about was a baby-sitting co-operative in her area, set up by mothers who knew each other and who sponsored new members when spaces arose, thus securing some control over who looked after their children. Space was available and Barbara was looking forward to the time that would be free to investigate possible career options, feeling assured that her children would be in good hands. She intended to investigate AWARE, a federal program aimed at women intending to re-enter the labour force. This would provide her with advice on further training and the opportunity to evaluate future career possibilities. She had heard about this from one of the seminar sessions she had attended, and had been encouraged to attend by the accounts related by other women. Two months later Barbara told me about her latest venture. She had joined her friend's daycare business and was working there every day, taking her children with her. She was glad to have found a source of employment which allowed some control over the conditions. However, she did not feel it was a job she wanted to continue with on a long-term basis. With AWARE she had identified social work as an area she would like to pursue and had already started doing volunteer work in order to satisfy the prerequisites of the community college's social work course.

Barbara's case shows the way in which her change in work activities, from primarily wage labour to domestic work, including childrearing, had further implications for her relationship to the locality. The localized domestic workspace became the major source of her experienced environment. Yet her transition to 'family life' was in no way static, for her activities a few months after the interview indicated that she was intending to combine wage work and childrearing again. This time, however, she was able to utilize the increased information and social links she had gained, through her interaction with other women with children, to exert some control over the conditions under which
these different dimensions of work could be carried out. In the next part of the chapter I go on to present data from other of the interviews to show how Barbara's specific experiences and actions and those of the other women have commonalities in the way transitions to family life, and between home and wage workplaces are occasioned and interpreted by the women.

3. Changing Relationships to the Wage Workplace

a) Transitions to reproductive work

As was shown in the previous chapter many of the women and their husbands moved to the Coquitlam area when the combined events of 'starting a family' and leaving paid employment occurred within a relatively short period of time. Changes in the women's work activities were thus also accompanied by a change in local environment, in effect altering both the women's social and spatial locations. These changes lay down the conditions for redefining responsibilities and activities around procreation factors, spilling over and permeating gender relations through the different relationship of men and women to their work and, consequently, their relationship to home and neighbourhood.

All of the women interviewed had made a transition to family life either before they moved to the Coquitlam area or within a few years of arriving. At the time of the interview they were either 'at home with the kids' or had spent some period primarily engaged in mothering work in the recent past, ranging from a few months to several years. For the majority of the women the decision was expressed in terms of an active choice on their part. They had wanted to spend at least some time at home with their children without simultaneously engaging in work outside the home.

Despite the women's strong sense of choice, within the acknowledged vagaries of economic trends, the concept of the sexual division of labour in
feminist theory suggests that such choice is in fact likely to be shaped by many constraints not necessarily consciously recognized by women. In addition to the structure of the sex differentiated labour, which reinforces women's position as secondary wage earners, public policy also frames women's experiences. The meagre extent of public daycare provision (Cooke, 1986), the organization of social services and health care (Doyal and Elston, 1986), and the structuring of mothering work by the school (Smith, 1979, 1986) reflect and are predicated on the understanding that women take primary responsibility for reproductive work within the division of labour. This understanding of the wider framing of everyday experience is used here to situate women's interpretations of their work. The intention is not, however, to deny their active agency in constructing their views on mothering around the affective dimension of the mother-child relationship.

Courses of events beyond women's immediate control, such as in their personal lives and especially in changing economic conditions, altered their original expectations of the length of time they would remain at home with their children, but the work that the women currently do and had done previously remain crucial to their identity and how they understand 'motherhood'. "I am the centre of the home" was a common theme emerging in the women's accounts of their lives as a primary facet of their identities, but how this was interpreted, and lived, varied considerably. This is not adequately explained simply by 'life-cycle stage' or relationship to paid employment, but emerges from sets of contingencies embedded in different parts of the women's lives. These come together in a whole, and are reflected in an organization of family relations which is pervaded by local economic and social conditions and ideas about what 'normal' family life consists of, the latter structured in terms of a sexual division of labour. At the time of the interview about half of the women were in
some type of paid employment, but few had retained the same relationship to the
wage workplace, and thus also to their more localized domestic space, for
extended periods of time and only a few anticipated continuing their present
situation for the foreseeable future. Indeed, what is striking about the women’s
occupational histories is the considerable flexibility of their relationship to
wage labour.¹

Five of the women interviewed were employed in full-time jobs outside
the home yet few of the others could be described as being solely occupied with
household management, housework and mothering tasks. The majority of the
women presented accounts of their lives which illustrate a combination of
activities including paid employment, involving differing numbers and
arrangements of hours, work for family businesses and unpaid work in ‘the
community’, especially in the form of charity work and support services for
educational institutions. Four women had re-entered the labour force a year
after the first set of interviews, while from the total number of women, about
half were doing something different at the time of the interview than they had
been six months previously. Seven were anticipating changing their employment
status, two through changing the number of hours worked, one by leaving a job at
the end of a temporary position, two by taking full-time employment and two by
looking for part-time jobs. Others considered themselves settled for the
moment as homemakers, while four were using the time at home for retraining in
order to re-enter the labour force at a later date. Those women who had
re-entered the labour force after being at home for a period with their children
had done so by different means, some changing careers, some taking less skilled
work while others found their previous occupations no longer had currency
without further training, as in the case of teachers trained outside British
Columbia (See Table 4 for list of women’s occupations). All of the women

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### TABLE 4

**The Women's Occupations at Marriage**

- Accountant (uncertified)
- Assistant bank manager
- Book-keeper (4)
- Clerical worker (6)
- Hotel receptionist
- Laboratory technician
- Assistant personnel manager
- Nurse (2)
- Office supervisor
- Physiotherapist
- Secretary (2)
- Teacher (3)

**Current Occupations Outside the Home and Place of Employment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Book-keeper</td>
<td>Inner suburb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle management</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>Coquitlam area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Assistant</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate agent</td>
<td>Coquitlam area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary (2)</td>
<td>inner and outer suburb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Inner suburb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technician - financial services</td>
<td>Coquitlam area</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that the above occupations refer to the time of the interview. As discussed in Chapter Six, several women were anticipating returning to work in the near future, had recently left a paid job or were 're-tooling' to increase their marketable skills. This job list is subject to the limitations and difficulties already mentioned in classification attempts of women's work and, of course, does not represent the wide ranging 'volunteer work' that women engage in and which varies enormously in terms of time commitment and energy. The above list is merely used to indicate the type of jobs that the women were combining with their home lives at this particular point in time.
interviewed have been employed in the wage labour force at some point, and although their particular work experiences and expectations differ, commonalities in their occupational histories lie in that these have all been defined through their gender, and specifically through their position in the family. Marriage, and particularly the birth of the first child have been important life events in shaping the relationship between the women and the locality.

Before marriage the twenty-five women were employed in a variety of occupations, including clerical workers, book-keepers, a trainee accountant, secretaries at different levels of the occupational hierarchy, a hotel receptionist, a physiotherapist, nurses, teachers, a key-punch operator, and a laboratory technician. All except one had completed high school, while eleven had furthered their qualifications through higher education. Marriage did not always lead to an immediate change in paid work, especially for those already living in Greater Vancouver who were able to continue in their jobs. All except one woman had continued with paid employment after marriage, but the timing of marriage, the birth of children and economic conditions have combined to affect the type of work they have done. The majority of the women who were migrants or immigrants had transferable skills which allowed them to pursue the same type of job within the Greater Vancouver area as they had held elsewhere, but, in the case of those already with children, the women had already redefined their primary occupation in terms of mothering. Indeed, most of the women interviewed who were migrants or immigrants came to Greater Vancouver in the capacity of wives following their husband's careers, accepting that their employment was secondary in relation to the ability of men's employment to provide a 'family wage'. In the cases of the five who came to Greater Vancouver as unmarried women, their early occupational histories corresponded to spatial
and social characteristics of female labour markets. Two came with various clerical and secretarial skills which enabled them to engage in the expansion of white collar work in Vancouver in the 1970s. Both married while in well-paid 'career' occupations, but left their jobs prior to the birth of their first child. At the time of the interview one, Kathy, had remained at home for a period of four years, while the other, Alison, had re-entered paid employment after seven years. One of the women, Jan, had few educational qualifications or skills and worked in a poorly paid clerical job in Vancouver, while two others migrated to Vancouver in order to take advantage of health occupations, Deirdre to continue nursing and Tricia to train as a laboratory assistant.

A few of the women had met their husbands while undertaking post-secondary education and married before establishing a career. Two of these had university degrees. Their career expectations were changed through the timing of marriage, sometimes this being directly related to spatial location and regional particularities. For example, Nicole married while she and her husband were still at university in Vancouver where they both grew up, but found her degree in English did not open job opportunities for her when they went to live in Montreal where her husband had found a job. She found her inability to speak French was a distinct limitation. She commented that with her degree there might have been a possibility of teaching, but the combination of her being English speaking and a Catholic did not readily permit entry to the school system in Quebec. Instead she worked as a secretary in an English speaking institution. On returning to Greater Vancouver she already had children and was not engaged in paid employment.

Monica also has not used her specific educational qualifications in a job. Her husband, whom she met in university, is bilingual and pursued a management development course with a crown corporation in Montreal prior to their marriage.
For her part she found difficulties in getting work in Montreal, as she does not speak French. Thus, personal and family pressures bore on her job choice. "At that point it was just a matter of getting a job and getting some money in the bank so we could afford to get married". She mentioned the clash between the timing of her marriage with career options, including the discrepancy between the spatial location of her husband's and her own job possibilities.

“When I graduated I was offered two jobs. One was really interesting - ice sampling - it would really have been fascinating, but I had an overwhelming desire to get married, which was probably a mistake! The marriage was not a mistake, but right at that moment a mistake. It would have probably been six months in Baffin island and six months in Winnipeg or something”

Instead she has followed a bank career, starting in a trainee position which had the advantages of being transferable when she and her husband moved to Greater Vancouver. At that time they had no children. Lyn's career expectations were significantly changed by early marriage, which was precipitated by pregnancy. At the time she had been planning to be a nurse and she had completed a year of training. Her paid work experience since this time had consisted of sales clerk positions. She commented, “I never really had a full-time job. Well, only for spurts - a few months here and there”.

Pregnancy and birth of the first child had the most emphatic consequences for all the women's work experiences. This was a prominent milestone at which decisions were made about a woman's employment situation. For the majority the decision to leave their paid employment was expressed in terms of choice. Many considered it preferable to stay at home and raise their own children and had not seriously explored alternative courses. Louise's comment captures this view, “I just wanted to be home with my kids”. The affective dimension of the mother-child relationship guiding decisions to remain at home with children was
clearly expressed by some women. Kathy, who had two preschoolers and had left her job when pregnant with the first, said:

"It's a personal thing. I think everyone has to make their own decision about what they're going to do. I'm lucky, my husband doesn't push. There's no pressure there. I wanted to be at home. I couldn't imagine, say, wanting to have children and at the same time thinking I'm wanting to go back to work. I don't think I'd bother having them. If you want them, you want them for certain reasons and mine were to be with them and teach them and participate in what they were going to do."

Dianne, Jacquie, Maureen, Pamela and Tricia considered their decision to be straightforward, for they were leaving jobs they did not find particularly interesting, or there was no work available locally. Furthermore, their husbands earned enough to meet the household's basic expenses. Maureen, for example, stated that she had tried working outside the home when they first moved to the Coquitlam area but the only available jobs were poorly paid and she and her husband made the decision she would stay home with the children. Cara expressed her choice to leave her earlier job in terms of the uncertain political situation affecting teachers and her children's needs. "With children you don't want to be away from nine to three; it's a very crucial time. I would prefer to be away at night." The hours of her new job are long, but flexible, which she feels fit in better with her domestic life. The job move of Alison's husband to a different geographical area resulted in her leaving her 'career' job but she commented, "I was pregnant and was going to quit anyway". Health concerns for others had directly affected their decision to leave their jobs at various points around the birth of their children or when they were still pre-schoolers. Three had experienced miscarriages or other pregnancy problems, while stress had resulted in two reaffirming an earlier decision to stay home. For several of the women the decision to leave their job had been based on their anticipation of
what it would be like to combining mothering with full-time work. For instance, Valerie, in full-time employment at the time of the interview, said:

"It was definitely a conscious decision (to stay at home). It had its ups and downs but I'll never regret staying at home. I had two children and I felt I'd never be able to cope with working."

Except in Lyn's case, it was clear in talking to the women that they felt they had control over their particular choice of either staying with their children full-time or re-entering the wage labour force. They interpreted their decision according to their prevailing interests and concerns, expressed in terms of juxtaposing their perceived coping ability, their children's needs, the economic situation and available employment opportunities. Some of the women would have liked to have stayed at home longer with their children, but had re-entered the labour force due to changes in the household's economic situation or in order to meet conditions structuring their own employment options. Indeed, of all the women interviewed, almost half had, in the past five years, had their own working conditions (in either or both of domestic and non domestic labour) changed through their husband's job experiences, either rearranging domestic labour or re-entering the labour force. In particular, recession has played a part in casting the direction of most of the women's lives.

b) Redefining the family wage?

In British Columbia the recession of the early 1980s particularly involved workers in primary resource industry jobs and government services, but the multiplier effect of a depressed economy affected most of the families, more or less severely. Very few were untouched, for even those with secure jobs felt the decrease in spending power of static wages and inflating consumer costs. Some of the women felt an extra impetus to continue their paid employment or to
look for a job, although they had previously chosen to stay at home with their children. Tricia, for example, took a part-time job in the evenings as a sales clerk at a nearby shopping mall for a short period and Pamela found part-time temporary book-keeping work. Lyn's sporadic employment has been directly related to her husband's job insecurity and lay-offs. During his periods of unemployment she has found temporary jobs, while he was at home to look after their two children. Recently she has taken advantage of this situation by upgrading her skills to improve her employment options. She attended a medical office training course during a period when her husband was laid off, something she had been interested in doing for some time, and reported that already she had been called in for 'summer relief' work as a result of this.

The seniority of some men's jobs and the professional occupations of others left the source of their employment unthreatened, but those in junior positions in various occupational categories were much more vulnerable. The nagging effect of reduced spending power of those without payrises was severely exacerbated for those who faced job loss with the continuing responsibility of providing for a family. Mary, for instance commented:

"We learned what it was [recession]. It was hard. Before, although we were saving for a house, we had money to spend. We lived in a place that was really reasonable. If we wanted to go out to dinner, no problem. Then that year came; that was a shock to our whole system. We could barely scrape together the money to get through the month. We had two cars sitting in the driveway. One was fairly new - we still have it - and we had a nice enough looking house, so anyone driving by would probably say, "They're not doing badly. But I tell you! My aunt came to visit and offered to take us out to dinner. We hadn't been for eight months."

Her husband had experienced uncertain job conditions twice. The early set of education cutbacks, starting in 1979, resulted in his leaving teaching. He had taught for only one year and had been unable to get work other than as a
substitute teacher. Mary explained they wanted to buy a house and have some
stability in their income, so her husband retrained in accountancy. Just before
they moved into their present house in 1980, from an apartment in Burnaby,
Mary's husband began to work for a lumber company. Again he directly felt the
effect of recession at this workplace. Mary describes this experience, balancing
it in terms of her relationship to her child even though her income was greater
than that of her husband at the time:

"Things were pretty tight that year so they had to cut down everyone's
work by one day. So Andy [her husband] was on eighty percent wage.
When I quit working we went onto the lesser of two incomes, so I
thought about going back to teaching but I wanted to be home with
Danny, with him being our first. I worked a few hours in the evening at
a store in the Mall, so I didn't need to leave Danny with anyone except
Andy or my neighbour's daughter who used to come in for an hour if I
went earlier. So that was good and it was an out for me too. And then
I did a little bit of subbing for friends, just the days when I knew my
mother could babysit and only in South Burnaby where she is. I was
really picky!"

The husbands of three other women also lost their jobs, one in junior
management affected by company 'downsizing', the other two in specialized
technical occupations, one employed by a major Canadian forestry corporation
and the other by an engineering firm. All have since returned to work, although
not with the same firms, and one remains with unsure long-term prospects. In
the last case, his wife, Valerie, has pursued full-time employment. To a large
extent she has enjoyed the experience as this has allowed her to renew her
earlier career interests. Others also directly felt the impact of recession,
including two families involved in small businesses that failed. For Sharon, this
resulted in her no longer doing the home business accounts. Donna, whose
husband also has a small business which experienced reduced work but survived,
supplemented the family's income by making and selling craftwork and then successfully found paid part-time employment in which she could use her bookkeeping skills. Although an agricultural marketing board saved Joe's farming venture from severe impact, he continued to carry the accumulation of large debts common to British Columbian small farmers. In an attempt to cut costs, Jan worked on the farm instead of her husband using hired labour.\(^2\)

For most, the impact of the recession began to ameliorate in 1983, although job uncertainty remains for two; Lyn's husband, the apprentice, and Valerie's husband, a specialized engineer formerly working in the quaternary sector. The drawing in of extra income by women, including in some cases the continued reliance on what had previously been regarded as secondary income, has remained. Mary, for example, has returned to part-time teaching and has increased the number of working hours as her children approach school age, still fitting these in with her mother's ability to babysit. Mary's occupation allows her considerable flexibility in how she combines paid employment with her mothering responsibilities. Other women do not have such options and have also had their choices influenced by unanticipated contingencies. Those families who bought their homes as prices were rising, or who had high mortgage payments, particularly felt the continuing effects of the recession. Deirdre, who had decided to leave her nursing job, as its heavy physical demands had resulted in pregnancy problems and personal stress which she felt was negatively affecting her relationship with her first child, reversed this earlier decision. She was at home for almost a year and a half but returned to work when her baby was six weeks old in 1986.

"With the price of everything it was impossible for me to stay home. I could do it, but it would be nothing. Just make the payments and that would be it, because we have a hefty mortgage payment on this
She has rejected the possibilities of part-time nursing, explaining that it does not provide the same security as full-time employment. In part-time employment the amount of work available is unpredictable and may be as little as one or two days a month at the end of the financial year. This she had discovered during the main impact of the recession when, although she did not lose her job, she found that budget cutbacks resulted in less certain work and fewer hours as a part-time employee. Anna also was hoping to return to work on a part-time basis in order to offset the high expenses that their new house had occasioned. She had been employed in a summer relief job during the previous summer for the first time since her children were born and was looking forward to returning in a permanent position, although this would be earlier than planned. She had hoped to spend more time involved in her youngest child's activities:

“I'd like to be home one more year until Karen finishes Kindergarten. Then she'd be able to have a full day at school and it wouldn't matter. I would like to participate in her Kindergarten like I did with Adrian but I won't pass up the [job] opportunity because it probably won't happen again. It's a quite involved job. When I'm there my mind will be at work! I've always been involved in my work.”

The occupational histories of the women indicate how sets of personal circumstances operate within a broader framework of economic structuring and a sexual division of labour in and out of the home. From the totality of the women's accounts an overall picture emerges of a 'dipping' in and out of the labour force as they attempt to combine individual career development, which is influenced by educational qualifications, within family strategies which, in turn, aim to combine and balance the drawing in of a 'family wage' with the
responsibilities of childrearing. Although there is a range of options in the way specific tasks are organized and delegated, which may change according to specific contingencies, usually the primary responsibility for earning the family income and arranging for the child's physical and social welfare respectively was described by the women in terms of gender.

The everyday work practices of the women thus are clearly constitutive of the 'family wage', together with those of her husband, either in the clearly recognized form of wage labour force participation or in a less visible manner as the unpaid reproductive work of the household. But although the notion of the 'family wage' may be challenged conceptually through recognition of the contribution of the everyday practices of a family strategy, it remains to mold the women's experiences. Furthermore, within these family strategies the women's work and the meaning it has for them differs from men's experience of work, centred as it is around the mother-child relationship. Women clearly identify themselves with the domestic sphere of activity.

c) Family strategy as contradiction

The particular social and economic conditions of the locality which derive from a non-local organization of relations also frame the ways in which generalized values concerning the family wage and motherhood may become contradictory. It is the concrete experiences of such contradiction which help us to understand how women interpret and manage their lives (Gullestad, 1984). As Dally (1982) comments, prevalent values that extol the virtues of motherhood while at the same time devaluing the economic and social contribution of mothering work are part of the context from which women's lives are structured. Thus the family strategies of which the women of the study are active
participants may pose contradictions for the women as they continue to place a high priority on good mothering.

For the women the care of the child is a prevailing concern, and decisions to engage in wage work necessarily impinge on how this care will be carried out. The nature of their employment reflects the predominance of the mother-child relationship in the women’s lives. Whereas men are generally employed in full-time jobs for sustained periods of time, or experience periods of unemployment, women have a more flexible relationship to the labour force which may include part-time employment and frequently involves short-term or interrupted involvement in paid labour (Labour Canada, 1983, 1986). Fifteen of the women had at some point during their marriage worked in temporary part-time jobs, in attempts to supplement the main family wage without disrupting their household and childrearing activities. In addition twelve had been or were currently involved in volunteer work on a regular basis. This was unpaid in all cases but one, and although this work required considerable expenditure of time and energy, the women could exert some control over when it was done. Five of the women had also been involved in helping with the family business for varying periods of time, in most cases keeping the accounts or running errands. Certainly the availability and nature of part-time and volunteer work facilitates gender specific organization of the household. In the case of paid work such occupations are generally gender defined, such as clerical and other work in the tertiary sector, tend to pay low wages and have few fringe benefits or career advancement opportunities. This reaffirms the primacy of male income to the household.

Clearly the static picture presented by labour force statistics at any one point in time fails to indicate the frequently changing nature of women’s relationship to the wage workplace. In addition, approaches that discount
women's own accounts of these changes tend to ignore the contingencies that mediate how the centrality of the mother-child relationship is related to the ways in which decisions are made and the flexibility required on the part of the women to respond to changing circumstances.

The tendency in the literature to categorize women as homemakers or wageworkers has underplayed the dynamic nature and complexity of the links between different types of work, favouring instead an analysis emphasizing their separation. The sociological literature on dual-roles and the constraint oriented literature in geography, which has relied on the notion of gender role, focus on the difficulties experienced by women as they meet the demands of conflicting roles. Several of the women interviewed did express conflict deriving from particular decisions regarding their primary form of work, including the decision to stay at home. For some the attempt to combine full-time employment with mothering work, whether from a desire to continue with a career or from economic necessity, resulted in considerable stress, a finding common in the health literature (Canam, 1986; Dally, 1982; Doyal and Elston, 1986). This was due to the heavy demands of combining different types of work, not, however, solely in terms of physical requirements but also relating to the interpretations of being a 'good mother' and the necessity to respond to the unanticipated events inherent in mothering work. The particular conditions of the locality, themselves also deriving from non-local economic and social conditions, comprise the context wherein general values attached to 'motherhood' and wage work may become contradictory. Both paid employment and 'full-time' mothering were sources of contradictory experiences for the women that lent to changes in work decisions.

Monica, for example, had returned to her previous place of employment twice for short periods of time since her children, aged four and two and a half
were born. On the first occasion her first child was nine months old and she had felt depressed at home. The four months at work had helped her through this experience. The second time she had covered another woman’s sick leave for a shorter period, but had found the situation ambiguous. On the one hand she remembered the feeling of satisfaction at having done a good job and the pleasure of receiving warm thanks and flowers. “It was really nice and I felt really good, this lovely feeling – it lasted about three days!” But she also noted the stress.

“But was it really worth it? With young kids? It’s a high pressure, stressed job and it’s not just a nine to five and you walk out of it. It was only part-time for six weeks but the day I got there I was expected to attend meetings she was supposed to have gone to. I had to be on the committees she was on. I was expected to fill all the commitments she had – it’s one thing to be part-time in a job when it’s clerical; it’s great you can leave at the end of the day and have no qualms about it, but this one! At the end of the six weeks I was a basket case.”

Jan working for the family business full-time, also found combining different types of work activity difficult and after three years stopped. She felt emotionally spent,

“I felt everyone was demanding so much of me. I didn’t resent it, it was just I was so stressed. It was hard because I still wanted to be a good mother and it was getting to the point it was going to be Essondale time!” [This is the provincial psychiatric hospital located in Coquitlam].

For the women the initial decision to spend more or less time "at home" appeared to have been made without difficulty. However, the ambiguities in their experiences of being at home or, conversely, remaining or re-entering paid employment outside the home, have not made the experiences which resulted from their decision always easy for some. Anna’s comments sum up dilemmas
for those who feel conflicting pressures and desires between motherhood and wage work:

"If I'd stayed in my job I would probably be in the $30,000 a year range or more now, but I chose not to and I'm happy for it. But it's in the back of my mind there! There's a little thing that says, gee, where would I have been in the workforce if I'd stayed in. I had the chance to be an accountant, they'd have paid for my course, everything. It wasn't a hard decision to make at that time, but if I had to go back I'd think a little bit more ....... At that time I chose to stay home and I was decided. Sometimes I feel left behind, all my friends are working. Sometimes it bothers me, but not that much. I'm quite happy being at home. I enjoy my kids".

Although there are differing degrees of satisfaction in their lives from the women's point of view, all have come to interpret their present situation as "what is right for now". "What is right for now" encompasses a range of options, represented by the different ways in which the women order their daily activity, but in all situations the domestic workplace becomes a central constituent of their everyday lives as they define themselves and are defined by others as mothers. The relationship between the women and the home, and the extension of the domestic workplace into the neighbourhood, is thus based on differences between their work and that of their husbands. Whereas the husbands, except during periods of unemployment, are away from the home for regular periods, most of the women spend considerable amounts of time in the local space of the home and its environs. This zoning of the home's use in space and time is crucial to how family, wage workplace and childrearing work activity are defined. This is reflected in the women's language as they describe the oppositions between wage work and work taking place in the domestic workspace in terms of the "real world" as opposed to that of "at home with the kids". This ethnographic distinction becomes part of the process in which home and
neighbourhood become defined as a woman's primary workplace, within the general understandings of the home as the basic physical and social unit of family life. Just as the nature of the women's work defines much of their life, the home and neighbourhood is the spatial focus from which everyday activity is organized and social relations are experienced. In effect the locality becomes quite specifically defined and understood by the women in terms of their own localized domestic workspace. Control of this space, however, contributes to the women's ability to move between different types of work and allay, in part, the contradictions they experience.

4. Locality as Localized Domestic Workspace

As a woman's work becomes clearly defined around the relationship between mother and child, her relationship to the environment, as the experienced physical and social resources of the locality, becomes crucial to the ways in which the balancing of productive and reproductive work between household members can evolve as a family strategy for ensuring economic provisioning and the well-being of the child. Rather than representing the sexual division of labour in terms of a simple separation of wage and home workplaces, these women's accounts suggest that the flexibility exhibited as the families combine production and reproduction in the particular locality in fact emerges from and reflects its complex interrelationships in space. The form reproductive work takes relates to the nature of such interrelationships, including its encapsulation in particular spaces within the generalized locality. The localized workspace acts as a point of integration between productive and reproductive labour. These spaces, such as the home and street, are commonly zoned in time and space according to gender, and form the conditions through which the
changing work activities of the women are mediated. The women who moved to the Coquitlam area while still employed did not attach a great deal of importance to their neighbourhood at the time they were still working outside the home, but this became of crucial importance once they had children.

The immediate domain of childrearing is the family home. This includes a back yard, which can vary considerably in size, and usually a front yard or, in the case of townhouses such as Lyn's, an open, shared space in front of the house. The home is the place where women are able to combine housekeeping with the immediate tasks of the tending and safekeeping of children. When children are considered too young to go out to the front of the house alone, they may play in the backyard where their mother can accompany them or watch from a kitchen or other window while she continues with indoor tasks. At different ages children, with or without their mothers, may also spend some of their time "on the street", an area usually amounting to a block or less of public roadway at the front of the house. In essence, the street forms an extension of the home over which a mother feels she has some control. The character of the street will also have a bearing on the extent of a child's permitted geographical domain, this encompassing such concerns as the use made of the street by others, including the type and amount of traffic, the proximity of commercial areas, people the child is likely to encounter and knowledge of other people living on the street. Older children's domains may also include other streets, such as routes to the corner store, friend's homes, the local park or a less precisely defined, more extensive geographical area which may be expected to be used for pursuits such as bike-riding. The local street, however, tends to be the focus of children's unsupervised activity, particularly when similarly aged children also live there. From the mothers' points of view, knowledge of where their children are and what they are doing is of primary importance. The choice of a particular home
links members of the household to the immediate environment of the street, which to differing extents comes to compose part of a mother's workspace as an extension of the private property of the home and yard. But how the street is incorporated into the women's workspace differs in detail.

The streets on which the women live differ in a variety of ways. Barbara's experience was earlier shown to be one of living on a street where there were no children of similar age to hers. For her this was one component of an isolating experience. Jacquie's street is a direct contrast; for her the street forms an important component of her domestic workspace which is expressed in her evaluation of her 'neighbourhood': "It's a really nice street to live on. We know just about everyone; they're good neighbours. And it's great for the kids; there's lots of others about the same age for them to play with." Jacquie considers hers to be an ideal street for her children. What does this mean for her in everyday terms and how has it come about?

Jacquie's case illustrates how the basic conditions of her mothering work are negotiated through social linkages. For Barbara these had been difficult to establish and had not developed from her relationship with her neighbours, but in both cases these social linkages were important to the women's ability to carry out their chosen primary work. I present Jacquie's case as an example of a particularly effective negotiation of safe space at the localized level of the street, for this demonstrates the potential importance of the control of local space for mediating changing relationships between home and wage workplaces. As we know from the previous chapter, few women had knowledge of the area before arriving and few had already established social contacts. The women's particular experiences of getting to know people differed, but however the women made social links, these contacts frequently occurred in circumstances where the women's primary social identity was that of 'mother' and were based
on the common interest of raising children. As the women's mothering activities are locally based, so newly made social links tended to be local also, and were directly associated with the different places where childrearing activities are carried out.

In appearance the street where Jacquie lives is like many others in recent subdivisions. Most of the houses were built within a year of the clearing, in 1979, of a small patch of forest, leaving a somewhat discrete subdivision that is bounded by remaining forest on two sides, small farms across the road on another, while a neighbouring steeply sloping street leads down to an older established residential area immediately beyond a small creek and road. A small footbridge provides access to the road and a corner store on its other side. Also beyond the road are walking paths along the dyked wider part of the creek as it winds towards the river. Traffic throughout the subdivision is 'local traffic' as the streets do not provide through routes to any other residential or commercial areas. Jacquie's particular street is a cul-de-sac where eight of the fifteen houses accommodate a total of nineteen children ranging from three years old to eleven. Of the remainder, two couples have grown up children who no longer live at home, one has children in high school, one is a childless couple and the last have a new baby. About half the houses were constructed and sold by builders, while the others were built to the specifications of the owners. The front of the houses and properties appear well-maintained, the lawns are cut and on a summer's day hanging baskets at several of the houses add to the appearance of care. The lots vary a little in size and slope, but all have quite spacious backyards. These are fenced and several have children's swingsets. Two also have tree houses or 'forts', while another has a recently built swimming pool replacing a former play area of swings and a sandbox.
On a particular early summer evening one of the fathers is washing his car in the driveway, but otherwise no adults are visible. But the street is full of activity. There are four distinguishable groups of children, occasionally mingling as the focus of attention changes. A small group of older boys are skate-boarding over a low, home-made ramp they have erected in the middle of the street, for a time cheered on by the three older girls who then go on to talk and play together and for a while join in with the smaller girls’ play. The latter, accompanied by two children from a neighbouring street, range from four years old to nine and are sitting under a tree on the childless couple’s lawn, playing ‘house’ and taking turns in carrying a kitten belonging to one of the families without children. Two young boys are playing under the sprinkler, next to the car-washing activity, occasionally receiving admonishments from the father who is concerned that they might empty their play buckets of water over his newly painted front steps. Popsicles from a neighbour or an invitation to swim in a friend’s pool across the street are added attractions for some of the children. From time to time the pattern of activity changes. The boys skateboard down a steep driveway onto the street, and the older girls set up a skipping game on the street. The larger group of younger girls splits up as two or three go into one of their backyards to play, or, as they decide to play indoors in one of the houses, the children of the neighbouring street return home.

On another day or evening the street will have fewer children playing, a few neighbours chatting, or may be deserted with the children indoors, on vacation or out somewhere else. During the school term time, outdoor play is confined to after-school hours or weekends. Several of the children are in various out-of-school and weekend sports activities with the result that the intensity of summer activity, itself sporadic, is seldom reached. During the winter and other periods of inclement weather there may be little activity on the
street. Jacquie comments:

"I rarely see the neighbours once the kids are back in school. Just to wave to in passing. Or sometimes I need to call to ask about a school event, or arranging driving for soccer, things like that. Some I don't really see much of at all, but in the summer I'll occasionally chat with Vera next door or Andrea will come over for a couple of minutes while I'm out in the yard and we'll talk about the kids, that sort of thing."

Despite the temporal variations of social contact on the street for both children and their parents, and the usually limited interaction she has with her neighbours, Jacquie at all times feels secure about her two children playing out of range of her immediate supervision, for although the children's street activity appears haphazard and unordered, considerable structure and understanding of the activity underlies this unsupervised activity. In part the children's play on a particular day may be understood by age and gender differences of the children and their personal likes and dislikes, but the street also is a defined playspace of known rules and known social contacts. Jacquie has been able to replicate an environment in many ways similar to her own private domain of home and backyard, through access to other homes, backyards and a street environment where behaviour is to some extent controlled and within the bounds of what she feels comfortable about for her children.

Even though Jacquie sees little of her neighbours in any routine way, she knows everyone in the cul-de-sac to varying degrees or by reputation and has a range of social links which can be drawn upon in the case of unexpected contingencies. Her immediate neighbour has a teenage daughter who babysits some evenings or occasionally in the daytime during the school holidays. She and her husband have chatted with the girl's parents from time to time while out working in the yard, or "piling the kids in the car on the way out". She has found
them friendly and comments, "They're very nice people and the kids really like Lisa (the daughter)". The neighbour "on the other side" she thinks of mainly in negative terms. They are an older couple with no children at home and although she has found the wife quite pleasant, she has been annoyed at the husband's complaints that her children are too noisy. Other children on the street reported that at the last Hallowe'en the same man sent them away and told them not to come again, so she has told her children not to go on his property. A similar rule applies to one other couple with grown up children, who have gained a 'reputation' for being very particular about their yard and not very 'neighbourly', "They keep very much to themselves".

Most of the other neighbours, apart from the ones without children, she feels she knows well, starting from the days when they first built their home seven years ago.

"It was a new sub-division at the time and you just got to know people. There were no fences then and the kids just wandered from yard to yard; they were only little at the time and didn't know about property lines! There were two other girls the same age as Tanya, which was nice for her and my youngest would just follow the neighbour's dog around. She loved it! We'd all be out at the front, digging the yards and watching the kids - it was very sociable. Then for a while there was the odd babyshower as brothers or sisters came along and about every sort of homeparty you could think of. At that time there were so few of us here than some of the women from around the corner would come, so I got to know a lot of people. I still say "hello" if I see them, but our paths don't cross much, as their children went to a different school."

Shared activity and interests was a first step for Jacquie in making social links with neighbours. These were consolidated when Jacquie chose to put her child in preschool and later kindergarten. Other children on the street already attended two different preschools, but she visited both preschools and favoured one in particular. She and one of the other women on the street shared driving on
the school days and also to the required monthly meetings, at which 'parent education' sessions introduced a number of topics pertaining to child development and early education. These occasions, in addition to the casual encounters which they shared with other women on the street, provided considerable opportunity over the year for the two women to discuss their common experiences and ideas about childrearing.

At one of the monthly meetings a representative from the School Board presented information on the French Immersion option in the School District, and this generated considerable discussion and many questions, comparing and contrasting its value with the 'regular' English program. After further discussion with her husband and 'comparing notes' with another neighbour on the street, Jacquie decided to register her daughter in the French Immersion program for the following September. This decision would require a short drive each day. In total three of the five families with children starting kindergarten made this choice, while two decided to send their children to the English program at the local school. The next year two more families had children old enough to start school and they also chose the French Immersion option. Jacquie said,

"There was a lot of car pooling at that time, but as more younger brothers and sisters started school, it wasn't so easy and now we usually just take our own kids. You know, though, that there'd always be someone you could ask to bring your child home in an emergency. I've done that from time to time, not much though, if I've been delayed or something. Now a lot of the kids have started coming home on the bus - they just put a bus route in two years ago - but, again if anything happened, the kids always know they can go to one of the neighbours."

In addition to such understandings the women on the street also check with each other from time to time over "things going on at the school",

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particularly when problems arise with teachers or homework, when values and attitudes become apparent. Information about changes or events on the street, such as families moving or crisis situations, also gets exchanged in chance meetings, usually through the women, as people go to and fro from their homes.

In effect, Jacquie over the years has gained considerable knowledge about most of the people living on the street and "knowing everyone" for Jacquie has resulted in a body of information and a support system of social and physical resources, which are not necessarily used frequently but are an important part of her defining her neighbourhood as a good place to live. She can borrow odd items for baking; she has transport for an art class her daughter attends on the day she is unable to drive due to an activity she takes her other daughter to; she has people to discuss "things that come at school" that bother her and the changing, and sometimes puzzling, behaviour her children go through; her children can go to any of five neighbours after school for a while should there be an emergency that prevented her from being home "on time", just as she would feel comfortable asking four of them to "take the kids for an hour or so" if something unavoidable came up at the last minute for which she had not already found alternative care for her children. In addition her teenage neighbour babysits from time to time. Jacquie has been successful in effectively extending her domestic workplace into the public domain of the street and the private homes of others. She has security for her children, considerable flexibility in how she orders her mothering activities and housework during the day and, of especial importance, such conditions enable her to leave her immediate home workspace for varying periods of time without her children.

Jacquie's cul-de-sac is a particularly supportive space for her mothering activities and is the focal point of her neighbourhood, for on this one street she has a number of resources useful to her and the means of access to others. It is
by no means unique in terms of the types of components which are valued by
women and are defining features of a “friendly” and “supportive” neighbourhood,
although for some of the other women these valued aspects of neighbourhood may
be less spatially discrete, but exist in the localized workspaces of other streets
through which women are linked through their social contacts. Streets vary, as
do women’s experiences of them, but the processes involved in the women’s
creation of supportive neighbourhoods are not unique, nor do they come about
automatically. They are directly related to the women’s work as mothers.
Mothering work in itself becomes a source of practical assistance, information
and ideas, which are integral to the process of gaining control of and extending
the range of ‘neighbourhood’ space. Although the defining features of supportive
neighbourhoods varied in specific content, they indicated a range of relationships
and degrees of knowledge which mediated the women’s power to choose and alter
their social courses of action.

5. Discussion

This chapter has examined the women’s changing relationship to the
locality, as experienced through the dynamics of divisions of labour. This
changing relationship has resulted in a generalized notion of ‘a family place’
being defined at a different scale, that of particular localized workspaces such
as the home and the street. By looking at the changing nature of women’s work
activities over time, instead of relying on a dichotomy between ‘productive’ and
‘reproductive’ labour, it becomes clear that both spheres of activity are closely
interlinked in the women’s life experiences. Women may enter and leave the
wage labour force in relation not only to what is commonly ascribed as
‘life-cycle stage’, but also according to a complex interplay of factors including
“luck” in finding jobs, the impact of economic changes on the husband’s ability to
draw in 'the family wage' and meet financial obligations, the structuring of social services and the ability or perceived ability to meet the requirements implied by notions of motherhood, health concerns and unanticipated contingencies. All of these factors provide the context within which choice is situated.

Attempts to understand women's lives in terms of 'employed' as against 'homemaking' wives may account for specific patterns of women's activities at a given point in time, as in the activity pattern literature, but these can only remain as the manifestations of different ways of living 'motherhood;' they are inadequate in themselves for understanding the inter-relationships between women and locality. The categorization of women in terms of this dichotomy misrepresents the process and the complex interdependence between home and waged workplace, especially as women's labour force participation has increased. The distinction between employed workers and homemakers, however, is not irrelevant, and in this chapter was related to women's experiences in a different way, in particular to the temporal sequencing of events that provide the contingencies for women's entering or leaving the paid labour force. Recognizing such temporal sequencing is most important in analysis for without it we have a static picture of full-time homemakers as women "retired" from the workforce with little indication of the dynamic nature of their relationship to paid employment and the ways in which choice is exercised.

Central to a woman's relationship to the different aspects of her work is the part she plays in evolving a family social and economic strategy, which combines obtaining money income with the biological and social reproduction of children. Such strategies emerge from a sequencing of events, including expectations for the future and experiences of the past, central to which are the particularities of biological reproduction, including the process of procreation,
which centres on the mother. The specific courses the women's occupational careers have taken reflect and have been premised on the acceptance of the normalcy of a particular type of 'family life' and the identification of the women with their mothering occupation. The organization of family relations and strategies around the events of marriage and childbearing represents the lived practice of an ideology of familialism. This takes a varying form of a sexual division of labour which is reaffirmed through social policy which assumes women to be primary caregivers in the family and in the wage workplace by the organization of the labour market around gender defined occupations. Such occupations tend to pay less to women, resulting in a primary reliance on men's wage labour, and provide mothers with the possibilities of part-time employment which more readily combines with childrearing responsibilities than does full-time employment.

Changes in conditions for carrying out mothering practices also imply changes in relationship to home and neighbourhood, but local space remains a central constituent of women's working lives both as mothers and wage workers. But what constitutes this local space and how it is interpreted in terms of 'neighbourhood' is variable among the women, relating to both geographical area and its specific physical and social component parts. Central to the experiences of the women of their neighbourhoods, as in the localized form of the street, is the effective forging of social links. Through establishing safe space for their children by means of these links, the women are able to form a basis from which they can extend their activity into more geographically extensive pursuits, both on their own and their children's parts. Indeed, childrearing is not confined to the home and immediate streets surrounding it, but takes place in a variety of locations. In the next chapter the content and modes of carrying out mothering work are examined, relating this specifically to how the zoning of localized
domestic space in time and space in turn fosters conditions for the development of supportive social links in an ongoing recursive process.
Chapter Six Footnotes

1. The inadequacy of a simple life-style explanation of women's job mobility is also identified by McLaren (1985), although in her study this is related chiefly to women's search for more rewarding occupations.

2. Warnock (1986) comments that B.C. farmers have been experiencing devaluation of farm assets and substantial debt problems for some time. These were exacerbated by the recession.

3. For a discussion on the difficulties of classifying women's unemployment see Walby (1985).

4. These characteristics of traditional female, white collar occupations plus their generally low status have led some commentators to describe such work as comprising a female job ghetto (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978; McLaren, 1985).

5. See Leonard and Speakman (1986) and Boulton (1983) for discussions of the ambivalent experience for women of work in the home.

6. Restriction of children's movement by parents to the home block or within sight or calling distance is noted by Ley (1974). See also Michelson (1979) and Roberts (1983) for other discussions on child-environment relations.

7. Some women had kin living in the same or neighbouring municipalities, but none had kin living on the same street. The presence of kin either 'locally' or in the Greater Vancouver area did not necessarily ensure continuing contact, for the women enjoyed differing qualities of relationship with siblings and parents.

8. Some of the women attributed the speed in which they made friends and acquaintances to their personalities, while others related this to the perceived characteristics of where they lived, such as its insularity, 'cliqueyness' or friendliness. Some took active steps to "break into the community" by joining church groups, women's organizations, sports groups or evening classes.

9. The notion of informal network which informs many sociological studies usually centres around the study of a network of social relationships of one person or one couple at a particular point in time. A classic example is Elizabeth Bott's *Family and Social Network* (1957) London: Tavistock. (Revised edition,
My intention is somewhat different. Rather than trace the inter-relationships of the women's networks I aim to show the temporal and spatial underpinning of the development of social linkages which form different aspects of their work relations and are part of a process of negotiating safe space for their children through gaining control over the physical and social environment.

10. In a few cases women have had a more negative experience of their street and have been less able to establish supportive and controlled conditions for their mothering work around the immediate vicinity of their home.

11. The significance of social context, including political and economic factors, and the influence of others close to them is similarly shown in the case of women's decisions to return to education (McLaren, 1985).
1. Introduction

In the previous chapter it was shown how the locality, as the experienced social and physical environment of the women, becomes clearly defined in terms of a localized domestic workspace focused on the home and street. As the women take primary responsibility for domestic labour, including childrearing, this workspace comprises a basic constituent of their daily experiences. To the women, keeping their children safe and secure is a central concern, and it was suggested in the discussion that the ability to control this localized workspace is significant not only to their mothering work but also in developing conditions which permit flexibility in the way the women may combine home and wage workplace in a family strategy.

In addition to ensuring the physical well-being of a child, however, there are a multitude of mothering tasks which are involved in both nurturing the relationship between mother and child and in managing the relationship between 'society' and child. These include a range of recreational and educational activities and 'playtimes,' many of which take place beyond the confines of the home and street and may involve organized classes. In this chapter I turn to a more detailed analysis of the spatial and temporal dimensions of the regular practices of mothering work in order to show how the daily organization of childrearing and the typical patterns of movement emerging from this provide the means by which the women are able to exert control over their working conditions.
The understanding of the localized domestic workspace as a matrix of locales, or settings of face-to-face interaction, guides the analysis. This does not imply only a change in physical scale, but also a structuring of social interaction through the zoning of the locales in time and space. The notion of locale is used to show the recursive nature of social life. Frequently the 'mothering' spaces which compose settings for interaction are further differentiated by gender, as the sexual division of labour is manifested in a tendency to separate men's and women's activities in time and space. Thus, although the domestic workspace may be physically isolated from places of paid employment, and, thus, mothering practices are regionalized or partitioned off in time and space from wage work activities, the co-presence of women as they carry out child-centred activities also fosters the development of social linkages between women. These in themselves become significant features of the women's working conditions, for when converted into the safe spaces that form the basis of a 'supportive neighbourhood' the women may extend the range of their control of domestic space.

The use of Parker's (1981) distinction between the 'tending' and 'caring about' aspects of motherhood permits the inclusion of the affective dimension of mothering to be incorporated into analysis of this control. For the control of domestic space is not confined to adjustments of time and space but extends to the ability of the women to ensure care appropriate to their understanding of motherhood even when absent from children. It is through placing women's interpretation of the mother-child relationship centrally in analysis that their activities can be understood as modifying the limiting conditions deriving from women's disadvantaged position in the division of labour that have been identified in the literature (Smith, 1979; 1986). Certainly previous work on women's labour has not incorporated consideration of the desire of women to
spend time with their children and share their development into analysis of the components of women's work (Berk, 1980; Borman et al., 1984; Luxton, 1980, 1983; Meissner, 1975; Pleck, 1985). Indeed, studies which analyze the time-budgeting of domestic labour severely underestimate the ubiquitous nature of childrearing and the close tie between mother and child which make it a quite different type of work from routine housekeeping or the bundle of paid employment, spatially and temporally separate from 'family life.' Despite the validity of viewing women's mothering activities as work activities, the use of categories of the productive world cannot fully describe women's experiences of mothering (Boulton, 1983).

In using notions of structuration theory to analyze the spatial dimensions of mothering practices, together with women's own interpretation of them, 'motherhood' may be more carefully analyzed. Furthermore, the advantages of this approach over those in geography which rely on Hägerstrand's model of the timing and spacing of social life (Martensson, 1977, 1979; Miller, 1982; Palm and Pred, 1974, 1978; Tivers, 1977) is that the routines of daily life are seen to have a transformative capacity and do not remain as merely the manifestations of interlocking constraints. The outcomes of women's actions as they carry out mothering work results in the altering of the conditions of 'constraint' and, in addition, become part of the resources that women draw upon in guiding their further actions. In the next chapter the nature of interaction within the locales of the domestic workspace is investigated more closely to show the opportunities women have for negotiating the meaning and practicalities of 'motherhood.' Here the concern is to show how a variety of locales emanate from the ways in which women manage their daily lives as mothers within the context of conditions deriving from extended economic and social relations.
2. Women's Work as Mothers

The women who were interviewed spent varying amounts of time in their homes and neighbourhoods. Those who had full-time jobs in the wage workplace spent relatively little time in their domestic workspace and their activities exhibited little change from day to day. Women "at home" with their children or who combine the work of mothering with part-time paid employment had much more variable schedules, but spent longer periods of time in places constituting the spaces of family provisioning and childrearing. The beginning of typical weekdays for women with school-age children are commonly predictable during the school year; they are concerned with the business of getting children up and out to school and may include getting oneself ready for work. This may include driving the children to school or to a babysitter. For women with preschoolers or babies, who are not in paid employment, days are likely to be less structured around fixed schedules of activity. They focus around young children's immediate needs and any activities the mother may have arranged. For women at home with school-age children, after the children are in school the day may be taken up with a variety of personal and community activities, but once the children are at home again out-of-school activities and courses may require the mother's input in preparation and transportation. Sometime during this day shopping, errands for home businesses, volunteer work, housework, healthcare visits, family recreation time and helping older children with school and talking over problems may be among other activity which is fitted in.

In analytical terms, marxist-feminist literature has identified the work women do in the home as ensuring the reproduction of the labour force, in terms of, firstly, the daily subsistence of wage-earners in the household and the care of children and, secondly, the longer-term socialization of children as future members of the labour force. Such a conception locates the work of women in
the home in relation to the interests of capital as fulfilling a function in the capitalist mode of production (Barrett, 1980). Yet Smith (1986) suggests that interpreting women's work as a functional, abstracted 'unit' of analysis fails to articulate women's everyday experiences within local material conditions as they emerge from a wider organization of the social relations. Her alternative approach attempts this by illustrating how women's narratives of their everyday lives originate from courses of social action that are embedded in a complex of social relations of the wider social and economic process, but which are not observable at the level of 'local' activity. Used in a similar way as the notion of locality in my study, any one person's experience is in this way an organized social relation, and is a point of entry to the phenomena and processes shaping it. Smith's interest has been particularly focused on those aspects of women's work which attempt, through the management of daily routines, to coordinate the schedules of household members deriving from the social relations of the wage workplace and the school. Rather than assuming the relation between biological and social reproduction, Smith's approach indicates that the relation is problematic. It is through analysis of the spatial aspects of these dimensions of reproduction that my study shows that the conditions seen by Smith as determining women's management of their lives may also be modified by women's agency.

In tracing the different aspects of women's work as presented in the accounts from my interviews, a variety of tasks may be identified which correspond to notions of biological and social reproduction. Physical care, such as feeding, clothing, providing shelter, looking after hygiene, health and personal safety comprise the continuing work of biological reproduction. Social reproduction, or the socialization of the child, involves a variety of tasks aimed at equipping the child with skills useful to him or her in adult life. The
acquisition of various cognitive and social interaction abilities and the
development of interests, values and habits are components of these skills.

The activities of social reproduction are incorporated in a child's
schooling and his or her various experiences of daily activity in and outside the
home, which will include varying amounts of supervised and unsupervised time.
These may include 'playtimes' alone or with various others, who may or may not
be family members, and out-of-school recreational and educational activity. The
identification of these two aspects of reproduction are useful in drawing out
how different types of mothering activity are generated through the women's
co-ordination of schedules, but the interview material indicated that the
different ways in which this management can be achieved or attempted has a
clear spatial dimension not explicitly referred to by Smith. The daily tasks of
mothering work may involve several changes in location and the ability of the
women to 'create' time and spaces is part of the work of this daily co-ordination
of schedules. Furthermore the women's narratives indicated that their actions in
achieving such co-ordination is guided by the clear concern women have for
providing their children with a happy childhood experience that they also
wish to share. The women's accounts of their experiences of their daily lives must thus
be seen as active ways of practising and interpreting 'motherhood', within the
spatial and temporal framework of mothering work. Daily acts of co-ordination
taking place in domestic workspace separated from the spaces of wage work also
have a longer temporal sequencing, embedded in expectations of the women for
both their own and their children's long-term future, and their own desire for a
particular relationship with their children. Together these result in the
intertwining of the various tasks of biological and social reproduction in terms
of the emotional aspects of 'motherhood' and understandings of "what's good for
the children." As we have seen, women may interrupt careers in order to carry
out both the biological and social aspects of reproduction, with such decisions located within the material and social conditions and understandings of family life originating in non-local social relations. Even if 'being at home with the kids' is not always a source of pleasure and can be very demanding work, it is what many of the women state they want to do.

For purposes of incorporating the affective dimension of women's mothering work into their actual experiences, Parker's (1981) analytic distinction between 'tending' and 'caring about' is useful. This distinction may be used to describe the components of the caring relationship of contemporary motherhood. Childcare thus can be viewed as consisting of 'tending' which refers to the actual carrying out of required tasks, such as feeding, clothing, ensuring physical safety and health care, and 'caring about' which refers to a concern for a child's social development and wellbeing. This latter includes the emotional aspects of the mother-child relationship. In encompassing these different aspects of childcare, the distinction implicitly recognizes the abstracted conceptualization of differences between biological and social reproduction. Although these are not always distinguished ethnographically, 'caring about' becomes important in understanding how women organize a central part of their mothering work, the mediation of the relationship of their children to the physical and social environment, which encompasses all dimensions of reproduction. In terms of women's everyday life this means the work of attempting to control home and neighbourhood space. What is particularly significant is that this distinction may be utilized in analyzing women's interpretations of the experienced locality in terms of it accommodating their mothering work of both tending and caring for their children, even in their absence.
3. Spatial and Temporal Dimensions of Mothering Work

In the following sections the different aspects of the women's work and where this takes place will be examined through the application of Giddens' time-space maps. These are used to map the locales, or settings for interaction, bounded in time and space, which make up the workspaces of women's everyday lives as they carry out their mothering practices. They are used as a mechanism for introducing the significance of space to the interpretation of 'motherhood' and women's mothering work. Just as the notion of locality was employed as a method and mode of demonstrating the embeddedness of women's lives in social and material conditions, the idea of locale is used to show that this 'embeddedness' contains a recursive and dynamic nature. In structuration theory the concepts of locale and regionalization are the nub of the attempt to integrate space and society, in the form of 'contextuality', whereby routinized 'individual' activity is constitutive of, and connects, regularized relations between individuals and groups. (See pages 30-37 in Chapter Two for a discussion of the conceptual schema of structuration theory.)

The locality for the women becomes experienced as a matrix of locales, made up of the recurrent workspaces of mothering. These contain physical and social properties and stocks of knowledge that may be drawn upon in the course of the women's mothering practices. Following Giddens' understanding, regularized social practices constitute the cycle of routine activity that makes up most of daily life. Routines refer simply to a person's activities which occur on a regular basis over a day or a longer time-span. Routinization thus refers to the typical patterns of movement of individuals which occur in time-space. For the women, routines derive from the regular work of mothering but there is considerable diversity also in the temporal and spatial structuring of these activities within the totality of the women's work practices.
What is typical of the women's mothering work is that it is regionalized, that is, partitioned off in time and space in the localized domestic workspace of home and neighbourhood. It is focused around the single-family dwelling and separated from the wage workplace, although other workspaces within the locality are incorporated into daily routines. This differentiation of workspaces by gender is upheld by shared understandings of the domestic division of labour within which women clearly identify themselves with the work of mothering and men with earning the family wage. Both the separation of the locales of mothering work from wage work and the fact they are gender specific provides the particularities of the nature of locales, including the opportunities to develop social links with other women. It is through encounters with other women in shared workspaces that conditions for controlling the timing and spacing of the experienced environment of the locality emerge.

a) Time-space maps

In linking the women's mothering work with an increasing control of the environment, I first present examples of the women's daily routines to indicate the organization of mothering work over time and space. In examining the women's daily routines I have drawn on the diaries they completed, supplementing these with material from the interview narratives. In addition to the temporal dimensions of the women's days that are indicated in the diaries, there is also a spatial configuration that illuminates the locales which focus and guide the women's course of activity and social interaction on a particular day. In order to illustrate locales conceptually, Giddens (1985) has adopted Hägerstrand's graphic form of mapping the time-space configurations of daily activity, but replaces their portrayal in terms of a linear progression through the day, with the introduction of 'reversible' time shown by arrows on the map. The
The idea of reversible time is intended to emphasize that the repetitive nature of daily life usually involves 'return' paths, such as the child going to and from school or an adult attending and returning from his or her paid workplace. It is through the recurrent practices of mothering work that women's time and space is both structured and provides the conditions for adjusting time and space. For the locales encountered in the women's daily lives are both the outcome and the source of the ways in which mothering work is interpreted and practised.

Figure 7: Diane's Diary

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<th>Friend's House</th>
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<td>S</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Grocery Store</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>Preschool</td>
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space

space
In Figure 7 the time-space map of Diane's diary is presented to illustrate the components of Giddens' time-space mapping. The diagram provides a 'bird's eye view' of a daily routine - that is, both dimensions are spatial, and activities are configured as occupying time within space - rather than the more familiar lateral diagrams of Hägerstrand, in which time is shown as a contextual dimension and activities are routed through both space and time. The boxes represent points which form the physical properties of locales, with the length of each box representing the length of time spent in the locale. The lines with arrows between the boxes indicate the direction of movement and the chronological length of time spent in traversing the distance between locales. The map does not represent precise clock-time, distance or direction, but is a way of representing different modes of the structuration of daily activities. In Diane's map, the school and preschool that her children attend are the focus of strongly routinized parts of the day or week, while trips to her friend's for lunch and shopping trips are less regular in occurrence.

Whereas Hägerstrand's interest in everyday social practice related to the infrastructure framing daily activity, Giddens' maps conceptually modify the 'locational' aspects of the time-space configuration of routines in incorporating an understanding that locales are not designated by their physical properties alone but contain a range of rules and resources, which in themselves provide the opportunities for negotiations of shared meanings. Thus, the meaning of motherhood to women and understandings of where and how it is practised is potentially open to change. Locales are not merely stopping points, as in Hägerstrand's stations, but are points where social organization is concentrated. This social organization can be seen in three aspects: as the social encounters occurring within specific locales, any internal regionalization (for example the zoning in space and time of the use of the home or school), and the
regionalization of a specific locale in relation to other locales (such as the home and place of paid employment). Thus, the nature and content of the locales of mothering work, through their regionalization, derive in part from the organization of social and economic relations within the sexual division of labour and the specific ways in which women organize their mothering work. We can now use the notion of 'locale' to discover a range of settings of interaction, whose components are drawn upon in a routine manner to constitute the meaning of social interaction. In doing so we can further our understanding of how home and neighbourhood operate as central constituents of the women's lives as mothers, for it is within locales that both the limiting and enabling conditions for the transformation and reproduction of women's daily activities are contained. Mothering practices take place in a variety of locations, which in the guise of everyday routines are now mapped and interpreted in terms of the concept of locale. Closer investigation of the rules and resources of such locales and their negotiation follows in the next chapter.

b) Daily routines

Routinization of everyday life, in terms of the timing and types of activity, is apparent in those activities originating in the structured social relations of the wage workplace, the school and other institutions, and the requirements of the biological care of children. Yet within these 'generalized' routines individual choices and the contingencies of everyday practice of mothering also result in diversity, which reduces the repetitiveness of activity to certain parts of the day, particularly for those not in paid employment. Further changes to which women respond in their daily organization arise from the structuring of school terms and children's recreational and sports sessions in 'out-of-school' time in addition to weekly, monthly and seasonal variations in
activity.

The two predominant sources of the routinization of everyday life are the relations of paid employment, for both husband and wife, in combination with the relations of school organization (Smith, 1986). These supply the parameters around which the scheduling of mothering activities need to be organized. Medical contingencies are another originating factor of activity, depending on attendance at specific places at specific times, the latter usually being fixed, day-time hours for other than emergency care. Activity organized in relation to these is thereby initiated through participation in these sets of relations which are organized outside the home. The relative fixity of hours and place may result in scheduling conflicts for women engaged in a variety of work situations, paid and unpaid (Hanson and Hanson, 1980; Martensson, 1977, 1979; Palm and Pred, 1974, 1978).

The regular morning household organization is indicative of both the temporal and spatial organization of paid workplace and school activity and the shared understandings within a household of the zoning, temporally and by type of activity, of the home. The beginning of a day is the most strongly routinized part of the day for all of the women who were interviewed. This is a time when they respond to school hours and, in some cases, to their own work hours and those of their husband's. When women are not in paid employment school hours are the major source of focus for this part of the day during the school term, while for women in paid employment over an extended period of time, the early part of the day is routinized for most of the year. The work hours of husbands are not necessarily worked around in the morning. Husbands may leave home earlier than the children leave for school due to commuting requirements or an early start to the work day, just as this may be the case for the women in paid employment. Indeed, husband and wife may follow quite different schedules.
For all of the women except one, who leaves the house earlier than her husband on the days she goes to her job, getting the children to school in time, dressed and clean, together with their lunches, is the primary job of the early morning. Few of the school-age children come home for lunch on a regular basis. According to the age of the children and personal style of the mother, children will be supervised and helped to varying degrees before they leave for school. In addition to their children's school lunches, women may pack a lunch for their husband or themselves on a 'work' day. Making beds, doing the breakfast dishes, a quick kitchen 'clean-up' and feeding pets are additional chores commonly done before school. Children and husbands in some cases help with such chores, but the majority of the women took primary responsibility for "getting the kids out of the house on time." For many of the women this procedure also involves getting themselves ready in time to drive the children, which may, in the case of a carpool, include picking up other children.

For women who have to leave the house themselves in the morning to reach their own paid employment the husband's schedule becomes of especial importance to how a woman organizes her own time and how husband and wife may evolve a 'common strategy' to deal with conflicting time schedules. In these cases both women and children adjusted their schedule in order that they reach their job and school, respectively, in time. If the husband's work hours are such that he is home at this time in the morning he may help with the children's breakfast and other kitchen chores, but most commonly his involvement in the daily routine was in driving the children to school or daycare. Women usually continued to take primary responsibility for food preparation, preparing the child for school and making arrangements for the rest of the day, although these later specific tasks may be delegated to husband or children. Further tasks in the morning for the women may include driving children to daycare, leaving a dinner
prepared for the husband to cook in the evening and ensuring 'after school time' is pre-arranged.¹

Other aspects of everyday life are less routinized and are initiated by the women themselves in response to the needs of family provisioning, perceptions of being a "good mother" and personal interests and energies. Yet perceptions of being a "good mother" and provisioner are ultimately embedded in the same complexity of social relations which become articulated in the family home and the activities focusing there. Furthermore these social relations are intertwined with a complexity of ideas, values and attitudes emanating not only from the media and print, but from a variety of face-to-face contacts that women encounter in the course of following their 'daily routines'. However, whereas the duties of the paid workplace are usually carried out in a pre-determined place and within specified time parameters (although some jobs do involve 'bringing work home'), mothering activities outside the immediate spatial domain of home and neighbouring street(s) do not have a standardized 'place' in which they occur, rather showing considerable variability. In addition, beyond the clear-cut definitions of 'school-time', activities for school-age and preschool children may take mother and child to a variety of places at a variety of times outside the school day.

Out-of-school activities form an area of discretion for parents, yet 'private' decisions to take part in them are embedded in the twin factors of what schools do and do not provide and a professional discourse on child development and a mother's role.² The knowledge and values promulgated by such discourse may be articulated at what Giddens terms the level of discursive consciousness. This refers to the ability of the women to express in words the way this knowledge guides their actions, as will be seen in their accounts and interpretations of their decisions. A primary notion underlying the women's
interpretation of what they do with their children outside the classroom is encapsulated in the phrase, "what's best for the children". "What's best for the children" did not always take the same form among parents of similar educational or socio-economic status, for while decisions are made within an individual family's values and attitudes, local norms, values and 'practical example' are sources of ideas on children's activities.

What is striking about the women's daily activities is the diversity of organization within the more general framing of mothering activity, and the contingencies that result in a "change of plans". This diversity was indicated by most of the women, who, when requested to keep a diary, asked questions such as "Which day shall I do? They're all different". They were able to tell me about a number of unexpected events, such as a child's sickness, a husband off work, a volunteer work meeting, a repair person coming or a visit from a rarely seen friend. What is crucial to the women's daily paths of movement is that the locales are also diverse, of a wide range of forms, including both institutionally framed settings and less formally structured, *ad hoc*, settings, with each containing different combinations of resources. Furthermore, the travel routes themselves and manner of transportation may be important components of the structuring of everyday life which are intimately connected to more 'static' forms of locales. In total, the locales comprise a variety of settings in which the 'tending' and 'caring about' components of motherhood may be operationalized.

c) The diaries

The diaries varied in quality and amount of information. They represent the ways in which the different women have developed a "working out" of their present situation. However, the phrase "working it out" is particularly used by the women who combine paid employment with home-based activity and few feel
this has been achieved smoothly or without conflict. The diaries I have chosen are particularly detailed and indicate a considerable effort on the part of the women in the presentation of their everyday lives. The content of these are not, however, atypical of other women in similar situations. Within the diversity of actual places visited in a day and time spent on different types of activity, all the diaries are framed around a mixture of routines originating from wider social relations and contingencies, interpreted within an understanding of 'motherhood' and its primary responsibilities. In addition to indicating the source of much of women's activity, the diary entries show the parts of the day and activities over which the women have most discretion. The women had been requested to add a comment on how they felt about their day or days chosen (some chose two to contrast a 'working day' with a day at home) and if anything they considered unusual had occurred. Comments were usually of the nature of the degree of satisfaction they felt about their day, intimating a range of experience from pleasure to frustration. Others noted unanticipated contingencies such as a car break-down, a child's sickness, the husband being away on business or at home for the day.

At this point I present the time-space maps of four women, together with the diaries providing the information from which they produced. These graphically represent the recurrent workspaces of mothering practices and home provisioning, including other mappable locales which form an extension of this activity, and places of paid employment. The women's own wording in the diaries is retained. Comments from the diaries and the interview narratives are used to illustrate the ways women interpret their days and to place the diaries within a weekly or seasonal variation. Most importantly, this additional information indicates that the form of the time-space dimensions of the women's daily
activity shown on the maps may represent the course of movement of the individual through the day, but does not indicate the time-space maps of other family members which themselves are part of the interlinked locales where the 'tending' and 'caring about' children goes on. The time-space maps for each family member for a day are thus presented in the case of one of the women to demonstrate the linking of locales.

The first diary I have chosen is that of a woman who has two children, seven and four years old. She has lived for a year in a new subdivision of homes on one acre lots. She has little contact with her neighbours, one of whom is in full-time paid employment and is not home during the day. The other children on the street go to a different school than the one her own children attend, so she is not involved in the car pool that has been organized to take them to school. She has a car and drives her own children to school. A neighbourhood commercial area can be reached by car in a few minutes, while the major shopping and service area of the Coquitlam centre is less than fifteen minutes away.

**Diary 1**

7:00 a.m. - get up; make coffee; feed animals, puppy and kitten (4 months); make lunches for my son and husband; make breakfast - quite often hot cereal.

7:30 a.m. - eat breakfast.

7:45 a.m. - get kids in washroom; brush their teeth, wash hands and face; see that their clothes are suitable for the day.

8:00 a.m. - shower, get myself ready.

8:30 a.m. - do beds and my daughter's hair (she has long hair).

8:45 a.m. - get ready to go out the door.

8:55 a.m. - drop son off at school.
9:05 a.m. - drop daughter off at preschool (after I pick up a boy that goes to preschool on the way).

9:30 a.m. - back home; get laundry sorted - 4 loads; general tidying up.

10:05 a.m. - take pup to vet; pick up bread from bakery; pick up milk.

11:00 a.m. - back home; 2nd load of laundry in.

11:20 a.m. - go pick up daughter at preschool.

11:45 a.m. - back home; 3rd load of laundry in and 2nd in dryer; make lunch for self and daughter; feed animals also.

12:30 p.m. - clean up kitchen, last load of laundry in; fold other laundry; sew knee patches to son's worn pants.

1:30 p.m. - pick up prescription at London Drugs, daughter is with me.

2:05 p.m. - go take 3 kids from my son's school to swimming at Hyde Creek - daughter comes with me. Wait there with other moms.

3:10 p.m. - take kids back to school and bring home my son.

3:20 p.m. - back home; make spaghetti sauce.

4:00 p.m. - fold last of laundry and put it all away.

4:30 p.m. - play a game of table hockey with son; help daughter with her drawing and printing (this is the time I usually spend with my kids, from 3:30 to 5:30 while I'm doing dinner. They usually sit at the eating bar with some type of paper/colouring/writing work and I help and get involved as much as possible. Even get a story read - sometimes we read a novel, chapter by chapter each day.)

5:30 p.m. - eat dinner.

5:55 p.m. - take son to soccer practice.

7:00 p.m. - back home; clean kitchen.
7:15 p.m. - husband arrives home, he eats dinner; finish cleaning kitchen.

7:30 p.m. - bath kids (twice a week now); read them each a book.

8:00 p.m. - daughter to bed; my son usually comes downstairs for 1 hour: He practices his reading or he listens to a hockey game on the radio with his dad.

8:15 p.m. - wash my face, put nightie and housecoat on.

8:30 p.m. - flop on couch, with cup of coffee; I usually do some type of needlework - knit, cross-stitch, embroidery - and watch T.V. - this is my time!

10:00 - 11:00 p.m. - go to bed; a lot of times I fall asleep on the couch.

The temporal and spatial dimensions of this diary are represented in Figure 8. It is apparent that the day is organized around the care and activities of the woman's children and the everyday tasks of keeping a home, primarily the
provisioning of its family members. Her husband leaves for work at eight o'clock and does not return until after seven. She comments, "It's a long day. He's home so late I usually eat with the kids, but what can you do? We're managing but it's not very pleasant." During this time when her husband is absent from the home, routinized activity centres around the timing and spacing of the activities of child-centred locales, consisting on this day of the transportation of children to and from their schools and a soccer practice which is held at a nearby school. The organization of her other activity is in some part discretionary and less routinized and also includes an unanticipated trip to the veterinarian with one of the family pets. Yet it is this less routinized activity that results in the 'busyness' of a "long day" which becomes a block of interrupted time as the woman leaves and returns to her home five times during the day. Furthermore the non-obligatory activity of the day clearly illustrates the affective dimension of her mothering practices and the woman's desire to supplement the educational and social experiences provided in the institutionalized setting of the public school system. This included volunteer driving for the school to take children to swimming lessons and time set aside in the home to spend in reading or playing with her children and helping with writing, learning the alphabet and similar 'educational' activities. The comments on the diary were as follows:

"My days are very busy - if it's not one thing it's another. I find it hard sometimes to keep track of what I need to do each day. I run a very organized house, clean and everything in its place. Although at the end of the day it seems that I accomplished nothing - but I sure ran around a lot. And there hardly is ever time for me - it seems that I do all for everyone else. But I'm still grateful that I am able to stay at home with my children at this young age, that little hug in the middle of the day beats any extras that money could buy."
During the interview she explained something of what this 'busyness' consists of:

"People say you're at home, you've nothing to do. And people bring me stuff to do - sewing, stuff to hem and mend. I make some of my own and my daughter's clothes. That's what I'd like to have more time to do. I'm always using my machine, hemming pants, mending. And I enjoy knitting. I'm not home all the time. Another thing people consider when you're at home - all this time - and you don't! My days - I never have time to finish what I anticipate doing. You always run out of time before night comes around. For instance, just keeping the house maintained. It takes a lot of time to do everything routinely. I like my house well-kept. And dinners - I make nice dinners and I start cooking about three; there's always something. And I like to give an hour or so for my children. I'm there for them, and I drop my stuff to do things with them. And there's the animals!"

Her commitment to her relationship with her children is also apparent from her reference to current aspects of home life which she didn't experience on the occasions she has gone back to work for short periods:

"Probably mothers that are working miss out on the little things kids do. I think they're important to you and you'll remember them when you're older. I remember the first time my son went swimming from the school. On the first day they were going he really wanted me to drive - parents volunteer to drive - it was important to him, but then I couldn't do it. Stuff like that. They're touchy things and I'm glad I'm here to see them now. I'm very involved with my kids - they come first before anything else."

The particular day that the woman chose to record may be compared and contrasted to other of her days and their degree of routinization. What is constant for each day is the scheduling of her husband's leaving time in the morning and a more approximate time of return, depending on overtime work, and her son's school hours. The days are potentially long and filled with domestic and childcare tasks in the home, but they have become structured around decisions concerning the children's activities and opportunities for social
interaction the woman has developed with other mothers, which frequently result in her leaving the house. Preschool classes for her daughter are on three days a week and as this is a co-operative preschool this involves the mothers doing two "duty days" a month and attendance at an evening monthly meeting. Occasionally she will also take her daughter to the public library "preschool story time". Both her son and daughter periodically take sessions of swimming lessons at the Parks and Recreation Department's swimming pool, involving two visits a week after school and the family together watch the son's soccer game on a Saturday morning. Recently she has also taken a parenting course during the daytime, while her children are at school, and she "gets together" once every two weeks with an ex-neighbour from the subdivision where she previously lived, when this friend has a day off work. They have coffee in each other's homes or go out to lunch. Her sister, who lives a few minutes drive away also "drops in for coffee and a chat quite often".

These activities in effect result in the woman's daily life being carried out in a variety of locales, not all visible on one day's time-space map, which provide the potential for numerous settings of interaction. How these locales link together and are connected to women's interpretation of motherhood will be discussed in later sections, but firstly other time-space maps will be presented to indicate the sources of typicality and differences among different women's everyday activities.

The next diary is that of a mother of two preschoolers, aged three years and ten months. Hers is also a potentially long and isolated day, as her husband leaves early to reach his workplace in Vancouver. His job involves long hours, including considerable overtime and he also attends nightschool three times a week to complete his professional training. The woman comments on the isolation of being at home with young children:
"It's not as bad now, as it was. At first it was awful. But with the second one - you're already adjusted to all that. I still think the most difficult thing is the lack of adult conversation. You're catching me on a good day, because it's Monday. By Friday my answers might be different! There are times.... Like today it's raining, and you know when you look down the street everyone's sitting alone in their house with their two kids."

Diary 2

7:45 a.m. - Awake; feed 10 month old, 3 year old, myself; get myself washed and dressed; get 3 year old washed and dressed; make my bed, 3 year old's bed and crib; neighbourhood girl (5 year old arrived 8:45 a.m.).

8:50 a.m. - Drive neighbourhood child to Kindergarten (5 min. from home) and continue to preschool for 3 year old. (15 min. drive). Ten month old remains at home with my mom.

9:05 - 11:30 a.m. - On "duty" at preschool (help with snacks, outdoor play, crafts etc.).

11:30 a.m. - Drive from preschool to fast food outlet (20 min. drive); pick up lunch; drive home.

12:00 noon - Eat lunch, feed baby, do dishes, clean up kitchen.

1:30 p.m. - 3 year old plays outside with friends. Mom and I take baby for a walk.

3:00 p.m. - 3 year old comes in and watches T.V.; put baby to bed. I go to shopping centre (10 min. drive); pick up groceries, do banking.

3:45 p.m. - Return home; put groceries away; throw on load of laundry.

4:15 p.m. - Begin preparing dinner, 3 year old assists; baby plays on floor at feet.

5:00 p.m. - Eat dinner (Mom and I, baby and 3 year old).

6:00 p.m. - Mom bathes 2 kids; I wash and dry dishes, clean up.
7:00 - 8:00 p.m. - Mom and I watch T.V.; 3 year old sits quietly with a book; baby is held, given milk and eventually falls to sleep.

8:15 p.m. - Play game of “fish” card game with 3 year old.

8:30 p.m. - 3 year old goes to bed.

9:30 p.m. - Mom leaves; prepare for bed. (Husband not home till late).

This woman has considerable time in the day and evening in which recurrent activity is centred on the constantly emerging tasks involved in the care of very young children, which surround more clearly temporally defined tasks such as preparing meals and nap times. Yet her comments echo those of the previous woman’s diary, “My theme song is ‘I’m on the road again.’ Not any prolonged driving, but I do a lot of coming and going, three or four times a day”. The time-space map derived from her diary reflects this movement, which as in the first diary is oriented around family provisioning and ‘optional’ children’s activities. (Figure 9).

Figure 9: Diary 2

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<td>S</td>
<td>School</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>Preschool</td>
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1. Fast food outlet
2. Shopping centre
The main difference between the two women's days is that the woman of the second diary shares the time in her home on this day with her mother, who comes over to stay the night before each of the woman's preschool duty days to look after the younger child on the following morning. For this woman the acquisition of a car in the last year has been important in allowing her to rearrange her activities. It has enabled her to break up the long days otherwise spent mainly within the confines of the home. She has taken up opportunities for herself and her children, and these less regular activities are slotted into the days when her son is not scheduled to attend preschool. In addition to grocery shopping, banking and other household related errands which were previously carried out as family trips at the weekends, these 'new' activities include, for example, intermittent sessions of swimming lessons for her children, a "mom and tots" group, and a monthly women's club meeting.

The next diary is that of a woman who had recently taken a secretarial job in a neighbouring municipality on three days a week. She had not been looking for paid employment but had heard about the job from a friend of hers and felt "it was really too good to pass up. We were sitting there with our budget and the bills weren't going to be paid!" She is a very active person in "the community", involved in church affairs and her daughter's Brownie pack. She had, however, dropped some of her extensive volunteer activity and felt the resulting 'free' three days a week, no longer scheduled for meetings and committees would readily accommodate part-time employment. The day I present is one of her "non-working" days chosen to indicate the myriad of activities which women may cluster in a day to sustain previously existing arrangements of social life and children's activities in combination with paid employment. She comments at the end of her diaries, "I had no idea I drive myself so hard; will have to slow down I
"It's only been two weeks. And I'm already crashing. I'm just beginning to realize the time I put into other things. But I really do feel a sense of more value getting a pay cheque." Her children are aged ten and six.

Diary 3

Thursday.

7:30 - Up at 7:30, get children up. Breakfast, clean up kitchen. Start dishwasher. Drive children to school. (Husband left at 8 a.m.).

9:00 - To a study programme/discussion group (weekly programme studying church's future) - 10 minutes away.

11:30 - Lunch at friends.

12:30 - To friend's home for 2 hrs. quilting on long term project (10 mins. away).

2:40 - To school to pick up daughters - take younger daughter to orthodontist appointment.

3:15 - Drive to Coquitlam - 25 minute drive.

3:40 - Younger daughter's music lesson at Carillon (parent stays in with child). Older daughter sits and does homework or whatever.

4:45 - Drive back down - 20 mins.

5:10 - Stop at Coquitlam Centre for birthday gift - daughter going to a party next day.

5:35 - Home - cook tin of beans for quick supper.

5:55 - Drive older daughter to piano lesson at 6:00 - 10 mins. away.

6:05 - Home to clean up supper. Read bit of Vancouver Sun. Empty dishwasher.
6:20 - Drive younger daughter to Junior Choir (7 mins. to church) and pick up older girl from lesson at 6:40. Take her home and drop her off as husband has arrived home.

7:00 - Back to church to wait for other daughter. While there, arrange the music (and leave copies for organist) for Sunday singsong I play piano for. Talk to friends there - make phone calls to arrange meeting the next evening I'm attending with some others. Discuss costumes for choir presentation.

7:40 - Bring younger child home.

7:45 - Husband has already done up dishes! (smile!). Cut up costume for choir. Also helping younger girl with a word puzzle she's doing and answering questions from older girl on homework.

9:15 - I remember children! - get them going on getting to bed - push, push, - already they're late.

9:30 - Down to computer - work on Minutes from Monday night meeting. Husband finishes getting girls to bed.

10:30 - Drive minutes down to church to drop off.

10:50 - Start getting ready for bed. Set table for breakfast. Make lunches for husband and me (I only make his lunch when I'm going to work next day). Set out something girls can use for their lunches. Turn down heat - check locked doors (I hate doing these). Husband still working on his computer so I say goodnight.

11:30 - To bed.

This is a fairly typical Thursday. Sometimes there's an evening meeting (once or twice a month). I'm happy with the day - got a lot done. I enjoy sewing, enjoy music and typing, so did a number of things I like to do. Don't really like all the driving. I work on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays. I leave work early on Tuesdays as Brownies starts at 5.30. I'm a leader. I find Tuesdays tiring with Brownies. I enjoy having no evening meetings after Brownies as I like being here to help with homework and talk with the girls at bedtime. I don't like all the time that "kitchen clean-up" takes - day after day - get it nice and cleared up (clean counters) one day and the very next day it's all clutter again! Not satisfying. Love my dishwasher - just got it last year before
Wednesdays are much like Tuesday only with a longer dinner time and often an evening meeting with my husband home with the girls.

Meals are sure easier when I have them planned one or two weeks at a time. Often I get help with menu suggestions from the rest of the family, with Tuesday, Thursday and Friday "quick meals", and more complete meals the other days when there is more time available for preparation. Forever planning meals is a tedious job I find, as no doubt most women find. It’s a great relief to me when others have suggestions. So far I do most of the meal preparations. My husband is quite willing to help with dishes when asked or when I’m out.

Mondays are usually a mixture of housecleaning or grocery shopping, and washing clothes, and taking time to make a decent supper. Afternoons are usually some sewing, or planning time for Brownies or camps or committee involvements. It’s driving Mandy to Guides and sometimes there are evening meetings.

I tend to like a day that is relatively scheduled - not too “open”. I don’t get a lot of satisfaction from housework, though I do feel better in a clean tidy house than a messy one!

During the day of her diary the woman spent relatively little time in her home, with the only strongly routinized activity deriving from institutional hours being that of transporting her children to and from school. However, the one daughter's orthodontic treatment and the regular out-of-school activities for her children, which structure the dimensions of her time-space map (Figure 10), are important components of her mothering work as she interprets this.

Her church activities also have become integrated with her domestic and childrearing activity, as both her daughters attend church groups and the Sunday School in which she teaches. Her written comments about the whole week illustrate the responses she has made in the attempt to integrate the organization of family, neighbourhood and wage workplace life and retain her primarily 'family orientation' within her new scheduling. The time-space map
represents the types of locales that are involved in linking home and wage workplaces, and family and neighbourhood relations. The processes involved in creating such linkages will be discussed in the next chapter. At this point the
identification of the variety of locales making up this woman's day is used to illustrate the contrast to the much simpler time-space maps of women in full-time paid employment. These also incorporate mothering practices within similarly defined understandings of motherhood, but the transition to paid employment may reduce the 'discretionary' activities of both mother and child. The woman of Diary 4 has two children, aged eight and four, and is in full-time employment. As in the cases of the other women, her husband is away from the home at his place of employment during the day.

**Diary 4**

7:00 - 8:00 a.m. - Up, dress, supervise children's clothing for day. (Husband is up at 6:00 and has already left) Approx. 10 mins. on snuggling and "visiting". Breakfast and dinner preparation. Pack lunches and leave house (in a mad rush).

8:00 a.m. - 9:00 a.m. - Drop off children (2 stops) and drive to work. One drop off on way out of neighbourhood and second 15 mins. from home and slightly (?) out of way.

9:00 a.m. - 5:30 p.m. - 4 yr. old in daycare (2 days a week goes to preschool, transported by daycare).  
- 7 yr. old in school until 3 p.m. Then Boys and Girls Club Latchkey programme. Picked up by father at 5:30. Dinner service by him.

6:00 - 7:00 p.m. - Leave work to drive home. Visit/ eat dinner/ clean up (both parents).

7:00 - 8:00 p.m. - Dinner, bathe children, put to bed and read stories (individually each child).

8:00 - 8:30 p.m. - Prepare lunches (with husband). Take planned meat out of freezer for next day's dinner.

8:30 - 9:30 p.m. Exercise/read paper/bathe and bed. This is "my time."
My days are very "timed" and vary little in scope. Only variation is Monday when 7 year old goes to Brownies, courtesy of a friend and one night every two weeks I leave work at 4:30 and pick up children and have dinner at home without "Dad".

This diary in its temporal and spatial dimensions is similar to those of other women whose jobs involve 'regular' daytime hours in that the manifestations of the women's mothering practices are clustered at the beginning and end of their days. The diary and accompanying comments show the strongly routinized nature of the woman's activity and the interview material indicates little of the weekly and seasonal variation experienced by women not in regular paid employment; "the only difference is that it's sunny outside!" Yet it is also clear that despite the stark contrast in the previous two daily time-space maps this woman has attempted to maintain those aspects of her children's lives which she considers important for their happiness and social development, including friendships in the neighbourhood and out-of-school activities. One way of doing this is through the use of weekend time, when Friday is a 'fun' night when the family has dinner sent in or they go out, and on a Saturday the woman takes her elder daughter to a dance class. During the week also she aims to provide her children with experiences as close as possible to those she sees they would ideally have were she "at home". Her oldest child still is able to attend the French Immersion programme at a school some distance away and spends some time with neighbourhood friends when she is at a friend's home before school and in the school carpool. Further, she can join neighbourhood children at the local Brownie pack. The youngest daughter is able to attend a preschool, which is run by someone the woman knows from the neighbourhood, and although she cannot be there she keeps in contact "probably once a month" by phone.
Looking at the time-space maps of a typical Monday of the family members (Figure 1), it can be seen how the co-ordination of the children's activities has been accomplished through physical transportation, the meshing of the parents' differing temporal and spatial patterns and the use of alternative locales for their children other than the home and school. The woman's full-time employment prevents her from spending extended periods of time with her children and her lack of immediate involvement with their activities has required substitutions in terms of place, time, and personnel. In effect her mothering work has continued, albeit in a different form, while she is not together with her children and is absent from the neighbourhood for long periods of time. She describes this in terms of her relationship to the 'neighbourhood':

"I couldn't manage it anywhere else. I wouldn't have been able to cope without the support group that I have in this neighbourhood. I just couldn't see myself doing what I've done for the past five years or so. But the support group I've gotten ...... I think we're all able to support each other a lot."

Yet the locales that are involved in this particular family's daily activity and the means of interlinking them cannot be taken as 'givens' but are the result of mothering practices not immediately apparent in the woman's current time-space map. The means of substitution she has exercised are a consequence of the activities she has carried out in the past which were centred on her local workspace of home and neighbourhood, before her paid employment was of a 'full-time' nature. Prior to her return to paid employment her 'typical' time-space map was similar to those of the women in Diaries 1-3, in that it consisted of a variety of locales centred around her children's pursuits and her volunteer work which offered opportunities for social linkages to be made and the potential for translating these into alternative means of ensuring her children's care.
Figure 11: Diary 4 and maps of family members
The time-space maps thus in essence represent the emerging features of a 'supportive neighbourhood', the consequences of which has enabled the woman to extend the range of controllable space. In this way it can be seen that the present time-space maps of her family members are structured through activity and social interaction that occurs in locales elsewhere. In common with other women in the study, the mother and her children may spend varying parts of the day in separate locales, but the mothering work that has been done in the course of social interaction in the locales of their everyday life has ensured that these spatially separate locales are 'safe spaces' for their children that can incorporate the tending and caring about aspects of the mother-child relationship.

The next chapter looks more closely at how such safe spaces are defined and constituted through an investigation of specific locales. In looking at such locales 'in action', we will see that mothering practices include the negotiation of shared meanings about divisions of labour and appropriate 'mothering'. Locales, therefore, are the sites of the definitions of relationships and social identities. These are not confined to the immediate home and the specific organization of gender relations there, but include many workspaces corresponding to different dimensions of the women's work which, through the timing and spacing of social life, are regionalized also by gender.

4. Conclusion

In adopting Giddens' conceptualization of locales in the graphic form of time-space maps, this chapter has traced the spatial and temporal dimensions of the women's mothering work. It has shown that numerous settings of interaction emerge from the practices of mothering, particularly those of social reproduction, such as the recreational and educational activities taking place.
outside the home. Although these practices are regularized in a general sense, in that a number of recurrent activities do take place over a day or week, activities also display considerable diversity and discretion. Whereas the source of strong routinization, such as daily morning routines and mealtimes, primarily derives from the temporal organization of wage workplace and school routines, the diversity and flexibility of women's everyday lives emerge from those areas of reproduction which are open to interpretation and incorporated ideas and values of appropriate motherhood. 'Caring about' is an important dimension of the mother-child relationship to the women of the study; this concern guides the ways they organize their mothering practices.

Giddens stresses that control of time and space is generated from the routinization of everyday life. In the case of the diaries presented here, which are quite typical of those of the other women interviewed, it is shown that within generalized routines there is a considerable diversity of activity associated with carrying out social reproduction in a manner which satisfies the women's desire to ensure their childrens' social and emotional well being. It is through such activity that fixed locales, such as the school, are added to by a range of informally created locales which provide settings for interaction and loci of control. What is particularly significant is that the depiction of a single time-space map does not elucidate the importance of linkages between time-space maps; for instance, as was shown in Diary 4, what occurs in following a daily routine may be dependent on what is occurring in other locales and what type of linkages may be constructed between locales. It is through such linkage that not only are adjustments of space and time achieved, but space fulfilling the 'caring about' component of motherhood is constituted. The regionalization of mothering practices in the localized domestic workspace of home and neighbourhood is a significant factor in achieving control of the
environment in such a way that such space is available to women. It is through
gender specific actions taking place in what becomes gender specific space,
through its zoning in use, that the practice of social reproduction constantly
structures and recreates the conditions under which it takes place.

Indeed the social and physical isolation of women which is related to the
spatial separation of home and wage work activities in the geographical
literature informed by the notion of gender role constraint must be seen as a
complex phenomenon of which 'physical distance' is only a part. The activity
pattern literature especially has focused on the difficulties for women in
co-ordinating the fixed schedules of institutions such as the school, daycare
facility and wage workplace in conjunction with their particular distribution in
space. But in emphasizing spatial constraint, studies in this tradition have not
considered the ways in which the regionalization of mothering practices,
evidenced on the landscape as areas of single-family housing in this study, may
also create conditions under which the common interests and experiences of the
women's mothering occupation, centred around their desire to ensure their
child's physical and social well-being, may be translated into action to modify
the limiting conditions framing their work. The daily routines of the women
whose diaries have been presented are structured in a context of a sex
differentiated labour market, the spatial clustering of single-family dwellings
housing families with young children and a climate of ideas in national policy
which does not facilitate the provision of daycare centres. In such ways 'gender
ideology' which casts men as primary wage-earners and women as primary
domestic managers pervades everyday organization (Hunt, 1980). Yet these
routines are not static and as the women engage in child-centred activities
within the domestic workspace they encounter and create various resources
which modify the limiting conditions that frame their experiences within the
sexual division of labour. Of especial importance among the consequences of the women's mothering work are the social linkages of a 'supportive neighbourhood' which may be translated into the safe space for children that permits women to leave the localized domestic workspace, while retaining what they consider appropriate care for their children.

The maps show the types of locales which provide the means by which the 'constraints' of motherhood also become enabling of the women's ability to control their working conditions, at least in part. Thus the spatial separation of home and wage workplace activity identified as physically and socially 'isolating' women through their restricted access to wage labour in the literature guided by the notion of gender role constraint, also simultaneously carries the potential for modifying this isolation. Such isolation is thus better understood in terms of the lack of ability to gain access to resources which may be used by women to gain control over the conditions of their lives. The next chapter investigates more closely how the resources of the matrix of locales making up a supportive neighbourhood are involved in negotiating understandings of what mothering work might consist of, and where and by whom it may be carried out. Constituted and defined in terms of the mother-child relationship, such locales thus carry the potential for personal 'solutions' in coping with the demands and ambiguous experiences of mothering to be extended to a collective redefinition of appropriate space for domestic labour in terms of the criteria of safe space for children.
Chapter Seven Footnotes

1. Sociological literature supports this finding that women tend to retain primary responsibility for household management and childcare even when in full-time paid employment (Borman et al., 1984; Luxton, 1980, 1983; Meissner, 1975; Oakley, 1974, 1974b; Pleck, 1985).

2. See, for example, Strong-Boag (1982) on the influence of 'expert' opinion on defining mother's roles after World War One. She notes that childcare professionals were a forceful influence on childrearing practices in Canada in the 1920s, although not all mothers accepted their precise recommendations. In effect such external attempts to regulate the parent-child relationship represented a transfer of domestic authority outside the family and emphasized the critical effects of parent's actions on the physical and emotional development of pre-school children.
CHAPTER EIGHT: DEFINING SAFE SPACES AND NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES - "I couldn't do it without my friends"

1. Introduction

This chapter completes the examination of the process whereby safe spaces are constituted within the social and physical environment of locality and are defined by the women through the specificities of their relationship with their children. It has been shown in earlier chapters that a woman's identity as mother is a central component guiding this process. The distinction between the 'tending' and 'caring about' aspects of motherhood continues in this chapter to be used to develop an understanding of the further differentiation of the locality into 'safe spaces' for children. Intertwined with the women's interpretation of being a 'good mother', these safe spaces are constituted through the women's regular mothering practices taking place in a variety of locales. I now turn to an investigation of the content of these locales. The consequences of the women's action include the generation of understandings about particular space and appropriate modes of mothering. These understandings feed back into the stocks of knowledge which may be drawn upon in social interaction in the recurrent locales of mothering work.

Structuration theory does not specify the particularities of the form or content of locales, as settings for interaction, but it is evident from the data that potentially locales will vary widely in nature. Those of particular relevance to the everyday lives of the women of this study are of three main types, namely those associated with the activity of formal institutions, such as the church and school, those of a less formal nature, created by women in response to perceived needs, such as the baby-sitting co-operative or pre-school, and those generated in the course of mothering activity which do
not necessarily have a regular, fixed occurrence in time and space, such as occasional encounters at a park or social meetings with friends. My focus with regards to the locales of women’s mothering practices is on the production of knowledge and understandings, for what women know and how they come to know it in the course of daily life is intimately related to the use and structuring of space. Discourse within these locales is the medium through which stocks of knowledge, including information and evaluation of existing rules of ‘motherhood’ and community and personal resources, are incorporated into the negotiation of understandings of mothering work. Thus in the course of the women’s daily interaction, one aspect of the production of knowledge and understandings takes the form of negotiating the identity of a good mother.

This negotiation takes the form of responses to prevailing ideologies of the family and motherhood which are experienced and examined in the context of a variety of locales, bringing together ‘expert’ opinions, local norms, personal values and experiences. The accumulated knowledge and negotiated understandings are simultaneously translated into the use of the environment in managing both the mother-child relationship, and the child’s relationship to the social and physical attributes of the locality. In establishing space that fulfils the criteria of ‘tending’ and ‘caring about’, the women in effect are able to extend the bounds of both the social and the spatial domains of motherhood by extending the domestic workplace into neighbourhood space which, however, is carefully controlled. The ability on a woman’s part to create safe space is commonly fostered by the social linkages she forges through her children, these linkages forming the basic constituents of a ‘supportive neighbourhood.’

The home has been recognized as an important site for the construction of gender relations, the forms of which may vary as households respond to changes in the formal economy (McDowell, 1983; McDowell and Massey, 1984; Mackenzie
and Rose, 1983; Pahl and Wallace, 1985, Williams, 1986). Yet the ways in which households respond to social and economic change is also related to the way domestic labour, including childrearing, is managed outside the home. To ignore other spaces where women carry out childrearing is to omit the complexity of the domestic division of labour, as this is involved in the process of identity negotiation taking place in the interrelated spaces of home, community and wage workplace (Bowlby, 1986). Thus, although the internal organization of household labour is pertinent to the experiences and management of the domestic division of labour by women, in this chapter I am more concerned to show how the links generated between women through their mothering work outside the home represent active ways in which they seek to improve or change their working conditions. Out of home activities have, of course, been the chief focus of activity pattern studies which have examined how women with children are a particularly constrained user group of the environment (Miller, 1982; Hanson and Hanson, 1981; Lopata, 1980; Palm, 1981; Pickup, 1984; Tivers, 1977, 1985). But an absence of close investigation, within this 'gender role constraint' approach, of the linkages among women fails to elucidate the significance of women's relationships with each other to their own conceptions of their identities, to their interpretation of the 'actual' links of the mother-child as manifested in mothering practices and to conceptions of space.

As was shown in Chapter Six the division of labour within a household is based on a family strategy which attempts to combine paid employment, and biological and social reproduction within conditions which favour a primary dependency on a man's drawing in of a 'family wage'. However, the management of the women's work within temporally and spatially zoned domestic work spaces results in a number of social linkages and access to resources. These in turn feed back into the conditions of mothering in a recursive process that
provides support for changes in activities, either in the form of combining paid employment and mothering or in the diversification of the work of mothering itself. As women attempt to mediate their child's relationship to the physical and social environment, daily 'routines' do not remain static but may result in an increased range of activity which is the source of the formation of the locales of everyday life, as indicated in Chapter Seven. While the specific content of the childrearing aspect of domestic work changes for the women of the study as their children grow older, children remain a central focus of home-based activity; although the practical 'tending' tasks of childrearing may diminish, activity outside the confines of the home and school may increase. The locales of mothering work presented in this chapter reflect this expanding spatial range of the eventuation of child-centred activity.

2. Street Relationships

Chapter Six included a discussion of how Jacquie's street became a safe space for her children, providing a secure and controlled environment which also enabled her to be away from her children for periods of time. It was suggested that other women achieved this type of supportive neighbourhood to greater or lesser extents. In this section I examine the way in which three connected elements act as the mechanisms through which women's mothering work links with the perceived safeness of their street. These elements are knowledge, the negotiation of understandings and, reciprocity in the form of practical assistance and exchange of information.

The street or streets in the immediate vicinity of the home constitute an important place for the women, since this is often the extended playspace of their children. Park space, even when within close walking distance, does not act as a substitute for the street. If small children are taken to parks they are
in the company of their mother and this may require a drive. Parks are not regarded by any of the women as places safe for children to go to on their own. Even the older children, from about nine years old and on, are not allowed to go to parks without the company of friends and the prohibition that natural bush areas are "out of bounds". The open space and nature areas valued by several of the women in making their residential choice is thus not necessarily space which children can explore alone. As Pam remarks, the situation is often one of, "It's the street or nothing."

The women expressed some knowledge of all or most of the people on their blocks. Gaps in knowledge were usually associated with cases of a house being rented to a series of tenants or in situations where full-time employment on the part of the respondent or a neighbour substantially curtailed opportunities to meet through their children. In telling me about people on the street, the women also indicated the type of relationships they had developed with neighbours, their evaluation of these relationships and how these related to their own mediation of their child's relationship to the street and immediate vicinity.

Nicole articulates her knowledge of the street in terms of the "semi-business relationships" she has built up there. She told me of the turnover of families in the cul-de-sac where she lives, and made special reference to an elderly couple who thought a cul-de-sac would be quiet but found the children's activity on the street too noisy. About half a dozen of the "originals" remain. She knows her neighbours to the extent of participating in conversations when she is out in the yard or on the street with her younger children, describing the content of this interaction as "over the fence type stuff." The only exceptions are a woman who speaks little English and an East Indian family who, Nicole states, live in an extended family form and "keep pretty much to themselves."
She has exchanged visits with one neighbour several times, but most of her “socializing” occurs informally on the street. She feels that she has little in common with most of her neighbours, excepting the similarity in the ages of their children which focuses their current concerns. The “semi-business arrangements” she describes refer to practical assistance with her mothering tasks, including “trading back-and-forth with babysitting now and again for emergency situations”. There is, however, one neighbour with whom she has mutual interests and, although at the time of the research this woman intended to move, Nicole felt she would continue to see her. They each have a child in skating lessons and take turns in driving them to classes. In addition she has come to know a woman who lives on the street “where one of my sons almost lives!”

Later in the interview it emerged that the “over the fence” conversations with neighbours included sharing information and “talking around” situations in which their children are involved, such as their experiences at school. One particular outcome of this “talking around” was directly linked to Nicole’s extensive volunteer work, one part of which is involvement in a ‘special needs’ preschool. None of her own children have attended, but Nicole recounts, “I persuaded one of my neighbours to put her child in. I really thought he’d benefit and it’s worked out well”. Resources such as this, together with the range of recreational opportunities and health services that exist in the locality are discussed and evaluated in this informal form of interaction. In recalling how she chose a dentist, for instance, Nicole obtained considerable information from other women and, as she put it, “I discovered we were looking at the same rules for picking a dentist.”

Although Nicole was particularly articulate in describing the content of social interaction on her street, a similar sharing of information and
discovering of other neighbours’ rules was an important part of how the other
women interviewed manage street relationships as these affect their children.2
Ellen, for example, told me at some length of her concerns and how the street
“works out” for her:

“I’m quite close with a couple of neighbours, but there’s not a lot of
socializing really. There are about ten or twelve children. Unfortunately the neighbours next door moved two years ago; they had
a girl Michelle’s age and they were close friends. And the new
neighbours have got wild little kids so it’s harder to - we don’t want
to get too close. There’s kids in all four houses across the street and
the kids play out a lot on the street, they don’t have to go outside the
street. When the sunny weather comes they’re all out and up and down
the street on their bikes but a lot of the time it’s in the back or the
front yards. We’re lucky in that most of the kids ours play with, and
the ones that lived behind us, all have similar - the parents all have
similar values or ideas. We don’t let our kids go down to the park on
their own, for instance. It is close, but I don’t want them going on
their own. There are too many weirdos. So we’re lucky - it just takes
one to be different, and it would be a problem but we all feel the same
way - up until they’re nine or so. Even Michelle, she has to have
someone with her. She can now ride her bike around the block and can
visit friends, but that’s only in the last year, when she was ten. And
most of the other neighbours feel the same way. We’re quite
protective. It’s really nice. We had one girl across the street for a
while and she had totally different rules, she had no rules, and that did
create problems. Not major problems, but it did make a little bit
harder for us and for the other neighbours. The neighbour across the
street - her daughter is the same age as Amy and they get along
together really well - she’s always available, she’s always there. She
daycares the kids from across-the street, too and it’s so nice to have
that kind of neighbour. The neighbour who used to be next door, was
like that too; she was always there, I miss her.”

The importance of her neighbours to this woman is clear from her
narrative, yet in fact she does not use any ‘babysitting’ on a routine basis and
she and her children are frequently away from home engaged in various
activities. But the "trading back and forth" that permits her youngest child to play elsewhere when she is at home and the knowledge that care will be provided for her children in the case of unspecified contingencies are important components of the conditions of her mothering work.

"Knowing people" on a street means that some information and ideas have been exchanged that enables the women to make some judgement about the safeness of the street as an extended playspace of their home. This may occur, as the above two women indicate, in a very casual, unstructured way although the recurrent, if not necessarily frequent, nature of interaction with neighbours over time may result in the accumulation of considerable knowledge that is pertinent to the women's particular concerns over their children at various times.

Other women, such as Mary, have created similar conditions through the social linkages she has made with women on adjacent streets, rather than on her own, although the specific location of these women's houses on the streets allow the women between them to "keep an eye on things" in a small area where there are no through roads. The contacts between the women were not forged through casual encounters on the street but in the course of their children's attendance at the same local preschool where the opportunity for continued interaction was made possible through the commitments of 'duty days' and monthly meetings of its co-operative organization. Car-pooling with each other to such meetings provided additional occasions for sharing views and information which for the women above occurred on the street. Their children are now in elementary school, but the links made earlier continue to be manifested in the form of reciprocal carpooling to the school and occasional "babysitting." These occasions maintain the possibilities for conversation and discussion. Mary finds she has similar ideas to these neighbours:
"Like we're going through a stage where the boys are fighting a bit now, actually they're getting too aggressive. So we got together on that and they get separated and go home or whatever and we have chats about 'being best friends' etcetera. They play in the backyards and on the street a little bit; they ride their bikes on the street. There's not much traffic and any is local. We used to have a boundary - I thought it would give the cars an opportunity to see them - but now they're a little bit better and they can ride to each other's houses."

Her daughter, aged three, is considered too young to go out alone as her brother does, but Mary has already initiated reciprocal visits with another neighbour's child which she views as opening up future play opportunity for her daughter beyond the immediate street:

"My son has lots of playmates around and Suzanne will have two little ones just down there in the cul-de-sac who'll be going to school with her and who I've had round a couple of times and we've been round there. Back and forth - we have to make arrangements and all that, but in a couple of years she'll have children she can ride her bike down to."

Reciprocity is an important part of fostering these conditions for their children and themselves. It may include regular arrangements such as the car-pool to school, preschool or common classes but the term "trading back and forth" refers to less regularized exchanges of playtime for children, which may include a snack or lunch. This form of reciprocity does not necessarily entail 'in kind' return of favours but is part of a more generalized notion of "helping people out", which may include a range of practical assistance covering contingencies. This assistance takes different forms such as driving a child to school for someone in an emergency, even if it is not the school the mother in question would be going to, taking a child into one's home after school when his or her mother has been delayed and is not at home, or women on the street preparing meals or shopping for a neighbour in crisis. A distinction between
this type of exchange and "babysitting" was made by several of the women. While the latter involves arrangements for specific purposes that a woman might have, such as a doctor's appointment, Donna describes "trading off" in different terms:

"It's not really babysitting, but I'll have maybe two kids for lunch one day, and then one will come over to play another day. They come on an invitation basis. We (the mothers) aren't always going anywhere or doing anything particular. And more in the summer too - A neighbour will take a couple of the kids down to the park for a bit."

The experiences noted above are by no means uncommon and similar instances of practical exchange and talking about children are cited by most of the women. As Helen commented, "That's what we (the neighbours) have in common, the children. It's a big focus. I'd say I talk about kids about seventy per cent of the time or more, because that's where I'm at right now". Such talk may deal with newly emerging issues with children, such as renegotiating the bounds of their movement. Age is an important factor in deciding where children are allowed to go and Louise recounted the time when her daughter and her neighbour's daughter went to the local park, about two kilometers away, on their bicycles for the first time at the age of ten.

"Both the girls had asked permission to go and Marlene and I got together at the front here and sorted out how long they could go for, what time they had to come back, made sure they had a watch. We were quite concerned, but you have to start letting go!"

Yet in presenting the somewhat harmonious picture through the use of the examples above I do not intend to imply that every woman has complete agreement with her neighbours. Rather shared general understandings over where children are allowed to go, and ways of dealing with behaviour that
causes problems among children playing together, do commonly exist to the extent that the women do not feel they have to worry about what is happening to their children when "out on the street". For example Kathy states she has different values from several of her neighbours but that these do not cause a problem. Furthermore, these have not been drawn out explicitly in social interaction to make evaluative distinctions between ways of mothering:

"Well everyone differs. Everyone has a different idea, but generally people get their kids dressed and put them out. And I would say, pretty well, we like to let the kids solve their own problems. There's no mom in there, you know - 'yours is awful, mine's great' - there's none of that."

Although some differences in rules can be incorporated with little difficulty into women's control over the range and nature of children's movement, divergence in values and rules may result in a woman's inability to negotiate understandings and build up the reciprocity that other women have found create a supportive neighbourhood. One of the women finds herself in such a situation, and several times during the interview came back to the topic of the differences between herself and her neighbours. This illustrates how understandings of motherhood become linked to environmental use, not only in terms of women's actions in the bounding of physical areas but in relation to the meanings different aspects of the environment had in relation to appropriate mothering. The road on which Sharon lives has sufficient traffic that it does not form a part of an extended workspace for the mother as does "the street" encountered by women in quiet residential areas. It does not provide usable space for her children, aged five and seven, and their play is confined to the home and the backyard. Furthermore, Sharon's children, unlike those of her neighbours, attend a French Immersion program which is not located in the local
school. In consequence the "neighbourhood children" do not enter their daily experiences except through encounters at home. A few blocks from Sharon's house are high school playing fields, a small recreation centre and a commercial centre with a range of services and consumer outlets which are very convenient for shopping needs and organized recreational activity. These, however, have also become sources of problems for Sharon since they have become part of the children's playspace for some of the children living nearby. Her response to a query concerning the presence of other children for hers to play with was as follows:

"There are, but, this neighbourhood - I've never really encouraged my kids to really play with the other children that live behind us that are their age for the simple reason that those kids were given two-wheelers at age three and I would see them down at the '7-11'; they had their bikes run over at the other corner store and I just felt that, no way, I don't want my children out in the neighbourhood like that at their age."

Sharon has found that her differing values have caused difficulties for herself and her children in the backyard and house. Her control of these private spaces has also been threatened by the lack of shared rules and understandings about their use among her neighbours:

"And those same kids are locked out of the house and they eat their lunch on the porch and they'd come into the yard. I'd never say to my son, no you can't play with them, because if I did I thought he'd try to sneak out of the yard to play with them. So he'd let them in the yard and pretty soon I'd have twelve to fifteen kids in the yard, which O.K. is fine. So they'd come in the yard, take all the toys out and then climb the fence and go in the next neighbour's yard. I knew we'd never see them again and there were all the toys for my kids to bring in. I've had a couple in the house - all the kids want to come to my house - but some of them, because they're on the street so much, their parents
work all the time, my son can't cope with them. He asked me to help him get rid of them; they'd locked him out of the basement and pushed his bike over and were doing things he'd get in trouble for. It's too bad because my husband and I really like kids."

Sharon's children do play occasionally with one neighbour's child, but again she finds considerable problems with having this child in the house because of the girl's distressed behaviour, including crying and not wanting to be at home. Sharon attributes this to neglect by her parents and "family problems", and it is clear as she recounts several incidents about neighbour children that the apparent lack of concern for their welfare on the part of their parents causes her distress also. Leaving children alone for long periods of time and lack of interest in their activities predominate in her evaluation of the parent's care as negligent, and she finds one of the most difficult things about bringing up her own children is "all the influences from the other children whose parents aren't at home". What is significant about these statements is that through Sharon's anxiety about her neighbours' way of living she is defining what she considers to be a 'good mother' and furthermore examining her own relationship to the home and wage workplace. Although several of her neighbours provide day care, she does not feel she would go out to work and leave her children with a babysitter. She thinks she would miss doing things with her children and would not be able to "handle it" if they were unhappy. "I said to my husband, if I ever go to work again it will be book-keeping in the basement, where I'm here."

Where women perceive a particular problem, they will try to avoid this by attempting to work out the situation with their children, such as Lyn who referred to two children she did not approve as playmates for her own children as, "they're nasty and aggressive, there's a discipline problem there and
sometimes Natasha will come home crying. I don't like that". Diane recounts the story of a family renting a house on her block for a short period where "the children were really rough, punching other kids and sometimes stealing toys. Terrible language too. The boy even painted on our garage door!" In this case she and the other women she knows on the street soon exchanged this information, through 'casual' chatting on the street or while phoning about car-pooling or similar arrangements, with the result that new rules were made not allowing this child into their houses or yards and limiting their own children's access to the rented house and its property.

Alison believes herself to be stricter than her neighbours with respect to her children's relationship to outdoor space. For instance, her children, aged five and seven, are not allowed to stay on the street playing once it is dusk or go to the corner store alone, whereas other children of a similar age are. Although she personally does not like their "wandering off," these differences in informal rules have not resulted in any problems. In fact, for Alison, as with the other women interviewed, cognizance of neighbour's rules and values becomes a part of the women's considerations in how they manage their own and their children's activity.

Who women know, who they talk to and what information they obtain all can be seen as component parts of the stocks of knowledge of such street locales. In the course of social interaction around their children's activity commonalities in the women's concerns are discovered and values examined. If these are compatible there is considerable potential for extending the workspace of mothering beyond the immediate home, as has been indicated above. Although some neighbours may become close friends, and share recreational activities outside of the home-based day, what is more common is a relationship based on the common recognition of the demands of mothering
work in a specific location. These are social linkages built around the extension of mothering workspace outside the home and onto the street, which then become constituted as a locale where relatively enduring relationships provide recurrent opportunities for the negotiation of understandings and conditions for reciprocity.⁴

Monica, who lives where there are few children nearby, finds there are no playmates on the immediate street for her children, and she has found it difficult to meet other women with children. Thus, the street does not operate as a locale in the same manner as these described above. For her it has been more difficult to build up the knowledge, the opportunities for the negotiation of understandings and the reciprocity that other women enjoy within the bounds of their respective streets. It is through long walks and her visits to the local park with her first child that she met someone living a few streets away with a child the same age as her own and with whom she now reciprocates in a similar way as do the other women, "I'll take her kids for a couple of hours or we'll visit together while the children play." Although knowledge of her street is important to her and she finds, "It's the kind of neighbourhood I like to live in, where you know what's going on", the "mothering talk" through which information is passed, evaluation made and understandings of meanings reached is not based so much on the current experiences of people in her immediate neighbourhood but tends to take place in locales she has developed elsewhere. Indeed, it is from the totality of locales developed and encountered beyond the confines of the street, which provide knowledge, a repertoire of ideas about mothering work and the conditions for reciprocity, that conditions are laid down for extending domestic workspace of the women. In the next section the discussion turns to how 'street conditions' can in fact be a link to a variety of other locales of mothering work, which themselves provide similar conditions
to those of the street, although spatially separate from the home.

3. Extending the 'Neighbourhood'

In extending 'neighbourhood space' the women are engaged in gaining access to resources which will create supportive 'neighbourhoods.' What happens when women are engaged in activity away from the street may in part be linked with street conditions, in that street relationships are sources of knowledge. In addition to gaining knowledge about the values and rules of neighbours, the women also find out about what these neighbours do when away from home. Paid employment is one form of activity in which women may participate and this will be examined in a later section. Family provisioning, recreation and contingency related action is another. But what forms an important component of many women's days are child-centred activities. These refer to both the activities of children and the volunteer work that women do, which is frequently associated with the practice or furthering of particular notions of parenting or family life, through educational institutions, the church and family service organizations. In the course of following these various activities, the women are opening up the possibility for the multiplication of locales for the interlinking of knowledge, negotiation of understandings and reciprocity which may then enter women's stocks of knowledge and further inform their mothering practices. Unlike the discreteness of the street, the spatial dispersal of such locales does not exactly replicate the conditions of a 'safe street', but is important in extending the range of neighbourhood control. In particular, the dispersed locales open up a range of possible activities to be employed in practising motherhood in the course of which women may hear and discuss how other mothers do things and cope with the demands of childrearing.

For women with children, the school acts as a dominant locale for the
temporal and spatial organization of its activity must be taken into account by the women as they organize their daily activity. But a variety of less routinized locales emerge in the course of daily routines which also are implicated in the structuring of daily activity. This grouping of locales is commonly zoned according to gender and constitutes the space where women meet or leave their children with other women. It is chiefly in the part of the day when husbands are absent from home that, within the totality of locales that women encounter during their daily activity, the locales comprising a 'supportive neighbourhood' are created, maintained and utilized.\(^5\)

Information from the interviews and completed diaries indicates the many locales emerging from the women 'dipping into' the extensive facilities distributed through the three municipalities. These include formal institutions, such as that of the school and church, recreational and educational programs provided by the municipalities and a wide variety of consumer and service outlets, all of which are based on the understanding of these municipalities as 'family places.' Secondly, there are a number of activities generated by women within the community that have emerged from the perceived needs of women living there and have taken on an enduring form. Among these are a number of recreational and educational programs such as preschools, music, dance and other arts lessons provided by individuals and parenting classes, and support facilities such as babysitting co-ops, daycare facilities, both licenced and unlicenced, and a Woman's Centre. Thirdly, there are the locales generated from mothering activity which, as settings for interaction, exist on a flexible, *ad hoc* basis and do not necessarily have an enduring physical setting. For example they may be the car-pool, the telephone call and various social meetings between friends and neighbours which do not necessarily have a routinized nature or place of occurrence. In essence they constitute informal linkages by which the
women may sustain their ability to gain knowledge and access to the range of their own and their children's activities.

The Coquitlam area offers many opportunities for young children, including programs offered by the municipal Recreation Departments, minor sports organizations, volunteer and church organizations, libraries and a range of private lessons in specialist activities. Such programs span the seasons and in some cases school holiday breaks. In addition the School District provides French Immersion and Montessori programs through the public school system, although these exist only in a minority of the schools. Both fees and the time required for the different activities vary widely. This time commitment is not readily incorporated on a time-space map. Most apparent is the driving that is involved, but there may also be considerable 'unseen' activity involved in supporting children in their recreational activities such as costume making for dance recitals, supervision of piano practices, help with sports activities and assisting children obtain badges in Brownies or Cubs. Time may also be spent waiting at a particular lesson especially if this is some distance from the home. Shopping for appropriate clothing and occasional fund-raising may be among additional tasks associated with children's participation in out-of-school activities. All of these activities are discretionary in the sense that they are a matter of choice. But they are also part of the pattern of childrearing which is common among people living in the residential areas where the women interviewed have their homes.

With one exception, the women currently had at least one child in one activity other than school and fourteen had undertaken the commitment to transport their children to a total of three or more programs a week out of school time. Cost of classes and the increasing logistical problems encountered as two or three children became involved were usually cited as the main reasons
for limiting the number to one or two programs per child, although two women had each of their children in three activities. Seventeen currently had children in a preschool, either private or co-operative, and twelve had at least one of their children in either French Immersion or Montessori. (See Table 5 for a list of activities that the women's children were participating in at the time of the interview). To improve their children's school performance two families employed tutors, while several women specifically mentioned helping children who were experiencing difficulty with schoolwork or developmental skills. Furthermore 'family time', which the women use as a term to describe participation in activity by all family members, usually at weekends or evenings, may add to more organized activity. This may occur on a regular or occasional basis and commonly includes swimming, skating, bicycle rides, walks and games at home. It is clear that considerable time, money and energy can be put into 'parenting'. Husbands may take some part in driving children to their school or activities, particularly if the timing and routing coincides with their own work schedules or takes place in the evening. More often, however, the women do the driving and may organize a car pool if other children on the street or living close by go to the same school or activity. The important exception is the case of organized sports in which several husbands took a keen interest, in four cases to the extent that they coached a son or daughter's sports team.

Apart from this exception, decisions about recreational activities were made by the women in these families and many of the decisions were based on knowledge gained from their day-to-day contacts. The most common reasons cited were the value which specific activities have for children's social and physical development and the mother's wish for her child to take advantage of opportunities and to try different things they would like to do. This may take
**TABLE 5**

**List of Children's Organized Out-of-school Activities**
*(number of children in brackets at time of interview)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Art lessons</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beavers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brownies</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry class</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catechism</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church youth choir</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church youth group</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cubs</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guides</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>(3)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hockey</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judo</td>
<td>(2)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library story time</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music lessons</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peanut time - mixed recreational program</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ringette</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skating</td>
<td>(2)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday School</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Classes provided by municipal Recreation Departments
mother and child outside the local municipality in search of what they consider better quality programs and facilities which may be as far afield as Maple Ridge, New Westminster or Burnaby, and involve up to thirty minutes of driving time. When asked, the women did not always immediately recall how they had found out about different classes, but on thinking further often mentioned a friend as the source of information. As Agnes commented:

"You just hear about classes that are good. I'm thinking of putting Tara in art lessons a friend told me about. It's up in Port Moody but if we can get a car pool going it won't be too bad."

Sometimes activities are taken up "on chance", particularly when they are offered by an established organization. These might include activities provided through municipal recreation programs, the Scouting and Guiding movement or minor sports associations, and are frequently engaged in response to the request of a child who has friends at school or on the street already participating. Such 'local' examples may further influence women's decisions. Louise, for instance, who had moved several years before into a new subdivision where there were several children about the same age as her own preschoolers said:

"I thought there would be lots of children for mine to play with, but there never seemed to be anyone here! They were always out doing something. My eldest daughter soon wanted to be going to gymnastics and whatever too. She's always wanted to try everything!"

Whatever the source of the individual's choice one important aspect of these activities is that the women are constantly making new contacts. Many of these are transitory, changing as children's activities change, but over a period of time the women had accumulated a wide range of 'acquaintances', known by sight, to "say hello to", or where recurrent contact may occur through children.
having in common more than one activity, for example the same school class, cubs and soccer. Such social links carry a potential, if not always used, for further information and reciprocity of practical assistance. Where values are perceived to be homogeneous, social contacts form an important means by which local norms are crystallized and are transmitted. How this operates in the context of street relationships has been shown above, but the expansion of activity off the street has the potential of furthering knowledge of the diversity of ways in which 'motherhood' may be practised. Thus, a range of child-centred locales are implicated in the definitions of women's work and also may be the means by which women's 'routinized' activity becomes changed. Central to much of women's conversation in these locales is the working out and negotiation, in moral terms, of what motherhood should be; it centres around the prescribing and evaluating of what mothers do through a process of constant comparison and passing on of information. I now turn to some examples of how conversation among women becomes part of a repertoire of resources, both in the sense of practical assistance and in shared understandings of being a 'good mother'.

4. Locales and Negotiating 'Motherhood'

From the variety of locales that the women encounter in their daily routines, two main types may be identified which provide contexts for negotiating understandings about motherhood and its associated activities, and which further lead to definitions of safe spaces, appropriate for the tending and caring of children. The first I term an 'unfocused' locale which 'emerges' during the course of the day's activities. It includes chance meetings while shopping, waiting outside the school for children to come out, similarly waiting for a recreational class to finish - which may include the duration of the class,
watching a weekend sports activity, or attending a school concert or similar function. It may also include situations which are more actively created by women, such as the holding of a baby shower for a neighbour, a coffee or lunch invitation or a walk with the children to the park. The second I term a 'focused' locale, referring to situations where women meet for the specific purpose of investigating or furthering their concerns and notions about family life or their situation as mothers, such as co-operative preschools, seminars or classes and volunteer work organized around educational or family concerns.

a) 'Unfocused' locales

To demonstrate the nature of discourse within an unfocused locale, I use a report of a phone call from one of the interviews. Although this does not involve interaction between persons who are physically co-present, the phone call was dependent on a relationship developed in a particular spatial context, in this case the street. Although this actual phone call occurred between neighbours, people who are less spatially proximate but who know each other from contact made in a locale with a specific spatial counterpart may, of course, similarly be linked in this way. The neighbours have lived on the same street for seven years and their eldest children are the same age. The children go to different schools and no longer have any activities in common, but over the years have played occasionally together on the street, exchanged visits in the house and backyard and met on occasions such as birthday parties. Contact between the two neighbours was fairly frequent before the children were in elementary school, but for the last few years it has been infrequent although they will chat to one another "once in a while" if they are both out in the yard on a sunny day. About a year ago they both participated in a parenting class and Diane, the woman recounting the phone call, feels their ideas on childrearing are
compatible although "we don't agree on everything". They differ considerably in their daytime activity, however, for while Diane does not "go out to work", her neighbour teaches on a part-time basis and is also enrolled in a university course. They sometimes borrow baking items and her daughter has occasionally gone to the neighbour's house after school, not by prior arrangement, if Diane has been away from the house when her daughter has returned. Such phone calls do not occur regularly and this one was termed by Diane as a "catching up phone call". It illustrates the range of topics that may be addressed in many unfocused locales and it is useful in that it points out how social linkages, although they may have altered in specific function, remain important to women in defining their relationship to the home, neighbourhood and workplace within an overriding concern of practising appropriate 'motherhood.'

The first topic of the phone call was the sighting of a bear on a neighbouring street the previous morning, to which the families on this street had been alerted through the police-sponsored 'neighbourhood watch' program. Had there been any more news? Had it been caught? Diane recounted how she had decided to drive her eldest daughter to school as her bike route goes along a stretch of road which the bear might cross if it were to go back towards the mountain. She felt her son could walk as usual (the children go to different schools) as his route seemed safer. However she did inform the school of the incident, for the school backs onto the bush where the bear was sighted. Dianne commented that she felt she should warn the school for although most children do not use the path going through the bush to the school, as it is not considered safe, "some people let them." They talked a little about how her daughter was progressing at school, one she had been recently moved to in order to attend a special learning assistance program. The telephone conversation had included a recounting by Diane of the problems she and her husband had encountered in
enrolling her daughter in the program as it was not located in the local school. She had phoned the School Board several times and eventually had written a letter to 'Victoria', which her husband had helped her compose. The change in school has resulted in a journey of twenty minutes by bicycle for her daughter. Although Diane does feel secure about all of the route her daughter takes, she permits her to go alone as she believes it is important for her child to be independent. She will, however, drive her daughter to the school if the weather is foggy or there is heavy rain.

The next part of the phone call referred to what Diane stated was the 'real reason' for calling, which was to gain information about doctors. She wanted to change doctors because she had not been satisfied with the treatment and tests her present doctor was recommending for her daughter. Furthermore she felt the doctor to be rigid in his views and inconsiderate of her own concerns about the treatment. This was one of several discussions with people she knew, and after talking about various qualities of the neighbour's doctor, Diane felt fairly assured she would make this choice. Her neighbour's recommendation was the fourth she had received for the same doctor. The conversation then turned to some work she had been doing to the outside of her house. She commented on how her nextdoor neighbour had uncharacteristically lent her a ladder; "we chuckled about that a bit, because they haven't been very friendly and they often don't speak to us unless they have a complaint!" The phone call ended with Diane commenting to her neighbour that she rarely saw any of her neighbours "these days" and saying, "You're all out doing things and I'm doing nothing. I'm the only one left. I need to catch up on things now and again!"

This phone call has several examples of the passage of information, including that concerning the bear, the doctor and the means by which a change of school was achieved. This information was, however, also suffused with
views and evaluations of what mothers do, including controlling the educational environment, dealing with safety concerns and deciding what is appropriate for children to do in relationship to travel on known and lesser known routes. Street information was also exchanged, reaffirming opinions about one family with grown children that is not integrated into the social links of the street. Furthermore, comparisons, but not evaluations, were made about what other women were doing, delineating the different relationships the women have with the street and the labour force and the decreasing opportunities to keep up the links which have made it a safe and supportive environment to be in. This one phone call encapsulates much of what women’s conversations are concerned with in ‘unfocused locales’, where women know each other through their children but are not necessarily close friends. Concrete instances of personal experience are used in sharing and negotiating understandings of women’s work.

b) ‘Focused’ locales

Focused locales provide more structured settings for interaction between women originating, for example, from the extension of mothering work into the activities organized around volunteer work and the activity of institutional modes of transmitting ‘expert’ information on family relations and parenting. Church classes and study groups are framed around particular denominational discourse, which in itself mediates the interpretation of family life and values, while other volunteer groups provide occasions for the transmission of professional discourse on parenting and childhood development in terms of models derived from theories current in psychology and education. Indeed, there are many opportunities for volunteer involvement in a variety of educational settings which focus on the common interests of women, including motherhood.

Within an educational framework a particularly apt example is the
co-operative preschool which requires the active participation of parents, usually the mother, during preschool time and also at monthly meetings held in the evening. The latter includes a 'parent education' session, which often occasions the bringing in of outside experts to address a variety of concerns faced by parents, with regards to their children's educational and social development, including their integration into the public school system and society 'at large'. A question period is usually included and further informal discussion may occur over a coffee break or during the drive home.

Addressing the particular problems encountered by parents raising children in contemporary times is the basis for the parenting class, usually offered by lay volunteers, organized as a family education group. Based on texts by professional psychologists, such courses are held during the day or evening and take the form of presentations by the leader, interspersed with discussion and written or verbal exercises whereby participants respond to example situations. Comparisons are made between actual experiences and the tenets of the text. New leaders and co-leaders may be recruited from interested participating parents. Although fathers may take part in such courses and occasionally be active in co-operative preschool, the vast majority of audiences and participants in such settings are women.

Again, information is communicated and conversation occurs, beyond the core of formal presentation, in a similar way as in unfocused locales. The difference is that as information is transmitted its evaluation is more directly related to an 'expert' discourse. This latter is thus mediated through women's sharing of their own experiences and values. Professional discourse about childrearing and family relations is of course available and promulgated in many forms including the television, radio and print media, but the personal evaluation put upon this in the private or informal situation is further held up
for negotiation and reaffirmation or redefinition in more focused locales.

For Tricia, her active involvement in the church and attendance at a number of parenting classes, first as a participant and then co-leader, has supported her primary identity as 'mother' and provided her with a language with which to describe what she does in her present circumstances:

"We’re not a family that’s always moving house. It’s not a large house but material goods are not a priority. The church has influenced me a lot on my views on that – and there’s nothing I feel I want that badly that I’d go out to work to get it. I’ve been to quite a few seminars at the church and for learning to be a leader for parenting classes, and I feel that the children and family time – and personal growth – they’re the things that are important. I used to be rushed all the time; I was always volunteering at the church and the kids were in a lot of activities, but I’ve slowed down a lot this time. I think you need time to regroup. My brother asked me once, "What do you do all the time", and I told him my job is "raising responsible children" [this is the title of one of the classes]. I’m doing myself out of a job! I really think being a mother is a very important job. I have no problem with that. I think mothers are the main teachers of roles; men are more involved with their children than they used to be, but we have to teach this to our children. But I would like something to stretch my mind a bit more though, and eventually I’d like to do some more training, something in the medical area."

In addition to the church seminar and parenting class, the local Women’s Centre provides a further example of a focused locale which, in this case, is precisely defined around the issue of women’s identity. Explicitly concerned with women’s equality, this volunteer-run group has, for instance, offered seminar series through a municipal Recreation Department which addressed a wide range of issues and women’s specific relations to these. As we saw in Barbara’s case in Chapter Six, her participation in the sessions led to a review of her employment situation, sources of babysitting and new friendships. Furthermore
she was provided with moral support for her desire to include career activities in the totality of her work activity. In such ways social links that potentially emerge from such interaction may be not only important sources of employment information and sociability, but also occasions for working out and negotiating what it is to be a good mother. Alison's decision to return to paid employment was also validated in this way. At home "full-time" with her children at the time of the seminar series, she was especially attracted to one of these sessions which addressed the topic of "returning to the workforce."

"A friend got me interested in the series. I wasn't actually seriously considering going back to work at the time. It was after the first session. So the sessions gave me a little extra push, I think. But, it wasn't planned to coincide with job hunting. It was a community educational session that I was really interested in - it was all women's issues and I was really interested in finding out what other mothers in the area were doing. Because - I went out to work when my daughter was ten months old because I had postpartum depression. After working for so many years, I found it really, really hard. The lack of - plus moving to a new town - the lack of people contact during the day was the big thing. Even though I met lots of other mothers and we'd go for coffee mornings and everything. But it wasn't enough. I don't know what it was, there was a void in my life."

There are a multitude of locales where discourse concerning women's social identities and the type of labour this is associated with occurs. Furthermore this is a moral discourse in that it prescribes and evaluates what mothers do. Yet, while a focused locale may offer 'expert' information, a forum for discussion and support for individual decisions, prescriptions about appropriate mothering are not automatically accepted or internalized. Any given decision will reflect a woman's access to resources of both unfocused and focused locales, while additional personal factors and the practicality of following certain choices also circumscribe the course taken in executing
mothering tasks. The sum of the unfocused and focused locales of each woman's mothering work form a neighbourhood that provides a variety of resources that she may draw upon as she attempts to ensure the well being of her child or children.

5. Locales as 'Neighbourhood'

This section uses the example of concern with a child's formal education to demonstrate how locales are integrated in informing decisions. The consequences of actions related to such decisions about a child's educational or recreational activities become avenues of further resources that may provide the women with emotional support and practical assistance. Decisions about formal education, particularly when this involves taking a child out of the 'neighbourhood', are shared with husbands, but the information and the evaluation of this information that the women have gleaned outside the home in a variety of locales are central components of the decision making process. Most feel they have had control and choice over their children's schooling although in one case a husband was "very against" the French Immersion program. Cara and Diane have exercised this control by moving their children to a different school after discovering an initial choice of school or program did not appear to be fulfilling their children's needs. Two of the women have children attending different schools from each other. Nicole for example has her five elementary school-age children going to two different schools, three of them attending the Montessori program. All walk to school. In fact, a major reason why she and her husband built their house in its particular location was to make this possible. One child previously had attended French Immersion but when the program was moved to another school beyond walking distance he had to drop out, "The others were quite little then and I couldn't fit them all in the
Agnes increased her driving commitment and logistical problems in choosing to send her son to a Montessori program, but with carpooling and her husband driving when his schedule permitted, these problems have been kept manageable. Although distance between the home and schools or activities preclude the possibility of walking in some cases, a further concern is safety. Children may be considered too young to travel alone by bus or women may be wary of particular walking routes. Agnes cites specific reasons for this concern. Her daughter, the previous year, had three “walking partners” but one left the school and the others tend to forget to wait for her:

“I really wish she did have someone to walk with, she’s really missing the exercise. It’s not a bad distance to walk but you don’t let children walk alone. You just don’t. There have been too many scares around here. It’s too bushy, too many trees. It’s too easy for someone to hide. And when you have two children walking together - there were two Grade Five girls attacked last year, walking together. So we don’t take the risk any more, round here.”

Locales may also be important in forming norms which are one constituent around which decisions may be made. For example, Monica’s decisions about preschool and elementary school were informed by discussion with people whom she both knew and whose opinions she trusted. She finds that her previous friends from work have tended to drift away, and now her friendships are focused around their common situation as mothers. She is an active member of a branch of a women’s club, participating in the ‘Mother’s Group’. They meet regularly and hire a babysitter to look after the children while they get together for discussions and “intellectual stimulation”. She appears to get a lot from this group, meeting and conversing with people with values and attitudes similar to her own. For instance they talk of the relative
merits of putting children into preschool, sharing the belief that its major value lies in its socializing experience rather than intellectual stimulation. Monica has chosen not to send her children to preschool, commenting that they are both bright and developing well and that Recreation Centre programs provide opportunities for her children to play with others.

Her decision about elementary school has caused her some conflict. Again, her group discusses the different school offerings and she has combined ideas from these occasions with information gained from neighbours. She talks about this in terms of the tension between 'local' factors and advancing her children's social and educational opportunities:

"We've thought about French Immersion. We've just gone through that whole process. And just subjectively I decided against it. It's not in the local school - I think it's important to go to the school close by. I really do. I don't like the idea of having to truck her up there in the car everyday to take her to school. It's too far to walk, it's not far enough to take the bus - she's not old enough in Kindergarten. By the time she's old enough she'll be in Grade Six or Seven, really. It's a shame ...... It's hard with all these ideas bouncing around. It's meant to be étalitist; well, she'll just not be étalite. There's always Late Immersion. We have neighbours here - he's in the Education Department at Simon Fraser - whose son is in the Late Immersion and really likes it. So you know ...............? I've also got a friend who's principal at, his wife actually is the friend, one of the elementary schools in District 43 and he thinks that the education in the French Immersion system is not necessarily as good as that in the English - any teacher who can speak French is being hired and he questions.... His children are not going to French Immersion for that same reason. But it's so difficult. I sort of wish the School Board or whoever makes the decisions would rather - if they can't offer it in every school in every area, then I think they should be thinking of setting up enrichment programs .... It makes it difficult."

Others have had less difficulty making the decision; for example, Louise
lives on a street where five of the families send their children to a French Immersion program not at their local school, share considerable carpooling, and have compared notes about the program in the first few years. She and her husband considered the choice for some time, however, discussing it in terms of information gained from a talk given by a School District representative, a special meeting held by a volunteer organization, Canadian Parents for French and talk with other preschool "moms" and a friend in another school district who already had children in a French Immersion program. She had several different unfocused and focused locales where such concerns could be discussed, as her children are in various activities in which she also takes an active part.

Involvement in their children's activities permits women to further exercise some control over environments their children are in, not from unknown danger elements as noted above, but in knowing what they are doing, with whom they are spending their time and what they are learning. This involvement may be quite informal, as in watching children's lessons or sports activities, volunteer driving for school outings or help in the classroom or attending special events, such as dance recitals or Brownie or Cub enrollments. But, just as importantly, this participation provides numerous occasions for women to talk about their common interests as mothers, pass on information and make friends. Following their children's activities, volunteer work and women-centred recreational activity results in the potential for the women to develop a neighbourhood consisting of multiple locales providing moral and practical support and the flexibility women need in their various strategies of combining different types of labour. Participation in such a neighbourhood expands the repertoire of ideas, knowledge and social contacts by which the women may increase their options for action and possible self-identity, which become manifested in changes in their daily routines. Indeed, learning about the
neighbourhood, exercising control over it and knowing how to gain access to a variety of resources useful in childrearing becomes crucial when women seek to reconcile mothering and paid employment.

This is not to say that these are the only conditions involved in women's decisions to go out to work, for, as shown in Chapter Six, such decisions are part of a family strategy. But they do underpin the process of interlinking the matrix of locales making up the 'neighbourhood', the home and the wage workplace, a process that mediates women's relationship to paid employment. The features of a supportive neighbourhood may well provide the conditions of practical and moral support that make it possible for women to cope with the potentially conflicting demands of paid employment and what they regard as good mothering, and form the context in which values reaffirm or censure what they are doing. In light of this, what happens when women take paid employment? Having exercised control, as full-time mothers, over their children's relationship to the physical and social environment, and having cast this control in terms of a moral discourse of motherhood women may still go out into the workforce with some uncertainty about how they will maintain their mothering practices. Even if they are able to satisfy their requirements for the practical everyday 'tending' aspects of childcare, are they then also able to transfer the 'caring about' dimension of childrearing to other places and other persons? In the next section the ways in which women attempt to replicate the conditions of home will be shown, and how the created 'neighbourhood' may be part of this replication.

6. When Women Leave Their Home and Street

The following discussion provides an account of the women's experiences as they attempt to provide safe space, in the particular form of daycare, for
their children during periods of absence from the home on the mothers' parts. The primary concern of the women is to provide safekeeping for their children, but how this is interpreted relates to a woman's own values and her perceptions of how her choice of daycare measures up with regards to the development of her child or children in her absence. The lack of provision of public daycare on a large scale in Canada enters into such choices, in that it reaffirms the domestic division of labour and the values of 'expert' discourse which advocates that children should be looked after by the mother at home (Cooke, 1986; Dally, 1982; David, 1984; Fodor, 1978; Jaggar, 1983).

However, while volunteer work and part-time paid employment can often be accommodated by the women interviewed within existing neighbourhood resources, such as using the babysitting co-operative, kin or husband or extending arrangements with already existing reciprocity with a friend -- or indeed a combination of all these -- full-time paid employment needs regular care arrangements. In making these arrangements, all of the women in some way had used neighbourhood resources in an attempt to gain the control and flexibility they needed for their particular family strategy. In using these neighbourhood-based resources women are relying on previous knowledge and trusted channels of information. Anna, when she had worked full-time the previous year during the summer holiday 'relief' period, had depended on already made contacts or kin for childcare. Her husband had looked after the children for most of the time, using his five weeks holiday and banked overtime. Further care was provided through a school-based contact and kin:

"And then I just hired our regular babysitter; he's fourteen so that worked out. He comes from a large family. He's the second oldest, and his brother goes to Kindergarten, did go to Kindergarten, with my son. They're in Grade 1 and so I just got talking to, you know how you get talking while you're waiting for the kids to come out from school - so
she can keep us in babysitters for a long time! And my niece, she’s off and on from school so she was here part of the time. They weren’t like strangers. They’re people we know.”

In anticipation of returning to the same job on a permanent part-time basis, she had confidence she would have no difficulty in making other arrangements she could trust. In addition to the possibility of her niece and babysitter looking after the children in the summer, she thought her husband might be able to change shifts even though it “might take him a little while”, or, failing that, she felt her sister who lives close by would be able to do it. She also had a further resource in mind:

“Karen starts Kindergarten in the fall and some other mom might not mind picking her up with her own daughter after Kindergarten and take her for a couple of hours. She will probably enjoy it with other kids. Actually, there’s a lady on Blanchard that her son goes to Grade 1 with my son and she has a daughter who goes to the same preschool as Karen, but she’ll be going to Kindergarten with Karen and she does daycare. So that’s in the back of my mind”.

Such informal arrangements may be difficult to maintain for sustained periods of time, and where this is not possible the women try to replicate home conditions. For Mary this has taken more than one form, but she is pleased with her current arrangements for the days when she is working. These satisfy the ‘caring about’ as well as the tending components of childcare. Her mother, who lives close to Mary’s workplace, looks after her youngest child. Mary does not want her mother to feel obliged to care for her child, but it is a situation which suits them both. Her mother enjoys having time with her only granddaughter and includes her in some of her own activities, such as bowling. Mary feels they have similar ideas on bringing up children and both are “very, very family oriented”. Her eldest child, a boy, who is now in Kindergarten goes to a
neighbour after school, someone Mary has known well and has been friendly with since their children were in preschool together. She had wanted someone close by so that he could go to the local school with his friends. Furthermore, she has been able to maintain her relationships on the street. With working only two mornings a week, she can still participate in the car pool. She "makes up" for the days she is unable to drive by driving at other times. Mary is thinking of expanding her paid employment to two full days estimating that she could continue with similar arrangements for her children despite the extra commitment to paid work.

However, when her children were younger and she was working every morning, at the time when she and her husband were attempting to remedy a reduced financial position, Mary had experienced less stability in finding continual care for her children. This had added to the stress of "doing too much" in trying to combine her work and home life in a way that satisfied her desire to be a conscientious worker, while at the same time retaining a strong focus on family relations. At this time her children were aged about six months and nearly two years, and although her teaching job was "officially part-time", she found that it often demanded close to full-time attention. The extra work she had to do at home was accomplished firstly by "trading off" and later by doing it while one child was sleeping and the other at preschool. Her personal contacts were effective in finding care for her children while she was at work, although the changing situations of the women carrying out this care resulted in stress and new judgements about new care situations to be made:

"I got a woman who I met through a post-natal class I went to, and she had a little boy the same age, and she was willing to take on a child - it was just super until she decided to go back to work four months later. She got offered a job, and she could really use some money, so she went back to work at Christmas. She felt badly and
phoned me up. I was just devastated. Here was my baby and I had to look for someone new. I'd had someone so perfect. So she quit, and I was in tears, the whole bit. And I said, no, I'll be able to find someone. And I went to the Human Resources and they have a list of daycare. I had phoned the Health Unit and I got a list of licensed daycares. I wanted him to go into a home. I didn't want an actual daycare centre, for one I'd have to pay full-time, even though I was working part-time, and it would eat up a good part of my wage. And so I phoned a couple of people, but it was Christmas time, so some of them were going away and then I went and I saw somebody. But I wasn't very happy. Well, my son didn't look happy. You know, you have to go in there and know that your child is content and he was of the age, he was going to be two in April and all there was was baby toys. I thought he won't be happy here. Then I heard about someone from a friend of my neighbours. She was just perfect. Danny just went in there, he just went in there; he just sat down with a toy, he was so happy. Later she took Suzanne also and both were as happy as larks there. Since then she's moved to Mission."

For women who are entering full-time employment, difficulties in arranging daycare may be exacerbated, for now arrangements that are long-term and regular must be made to accommodate school schedules, or to take a younger child for a full day. The reciprocity of street relationships may be involved in taking a child for a short while before or after school, as in Valerie's and Ellen's cases, but longer periods of care usually involve payment and may entail considerable energy and time in ensuring that as close to the ideal of home conditions as possible, including the extra activities for social and educational development, are met.

"Initially when I started working I wanted someone I knew really well. They're talking about a daycare opening at the new church, but I wouldn't want that anyway. I prefer more - like a family - with a mom and dad. Preferably a friend with children the same age as mine. But that didn't work out. Three families I tried. The last one, I don't know, I just felt there was .... I wasn't a hundred per cent satisfied. She's good, she's very good, and very nice and the kids really enjoyed her."
The husband was around a lot and, I don't know, it just didn't sit well with me."

When Alison moved house it was an opportunity to change and get a sitter closer to the school. She soon heard about someone through talking to a neighbour on the street who used this person a babysitter. The sitter's credibility was enhanced as one of the teachers from the school Alison's children attended also used her. In fact, this sitter did not have any places available for Alison's children but recommended her to another person who provided daycare. Alison is very happy with her current arrangements which she sees as close to home conditions. Her children can walk to and from school with the sitter's two children, they have children to play with and Alison comments, "she's just fabulous." She does not know whether she is licensed or not but this does not concern her. "I've never worried about there being too many children. Her husband is home after school and they both seem to play with them a lot."

Deirdre has worked full-time for most of the time she has had children and is quite clear about what she requires of daycare. But this has come about through considerable trial and error with arrangements prior to reaching her present solution:

"Daycare was terrible. It was a horror story. I went from private to this Happydays Daycare out here, and even they're not made out to be what they're supposed to be. There were things going on, like shortages of staff and charging more than they should have done, even though it was non-profit, and a few other little things I didn't like. Now I did have a couple of really good private sitters as well, but unfortunately after a year their life-styles would change and then babysitting wasn't fitting into their life anymore."

Deirdre recounted the different daycare situations she had used for her daughter. The first of these was someone she knew "from down the street" but
she was only able to take Deirdre's child for a short time until her own activities changed. Deirdre then followed up an advertisement in the newspaper and "I found her tremendous. It was just the luck of the find. Carrie was less than a year old then". But again after a period of about nine months the arrangements came to an end. This was the last private sitter she used before going to the public daycare started at her workplace:

"In between Carol and Happy Days - you see I'd never really had to think what I needed in a sitter, because I had Carol and she was just tremendous. But then I got stung the next time you see. Someone in the neighbourhood knew her and that's how I got to know of her - she was considering opening up a Daycare. She was horrible. The kids were only there a couple of weeks. My neighbour lady came to the door one evening and said, I don't know how to tell you this, but I think you should now - this is October - the lady's got Carrie out on the balcony in a walker and the walker's tied to the railing. So that ended immediately and she tried to get me to pay her this monthly money I owed .... But anyway from there we went to the HappyDays Daycare and Carrie stayed there quite a long time actually, about two years. It was really good for a period of time, but it seemed like it deteriorated."

After this Deirdre's attitude towards daycare changed, and it is in the following quote that the attempt to replicate home conditions is explicitly stated in terms of 'caring about' her daughter, now aged three and a half. Her considerations were phrased in terms of the warmth of relationship, learning opportunities and nutritional needs. Furthermore, the 'neighbourly' norms of a street relationship were incorporated into the arrangement allowing Deirdre more flexibility in meeting schedules. This statement articulates particularly well similar concerns voiced by the other women seeking substitute care for their children:
"Then I had private [daycare] again. But this time I was looking for certain qualities. I got her through the paper as well. This time I went into the home and made no commitments over the telephone. The first thing I looked for is, what is the first thing you say to my child? Because it’s not me here that you’re worried about. And, how do you treat her as the time goes by. How do you respond to my questions - are you nervous, are you relaxed? What type of environment? I looked around the kitchen, to see if I could notice a lot of junk food, this sort of thing. Moneywise - see how comfortable the woman was and let her talk first about that. And to see, the other big thing, to see how Carrie responded to her and her child as well. And again, really lucky. I walked into this lady’s home, the cutest little thing you could ever lay two eyes on; she had a tea-party all set up and ready to go, waiting for Carrie to come. They took Carrie into their home just like their daughter. If we were a bit late - we’ve always been good at phoning if we’re going to be late and ask the babysitter if it’s o.k. She had her children enrolled in a lot of activities after school and she would say, no problem, and she’d pack her up and take her along with them and then drop her off at home. She’d go out shopping with them, the whole thing. It was a really good daycare. Carrie learned a lot there. I worked a lot of day shifts and the lady, Bobbie, spent a lot of time with them doing activities, a lot of fun things with them, that were actually good learning experiences."

This excellent situation continued until Deirdre left her job to stay home to have her second child. On resuming work a few months later the same daycare arrangement was tried but with less success. The same woman did take both children for a few weeks but it was difficult for her to combine the extra work of looking after a six week old baby with her changed situation, which included her own daughter now requiring to be taken to and from Kindergarten. Considerable re-adjustment of Deirdre’s work and family relations have been made in order to come to the current solution. Since moving to her current residence Deirdre has built up several street relationships through the preschool that her child had started to attend and she was able to utilize one of these. She changed shifts so that her work hours now enabled her or her husband
to look after the children most of the time. Her children go to a friend and neighbour's for an hour and a half, up to a maximum of four days a week, to cover the time between Deirdre leaving for her job and her husband returning home. Not only does this substantially reduce the cost of daycare, it also minimizes the stress of the uncertainty surrounding daycare arrangements that Deirdre had experienced. In addition, it ensures the children are with someone with whom she feels very comfortable:

“Linda’s just watched them since I’ve gone back to work this time. and it’s convenient for both of us. She’s a good lady, I really like her. She’s really good to the kids - the kids like her. They really like her; they call her Aunty Linda. And it’s good for Linda because they only come on a really part-time basis”.

The baby is “packed around” and between them (Deirdre and her husband) they take their daughter swimming and to a dance lesson at the weekend and she continues to attend the local school with her friends. As Deirdre’s working hours are from three in the afternoon to eleven, she can, like Mary, continue participation in a car pool on a regular basis. The part-time basis of the arrangement, even though payment is made, permits the continuance of a street rather than a formal relationship for it is an extension of, rather than substantially changing, a pattern of reciprocity and the focus of their relationship around their children’s common activities and playspace is maintained.

The decision to go to work can be seen from the above quote to be more complex than a mere availability of jobs and ‘quality daycare’. Family strategies and individual decisions involve a process of intermeshing home, neighbourhood and wage workplace relations. In the next example, neighbourhood relations have been important to the woman whose time-space map was presented in Figure 11 in linking her home and wage workplace.
Although she has not found daycare in the immediate vicinity of her street, it is through her neighbourhood relationships that she has gained access to resources by which she maintains her combined activities and attempts to meet the demands of her interpretation of motherhood. Although other members of the babysitting co-op she belonged to used it for childcare while engaged in part-time work, this woman found she “couldn’t get the points off”. Yet this same co-op was a source of information for her in her quest to suit both of her children’s needs as she defined them, and a variety of alternatives were incorporated into the children’s care:

“A friend, the one who originally put me onto this babysitting co-op had already checked the field out and knew of an excellent lady who lived in the area where my older daughter goes to school. This is for my youngest daughter. I was really concerned about her, because they spend so much time away, with the daycare person. But she’s in one of the best day cares I’ve seen in my life. She’s an extremely caring lady and runs the business around the children’s needs rather than fitting them into her day. My older daughter was more difficult. I needed someone for after school. I approached mothers of children in her class and did find someone, but she wasn’t very satisfactory - not very clean and the diet wasn’t very good. My daughter was disgusted with the mess, but we had to put up with it for a year. Then my husband was off work and at home in the summer. And since then, I’ve found out through people I know and through the school, about what is called a Latch Key Program after school. It has its advantages and its drawbacks. The advantages are is that it’s structured time; they’re not sitting in somebody’s living room watching TV. A good snack is provided and they do chores so they’re learning. The bad thing about it is you have no control over the type of children attending. I try to explain to my daughter that a lot of the children there don’t have the normal family background that she does.”

The women who were interviewed who are away from their children for considerable periods of time have adjusted the constraints of time and physical
distance through the use of a variety of resources which provide them with a flexible relationship to the environment, but more difficult to harmonize is the "moral" dimension of the relationship of their child to neighbourhood space. Have they successfully found a safe place for their children? If this may be defined in terms of a 'normal' family relationship and is monitored through 'word-of-mouth' contacts in such a way that a mother's values are maintained during her absence, this fosters her perceived ability to remain a good mother while at the same time reaching for the personal and economic rewards of the wage workplace. Thus, the rules and resources of locales become the guidelines and the basis by which daily routines are changed and women may delegate part of their mothering duties to other people in other places. Still a concern may remain in a woman's thoughts about whether she is doing the right thing. Where conditions have been fostered that provide her with a supportive neighbourhood, her decisions are made effective through practical assistance and in discourse which imparts 'moral support' through both positive evaluation of what she is doing and the sharing of experiences.

What is more difficult for women in paid employment to cope with, whether employed part- or full-time, are certain contingencies that women "at home" are able to fit into their more self-structured days. In particular there is the worry of a child's sickness. As Donna comments, "No-one wants your child when they are sick." This creates a dilemma, for alternative arrangements must be made, often at the last minute. As one woman said:

"You usually have to decide when you're rushed and in a hurry to get out in the morning. Sometimes I feel guilty sending a child to school when they're not feeling well, but ... it's hard. Last time my husband stayed home, but he lost a day's pay. Next time it will be my turn."

Taking a day's sick-leave is one solution in the case of minor ailments, or
altering hours may be feasible, but the possibility of extended illness is of greater concern, especially when kin are not available to provide aid. Helen was able to call upon a close friend living near to her workplace to take her children, in turn, for a few days when they had chickenpox, but for others it is an area of considerable uncertainty that neighbourhood relations cannot always alleviate.

Another concern for women who are in full-time employment is keeping up friendships. All of the women put a high value on their friends, but are not always able to continue their relationships in the way they would prefer. Yet, as was shown earlier, the street and neighbourhood relationships that support women's activities are developed through the process of negotiating and sharing understandings and exchanging safe places in the form of "trading off" and similar arrangements. Indeed, once in full-time employment, how are women able to maintain their social links? Women in part-time employment may be able to participate in neighbourhood relations much as before or these may be incorporated into new care arrangements as is shown in Mary's case, where some reciprocity was maintained in addition to paid arrangements with a neighbour. In a few instances husbands may fulfill the reciprocity of shared driving arrangements. But for others who now carry a 'double load' of work, little time and energy may be left for sustaining locales and maintaining the relationships and resources constituted from such settings of interaction. Those in full-time paid employment have found it difficult to keep up with friends in the same way as formerly, for they have dropped some of their earlier "community work" which kept them involved with the neighbourhood and have reduced the extent of their participation in their children's activities, usually cutting these down in number to fit into revised schedules. Alison has dropped her own previous sporting activity, but still is able to meet friends she has made through her children's soccer games, which take place on the weekend.
In Valerie's case, the Community Association that was formed in the local area where she lives, and in which she was previously an active participant, holds several occasions during the year for parents and children, which she and her family attend. This provides an opportunity to see the people she knows. In addition, she meets once a month with a few of her neighbours at their long-standing Book Club. But for her and the other women who no longer have regular contact with people they know in the neighbourhood, due to their changed circumstances as more and more neighbours "go out to work", the telephone call has replaced the more frequent face-to-face interaction that she previously enjoyed with neighbourhood friends.

"If I want to know anything, or occasionally if I'm wondering about something with my children, I'll pick up the phone. It's a very resourceful group of people that I know and it's through the original group I first knew and met when I moved into the subdivision. Somebody will always know somebody who does something, no matter whether it's fixing your stove, doing your landscaping, needing daycare. It's a way of helping people cope with what you've had to cope with. I think we're able to support each other a lot. The times you contact a person and find they're going through exactly the same problems that you are. And even if the person's not necessarily working – but maybe involved in something else and feel they're neglecting their husband, or their home, or their children or whatever. And I think that's what keeps us going, I really do. The people I work with are not a terrific support group. Until just now, I was the only one with children, and it's difficult to explain what you're trying to do."

To finish this account of women's everyday lives as they juggle and cope with the social contradiction of remaining 'good mothers' while recognition and value is more readily achieved through paid work, I present the case of Cara. In juxtaposition to Barbara's situation of just beginning to foster conditions permitting her to adjust the organization of her mothering work, with which the discussion opened, Cara's situation shows how, over time, she has ordered her
'motherhood' concerns and relations of her home, neighbourhood and wage workplace in such a way that each is carefully integrated with the other.

Like the other women of the study, who presently or previously have combined paid employment with mothering activities and housekeeping, Cara has experienced considerable stress. This experience she sees as the 'turning point' in her attitude towards and the organization of her life.

"I don’t want to be the Shirley Conran superwoman who does everything and is the perfect wife. I’ve tried and ended up unconscious on the hospital floor. I’m a high achiever, and my job’s important to me, but so is my relationship with my husband and my children. And if a woman is working inside and outside the home, someone has to take up the slack. My husband’s been very, very good."

At the time of the interviews, Cara had been selling real estate for about a year and was reaping the benefits both economically and in terms of self-worth. Although she had found it initially hard "to break into the community", she now has firmly established social links which are maintained through regular contact through her membership in a community group and a professional women’s group which meets in the evenings. Although these links have been utilized on an irregular and not necessarily frequent basis they have, however, formed the fabric of her livelihood in both work in the formal economy and in child-rearing. They provide sources of emergency babysitting, information on day care, and in a few instances have been sources for her sales. Indeed, she is so firmly committed to her neighbourhood that her family’s last move of home was literally across the road.

This house met all the requirements to allow her to combine the careers of mothering and work outside the domestic sphere. It is a large house, and
includes a den and an extra bedroom. The den is used as an office, where she may put in a few hours of work on the one day she takes off. The other days may involve long hours away from home, although she arranges these so that she is able to cook the household dinner every day. Through a friend who runs a nanny agency, she hired a young European woman as a 'live-in' nanny to look after the children and do light housework. Her husband "takes over" when the nanny has her days off, and he does the weekly grocery shopping and spends time with the children at the weekend. The house is near a bus stop and various commercial and recreational services, so that the nanny can get about with the children without a car.

The children's school and pre-school are within walking distance and they are not in out-of-school activities for, as she states, "My life must be time-efficient." However, the nanny must have language and sporting skills to provide the enrichment Cara sees as important for her children and which replaces locally provided programs. Despite the extensive delegation of everyday tasks, Cara remains the primary orchestrator and manager of the household. In adjusting her children's activities and her home so that they constitute what she sees as an appropriate domestic workspace this allows her to be spatially separate from her children, while still ensuring they are 'cared about' as well as tended. Yet, even within this situation in which Cara appears to have achieved a high degree of control of her working conditions, both in domestic and paid employment spheres of activity, Cara says the hardest thing is "letting go". She comments, "It's something you never really work out, and I feel guilty sometimes, having someone else do the things with your kids that you'd be doing".
7. Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with investigating how the locales of mothering practices are implicated in the negotiation of safe spaces for children, spaces that provide for both their 'tending' and 'caring.' In the process of such negotiation of social identities, specifically those of 'mother' and 'wage worker', these are defined in terms of prevailing norms of motherhood. The question of combining motherhood and wage labour has been faced by all of the women in the study, whatever the outcome of their decision has been. The geographical literature on women in general explains women's restricted access to paid employment (and, thus, inequality) in terms of spatial constraints imposed by the separation of home and wage workplace in conjunction with their primary role as housewives and mothers, defined by socially prescribed activities and forms of behaviour (Women and Geography Study Group, 1984). Yet, the data of my study stress the choice aspect of women's actions, albeit the ranges of choice available are circumscribed by the cultural and economic context of motherhood. Certainly the structuring of economic and social relations extends into the everyday facets of the women's lives, but at the same time, neither ideas nor conditions are static. Tivers suggests that the presence of young children is the primary constraint on women's activities. But I suggest that it is not the child per se, but the organization of social relations and the timing and spacing of everyday life around changing understandings of the 'who' and 'where' of motherhood which shape the significance of 'gender role' as a constraint and opportunity.

Although the specific characteristics of a street and the amenities of the larger geographically defined area of nearby municipalities shape some of the particularities of women's lives, women themselves also shape the content of 'neighbourhoods' through their actions as childcarers, carrying out their...
mothering practices as they interpret these within culturally dominant views of the mother-child relationship which stress the importance of the mother in her child's development. This local space is important in mediating their own and their children's relation to a wider range of physical and social environments. As they attempt to ensure that the 'caring for' components of motherhood as well as the practical 'tending' of children are met, these women extend their domestic workspace beyond the confines of their home and immediate family members. Social linkages are central to the process of gaining control of and increasing the range of 'neighbourhood space' and these are forged to a large extent from women meeting other women through their children's activities. Control includes the creation of flexibility in daily routines which counteract to some extent the constraints of time and physical space. Child-oriented locales become the source of practical assistance and information which facilitate the use of a variety of resources in improving the working conditions of 'full-time' mothers while some of these resources and ideas are transferable to the opening up of quite different activities, including paid employment, by providing a means of mediating home and wage workplace relations.

Yet, in addition to the practical resources, information and the negotiation of rules over shared childrearing space, such as the street, which are involved in the practical discourse "working out" the job of childrearing on its own or in attempts to combine activities, there is another level of discourse which deals with the ideology of being a 'good mother'. The locales become a forum for the exchange of ideas as this ideology is examined, reaffirmed or redefined and becomes information from which women selectively draw in relation to their current and perceived interests. A part of this process is the working out of 'safe spaces' for their children which become especially crucial.
when their mothers are not present. During this process, moral support may be proffered among women, but at the same time understandings are negotiated not only about what mothering might consist of, but where it should and can take place and by whom. This is one means by which a lack of standardization in the specific components making up childrearing practice is dealt with and how professional discourse is reinterpreted as mothers in their commonly defined identity of mother as expert practitioner.

Women's everyday locales, and the routines of which they are a part, are thus sites for both reproducing and changing activity and identity. The women of the study are the prime managers in negotiating control of their children's relationship to the environment, engaging in an attempt to maintain the 'normalcy' of home and street in terms of dominant cultural notions of family life and motherhood, those of the two-parent family with mothers as primary caregivers to their children. Yet simultaneously the women are changing the conditions and understandings under which this activity takes place, mediating professional discourse to suit the pragmatism of daily life. But as transitions are made from the practices of perceived 'traditional' family life to those more compatible with the conditions emanating from the extended social and economic relations of the 1980s, women's accounts of their experiences are full of conflict, tension, trial and error.

In nearly all cases the women interviewed claimed that their lifestyles and experiences differ substantially from those of their mothers. They feel they have more problems to face, more opportunities for themselves and their children, and less certainty in their way of doing things. Very few had mothers who worked outside the home when they were young, and in coping with their own present combination of activities, considerable comparison and curiosity of how other women manage is evident. It has been shown that this 'comparing of
notes' is an important channel of communication through which current social identities and the activities through which they are defined are examined and evaluated.

The interview situation itself was one more setting for interaction where the women were involved in evaluating what they do in a particularly focused manner. Jan commented, for example, that although she had 'known' all the things discussed in the interview, such as the fact that she had come to know nearly all her friends through her children, she had not thought about her life in this way before. She, as did others, mentioned that they had enjoyed talking about themselves - not usually having the opportunity or being encouraged to do so. "In fact", Jan said, "I didn't realize I'd had such an interesting life!"

While all of the women presented themselves as skilled practitioners of their daily lives, nevertheless doubts and difficulties had been encountered and several, unasked, revealed periods of stress that they had experienced. A few had also jokingly asked, "Am I normal?" and would have liked to have known how other women were coping. Behind the scenes of 'happy domesticity' there is a constant working out of values and practicalities as women attempt to manage the tensions of linking family, neighbourhood and workplace relations.
Chapter Eight Footnotes

1. Danger relating to these types of areas is phrased in terms of "wierdos" and, in the case of bush areas, wild animals. Occasional sightings of cougars and bears in the autumn and spring, and less frequent news of approaches made by strangers to young children or sexual assault in areas adjoining parks lend credence to the women's caution. More serious incidents of assault may be reported in newspapers, while schools or 'gossip' may alert parents to other perceived threatening situations.

2. Rules commonly referred to the governing of children's activities in time and space, such as delimiting the boundaries of a child's movement away from the home. Other rules may be less explicit. These refer to the management of a child's well-being, and reflect the values a mother places on aspects of social reproduction and the relationship she has with her child. Methods of discipline, attitudes to the child's schoolwork and choice of recreational activities are indicators of underlying 'rules'. Where commonalities of rules are perceived and acted upon, these form the local norms women respond to.

3. There may be extensive periods of several months when reciprocal acts are not occasioned. A 'fading' of a relationship may occur in such cases, but this does not necessarily imply that it is lost as a resource. For instance, Louise, who now has little face-to-face contact with her neighbours, holds a Christmas party every year for the children who live on her street. She interprets this as "doing my bit" and as a means of maintaining relationships forged on her street when her children were younger. She states she feels she could still call on several neighbours for occasional driving help or care for her children if this were needed.

4. Relationships on the street are defined by perceived differences and similarities in values and ways of doing things. These may be expressed through the inclusion or exclusion of neighbours in arranged social events such as baby showers, home marketing parties or children's parties.

5. At the time of the interview none of the women had husband's at home during the day on a regular basis due to shift work hours or unemployment. The way in which the husband's work hours impinged on the arrangement of schedules was in the variable length of workday at home that women had, on their own. Joanna and Jan's husbands, for example, were usually home for lunch.
and then returned for an early supper, whereas the working hours of other
husbands resulted in some women, such as Anna, Barbara and Kathy, spending
long periods on their own. More than half of the men have regular work hours but
a number of the women including Agnes, Jennifer, Louise, Monica, Pamela,
Jacquie and Lyn have husbands whose work hours varied from day to day or were
less certain. In effect there is considerable difference in the extent to which
women might achieve flexibility and control over their scheduling from reliance
on their husband's contribution to daily routines concerning the children.

6. Counselling with health professionals is not included as it contrasts with
my representing this latter type in that it infers a formal relationship between
an 'expert' and 'client' or 'patient', rather than women meeting in a more
generalized relationship as women and mothers.

7. Gullestad's (1984) study of Norwegian working class women also shows
that much of women's conversation together in their homes is concerned with
discussing the 'rightness' and 'wrongness' of different aspects of their lives
through the use of concrete personal examples.

8. It is not within the scope of this study to make any claims about the
relation between class and educational decisions. Educational levels of parents
did not, for example, necessarily coincide with the choice of different school
optional programs within the public school system, but rather reflected the
perceived advantages or disadvantages of different programs, including the
practical aspects of a commitment to driving to optional programs.

9. Volunteer involvement frequently is organized around women's own
convenience and some part-time work may also have some degree of flexibility
in which women may be able to choose their own hours.

10. Members of the co-operative earn points for every hour of babysitting
they do and pay equivalent points for each hour they have a child babysat. An
approximate balance of points must be maintained, thus translating the norms
of reciprocity of friendship relationships to those of the informal institution.
CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

1. Introduction

In the writing of this thesis I have endeavoured to 'bring alive' some of the theoretical issues pertinent to feminism in geography, within the frame of reference of human geography as a whole, through the specific experiences and problems addressed by the women of the study. I have been concerned to construct a view of the women's interpretation and understanding of their lives within a particular, local context that lends meaning to their actions. In order to do this I have brought the mother-child relationship to the centre of research.

Whereas previous research in feminist geography has taken the mother-child relationship for granted through reliance on the notion of gender role, I have attempted to trace how interpretations and management of this relationship by the women are linked to generalized processes of social and economic organization. These, however, combine in a particular form in the chosen locality of the Coquitlam area, and, in doing so, constitute the specific conditions under which the women's mothering work is carried out. Yet, at the same time the women, through their actions and social interaction with other women, are modifying these conditions and negotiating understandings of 'good' mothering practices. Thus, while the experienced locality shapes the women's activities and the meaning they attach to them, in turn the consequences of the women's actions and their ongoing re-interpretation of their work shapes the locality.

An important means through which this agency is realized is the provision of safe spaces for children which provide for both their tending and caring, even in the absence of their mother. Such safe spaces are, on the one hand, negotiated through face-to-face interaction between women in the local context, while, on the other, the conditions for their creation, which are the
manifestations of the sexual division of labour in time and space, originate from the generalized processes of society. Safe spaces, thus, are constituted through both context and agency. They are physical and social spaces which incorporate certain notions of how children should be cared for. They are consequential to women interacting together in specific ways in gender differentiated work and geographical space as the women both respond to the demands of mothering and attempt to balance wage and domestic labour in family and personal strategies. In turn, these safe spaces become constituent elements of the locality framing the women's experiences.

2. Models and Methods

In bringing the mother-child relationship to the centre of analysis, an issue in this research has been the linking of theory, methods and analysis in order to best reveal and understand the meaning and consequences for action of the relationship between mother and child. Exploring these components of the identification of women with their mothering work is central to understanding the construction of their depiction of their everyday life in the locality, and the researcher's ability to construct knowledge from the subjects' point of view. Depicting the women's everyday lives from their perspective permits the researcher to show how the locality serves to contextualize the women's experiences and understandings in a gender specific way. Thus, a different rather than more 'correct' picture of the locality is presented than one that would be structured from a male perspective.

The methods of this research have been central to the way in which the women's everyday lives have been portrayed, for methods determine the types of data that are generated. Although data are, to some extent, open to varying types of analysis and interpretation, they also set limiting parameters to the
possibilities for the directions in which analysis may proceed. The collection of qualitative data in this study, through ethnographic methods in this instance, necessarily brings a different perspective to the situation of mothers with young children than previous geographical work which has relied substantially on time-budget material and the standardized survey questionnaire. The activity pattern literature, for example, has, in general, pre-ordered data into existing categories of activity and frameworks of explanation. The use of productive work and leisure categories has lent emphasis to the depiction of women as being spatially constrained; their restricted mobility and localized activity patterns are seen as limiting their entry to the wage workplace, while leisure time is interrupted due to the demands of a women's gender-defined roles, which require her to tend her children's needs throughout the day or be in the home when children are out of school. The intensive methods of this study result in findings that do not deny the tendency of women's activities to be localized in the home and neighbourhood, but result in a different conceptualization of this phenomenon. In focusing on women's experiences of their daily lives and the meaning these have for them, the organization of activity around the mother-child relationship is shown to have a strong element of choice, as well as constraint. However, any description of activity which emphasizes a choice-constraint 'trade-off' necessarily neglects the range of complexity around the issues of everyday life which are revealed by listening to women's own presentation of their life. The considerable variation in the spatial delimitation of women's lives, as more women enter the wage labour force, is consequential to a complex interplay of human agency and local context, as ways of living 'gender roles' are re-adjusted and re-defined. It is through qualitative data that knowledge and understanding of variation and change within complex processes can best be produced, while still retaining a
portrayal of the women's lives from their standpoint (Smith, 1979, 1986; Stacey and Thorne, 1985).

In adopting what I referred to as a feminist 'perspective', rather than imposing the order of abstracted concepts of a particular explanatory model, I have attempted to approach women's situations in a way which links the views and experiences of the women to a collectivity of women whose life events and chances are delimited by virtue of their gender. The concept of 'locality' and the notion of 'everyday as problematic' in this research act as vehicles in linking the women's everyday actions to a wider structuring of economic, social and political relations beyond that which is immediately evident on initial observation of the organization of everyday activity.

In using an ethnographic approach to data collection and analysis I have attempted to show how the women's actions relate to their identity as mothers, and to the ways they interpret this identity in relation to the particular context (as locality) they find themselves in. Indeed the concepts of 'locality' and 'locale', I believe address the issue of focus, as identified by Kellerman (1987) with regard to the weighting of the spatial and the social and the resulting possibility of integrating space, time and society within empirical research. As a point of entry, the socio-spatial dialectic (Soja, 1980), the concept of locality is able to synthesize the notions of the physical and social environment as a distribution of resources and Giddens' idea of regionalization and locale. These latter concepts suggest that the timing and spacing of social life are an important means by which rules and resources, which are the structural components of a person's life, become defined, distributed, utilized and redefined.

Work of socialist-feminist geographers using an historical materialist method suggests that such regionalization, or the zoning of regularized social
practices in time and space, is fundamentally organized around gender difference, particularly in the form of a separation of home and wage workplaces predicated on a sexual division of labour. Thus, regionalization results in different rules and resources being available to men and women. Through intensive methods, the research is able to investigate how the manifestations of a particular organization of the sexual division of labour become the structuring components of the mothers' lives in the form of their experienced social and material conditions. In this study the constitution of safe spaces for children both reflects the active intervention of women into the conditions of their domestic workplace and acts as a constitutive element in furthering an ongoing process of shaping the understandings and experiences of the women in the locality as a 'family place.'

3. Summary of Findings

In placing women as active agents at the centre of research, I have emphasized their ability to modify the conditions of their domestic workplace and shape, in part, the direction of their lives. In common with other studies of mothers premised on active agency, the means of such modification, including adjustments of time and space, are consequential to social links with other women (Genovese, 1980; Mackenzie, 1986; Tietjin, 1985); indeed, as feminists concerned with social stratification indicate, women have many experiences and interests in common due to the social organization of the sexual division of labour (Acker, 1973; Boulton, 1983; Eichler, 1980).

The findings of my study support the general observations of the sociological literature that women take primary responsibility for domestic work, including childcare, and the identification in feminist geography of the encapsulation of the sexual division of labour in space. But through the
emphasis on the women's experiences and their own presentation of their lives as mothers, my study also emphasizes that the boundedness of women's domestic workplace in time and space also fosters the common recognition of problems and avenues to solution. Furthermore, the way the mother-child relationship is lived and the form and meaning mothering work takes is derived from local context, which provides a particular potential of physical and social resources. It is through the recurrent locales of mothering practices that access to resources may be gained and the consequences of general processes, such as changing labour processes accompanying economic restructuring, and general values about motherhood are constantly examined and understandings about them negotiated. Changes in the organization of reproduction are taking place, in the form of re-allocating mothering work in space, as mothers attempt to modify the conditions which provide the setting for their different types of labour. These re-adjustments of the division of labour, however, tend to remain within the gender differentiated space of home and neighbourhood.

In Chapter Five a general picture of the development of the Coquitlam area was presented to lend depth to the everyday setting of the women's lives. It indicated how, over time, general social and economic processes were involved in creating a 'family place.' The respondents, together with other young families, accept and contribute to such continued understandings through their actions as childrearers. The specific manifestations of the social and spatial divisions of labour, including their differentiation by gender, within the locality provide both the limiting conditions under which the mother-child relationship is lived and also the enabling conditions for the social construction of knowledge and understandings of how mothering practices may be carried out, by whom and where. The women's arrival in the Coquitlam area was identified as integral to the particular distribution of housing and labour markets,
together with their ideas of the appropriateness of certain environments for family life. The physical and social environment was evaluated by them in terms of its provision of services and physical settings conducive to raising children and pursuing family life.

Chapter Six further related women's primary identification with domestic life to their experiences of the wage labour force and their relationship to the locality. There is a complex interdependence between home and wage workplace as women participate in family strategies which attempt to combine gaining a family income with the tending and caring of children. Control of the localized domestic workplace of the home and street was identified as an important means by which women facilitate both their mothering work and a combination of domestic life and wage labour. Establishing the street, as an extension of the home workplace, as a physically and socially 'safe space' for a woman's children is part of the process by which the forging of social links may be translated into adjustments of time and space.

Mothering work, however, is not confined to the home and street, and Chapter Seven shows how women's reproductive labour, which includes a range of recreational and educational activities as well as physical tending, takes place in a variety of settings (locales). Most activities, although not all, take place within the Coquitlam area. The school and wage workplace structure the organization of parts of the women's day, but an array of child-centred activities, as women attempt to advance their children's social, physical and cognitive development, also direct the spatial and temporal dimensions of everyday life. Mother and child may be separate for parts of the day, beyond school-structured periods of time, but where the child is left and who supervises the child in this space is linked to the women's mothering work that has taken place outside the home. The social linkages between women in the
localized domestic workplace are the source of such spaces that are deemed appropriate for the children's care.

Chapter Eight investigates the nature and content of the various locales of mothering work. During the course of this work the women gain practical knowledge of various amenities within the Coquitlam area, but more significantly for the way they interpret their motherhood are the generation of definitions and understandings of appropriate modes of mothering and the spaces in which this takes place. The safe spaces that provide appropriate conditions for the tending and caring about children are constituted in light of such discourse. They are established through the social linkages which supply a mother with a 'supportive neighbourhood,' providing a variety of resources such as emotional support, practical support and information.

The conditions that have fostered the development of safe spaces for children are not merely 'local', however, for they derive from labour market and housing market conditions and the manifestation of the sexual division of labour in the form of the regionalization of mothering work in time and space. It is through the recurrent practices of mothering in residential areas where single-family dwellings are clustered that the women have been able to extend their domestic workplace in a variety of forms of space within the experienced environment of the locality. By extending their domestic workplace, the women attempt to resolve the social contradiction of beliefs, which accord status through wage workplace participation and place low value on domestic activity, while, at the same time, stress the appropriateness and importance of mothers caring for their own children in the family home. Daycare situations which closely replicate what the women consider ideal home conditions are particularly important safe spaces for women entering paid employment.

In brief sum, the data collected demonstrated commonalities of the
women's accounts that lay in the process of linking with other mothers, often through child-centred networks, in order to create what they feel are safe spaces to leave their children. These take a variety of modes ranging from institutional forms, such as preschools, to the homes of friends, and several women create and sustain a number of options which are used for different purposes. But whether the purpose of use is for regular periods of employment or to improve their home working conditions by freeing time to carry out other tasks, meet health appointments or provide themselves with leisure time, the notion of being a 'good mother' is pervasive in making these choices.

We can view the strategies used by the women studied as attempting to combine the two dimensions of motherhood, physical tending and caring about, in spatially distinct places. In Barbara's case, for example, the use of a sister; a well-trusted, although unlicensed daycare; a sponsored baby-sitting co-op and a pre-school she felt happy with, all allowed her to spatially separate the tending aspects of motherhood from the 'caring about'. Her careful choice of care-setting ensured her child was appropriately cared for. In this way her children could be tended in other places, but in exercising a degree of control over this through finding women who would look after her children in a similar way to herself, she could also satisfy the 'caring about' component of motherhood and continue to be a 'good mother' while away from her children. This spatial separation allowed Barbara to begin expanding her own activities with a view of developing a new career.

The short term solution for an individual, is also important in understanding the consequences of such actions in the longer term. What is of central significance is that the major channels of information and organizational responses are those involving other women, clustered together in a 'family-oriented' suburb. Women acting for each other have created
institutional forms for both dimensions of motherhood; forms which, although not always visible on the landscape, have a potential for structuring social life in the longer term. They comprise a base from which women can expand their activities in the sphere of wage labour or just as importantly, improve their conditions of work as mothers bringing up children in the isolation of the single family dwelling. In effect they are able to extend the bounds of both the social and spatial domains of motherhood by extending the domestic workplace into neighbourhood space, which however is carefully controlled.

The existence of these types of arrangement for supporting an extension of women's activities constitute a form of knowledge, entering a common currency of ideas which are available for women to draw on in their coping strategies. Much of the talk among women is home oriented and about children and provides an ongoing context for defining rules and understandings over the use of the environment and how motherhood is appropriately practiced. Norms and rules are examined, agreed upon and changed in a constant process of re-evaluation. Understandings concerning particular space are generated through social activity, and in creating safe spaces for children outside the family home, these women's actions, in fact, lead to renegotiations over understanding of what are appropriate modes of childcare. This may not consist of the family home with mother present.

Such space that fulfills the criteria of tending and caring about however is a scarce resource, as evidenced by the continued demand on a national scale for public daycare (Cooke, 1986). The women in my study certainly did not have equal access to what they consider caring space for their children nor were they always able to create it. It was important that they had information and social linkages in order to convert space in their homes or neighbourhoods in this way.

Although particular notions of family life and motherhood were found to
be pervasive, how these contributed to the women’s styles of living depended on a complexity of factors linking home, neighbourhood and wage workplace. One aspect of this interdependency is illustrated in the consequences of the occupational shifts of advanced capitalism, a sex differentiated labour market and social policies; these result in the patterning of the availability and location of certain categories of waged work, and the type of services provided for facilitating domestic labour which further influence the organization of domestic labour, both socially and spatially. In addition, notions of appropriate residential environments for family life are important in influencing the conditions under which domestic labour is carried out.

Although the structuring of economic and social relations extends into the everyday facets of people’s lives, their actions are at the same time responding to changes and in so doing are actively constituting the conditions under which these extended relations are experienced in particular localities. It is evident that both the women working primarily outside or within the home accepted the primary responsibility of childrearing. Yet an emphasis on spatial constraint and gender roles in the literature of feminist geography has led to limited discussion of the different ways in which gender identities are interpreted and lived. Constraint approaches have also failed to recognize the social linkages that are generated during the course of child-rearing, which are valuable in both creating supports for women’s mothering occupation and permitting the expansion of their activity socially and spatially. Neither ideas nor conditions are static and it is the organization of social relations and the timing and spacing of everyday life around changing understandings of the ‘who’ and ‘where’ of motherhood which shape the significance of gender as both constraint and opportunity.

A problem in presenting the data around the theme of how the women
attempt to control interlinked social and spatial relationships embodied in the environment, is that there is a tendency to depict the process as one of order and facility. But although an internal order emerges from the women's actions which are rendered to them as reasonable and practical through their interpretation of their world, this contrasts with the notion of order as consensus. In addition to diversity among the women's lifestyles and 'solutions' there is considerable tension and conflict in their lives as they face specific contingencies and work out ways to manage the varying demands of their lives. This is not to suggest these are constant but that stress, resentments, loneliness, guilt and difficulties in 'coping' emerged as a facet of the experience of motherhood.

The ability of women to develop a supportive neighbourhood which may be converted into safe space is one means of coping with tensions and conflict. If this 'resource' is not present or does not result in resolution women may be left with continuing conflict. The way a neighbourhood is defined depends on the situation or problem at hand, and for these women a primary concern is the daily business of being good mothers, household managers and wives, and for some is the added challenge of fitting in a full-time or part-time paid job. Creating conditions for the different aspects of their work implies a constant working out of ways to order their lives within acceptable self-definitions of their mothering work.

4. Theoretical Implications of Findings

In this thesis I have attempted to provide an account of some of the links between lived experience and the construction and reproduction of individual subjects by showing certain inherently spatial processes whereby meaning is constructed. The twinned concepts of locality and locale were found useful in
concretizing both spatial and social dimensions of society which are constitutive of human action in the form of the experienced conditions of the Coquitlam area. The potential of the consequences of every action to reproduce or transform the conditions for further action is central to the notion of structuration, and to some extent the women were able to make a difference to their lives by modifying their working conditions. But the findings of the study also indicate that women's agency is limited by the nature of constraint; the conditions and understandings underpinning their lives derive from the structuring of gender relations, particularly as manifested in the organization of the sexual division of labour.

Giddens does not explicate gender clearly within his theory of structuration, but my findings suggest that attention to the ways in which time and space differentiate society does enable gender concerns to be incorporated, through addressing the issue of human agency and the nature of the boundedness of action. The options open to individuals or groups are not equally available and feminism has been at pains to show the huge impact of differentiation of opportunities and constraints according to gender. This differentiation is particularly visible in the channelling of women's wage labour participation into jobs which tend to have less security and remuneration than those of men, and the reliance on women's primary responsibility for much domestic work, particularly childcare, with little state support. Certainly the distribution of options is closely bound in with separations in time and space, described through Giddens' notion of regionalization. Just as some individuals have greater scope for action and in choices made by virtue, for example, of socio-economic status (Tivers, 1985), so the manifestations of the sexual division of labour are concretized in localities in temporal and spatial dimensions which further bound and restrict the range of alternatives for
women - through the whole range of meaning that gender as a social identity may entail in a specific time and place. Yet neither structuration nor socialist feminist theory have clearly incorporated the negotiation of meaning, and its dependence on context (Gregson, 1987).

It is attention to meaning and the detailed organization of everyday life that enables us to disengage 'woman' as an abstract category ordering life experiences and chances, and place it firmly as a situationally defined identity, an identity, however, which is also entrenched in the conservative institution of the family whose temporal dimensions far exceed the specific experiences of an individual's life (Hunt, 1980). What I consider as important in the findings of the study, is the centrality of shared meaning in guiding the women's actions. Their actions are explicable and rendered meaningful to them through their interpretations of the concepts of the family and motherhood which frame such understanding.

The accounts of the women show how the integration of family, neighbourhood and workplace relations is cast within a dominant and pervasive understanding of the family. The concept of 'the family' in its continuing dominant form of the nuclear family, whether as a first or subsequent marriage, is lived in various ways according to the family strategies that are worked out in response to the limiting and enabling conditions of the experienced locality.

The particular ways in which women do integrate the relations of home life and employment become part of the discourse around which these relations are defined, entering into the construction of knowledge as women meet together and work out understandings of their everyday life. Knowledge of different ways of practising family life further form a basis from which continued action can be informed and evaluated. Ideas and understandings therefore, and their negotiable quality, are firmly contextualized in concrete instances. Practice,
ideas and understandings are not separate interacting entities but are intertwined as ideology; ideology as lived practice.

The organization of social relations between women, as well as between men and women, are an important cultural component in understanding ideological processes. In understanding ideology as lived practice, then if dominant ideas are not reified and deemed as natural ways of doing things, it follows that power relations may be questioned and seeds for resistance and change sown (Rose, 1987). Certainly the women of the study experienced ambiguities in their situation as mothers. Despite their commitment to motherhood and the family, the everyday working out of home and workplace relations included a questioning of 'traditional' ways of mothering. But the possibility of change is circumscribed by the very conditions which support the pragmatism of existing ethnographic concepts. I suggest that the conservatism of an ideology of familialism juxtaposed against the rapid social, political and economic changes of advanced capitalist society becomes a point of articulation of the tensions necessarily inherent in the reproductive and transformative capacity of human agency. As Sayer rightly points out, "Activity involves more than the transformation of material things, it also involves the sharing of meaning" and furthermore meaning is constitutive of human practice. "Insofar as what we do depends on understanding meanings or concepts which are available in society." (1983:14).

In this study the women's actions in seeking safe spaces for their children is a means by which they cope with and are an active part of renegotiating meanings of their relationship to the labour force which do not always adequately provide an effective currency for meeting women's changing needs and desires. The redefinition of women's labour requires the reframing of traditional meanings and practice of motherhood in actions and a language which
more closely relates to the re-evaluating women's place in society. The construction of understandings of 'motherhood' are part and parcel of this process of evaluation. Motherhood is certainly of an ideal form in women's conceptions, but its content is negotiable. Further this negotiation is carried out in moral terms, which themselves are embedded in attempts to 'live up' to the demands of expert discourse and stereotypical family images. But women's own expertise which is supported by the reification of the 'naturalness' of motherhood as an abstract concept, their own experiences of their mothers and grandmothers and the observations of the mothering practices of other women around them temper and evaluate expert information and advice. In effect there is a vast array of ideas which situationally, in the context of specific locales, enter into stocks of accumulated knowledge and are mediated through the specific nature and content of such locales of everyday life, whether they be of the home, neighbourhood or workplace.

Motherhood, within particular experiences of family life, is subject to discourse whereby meaning of its content is generated in accounting for the experiences of the women. It is part of a larger discourse which comprises the understandings which fit best with the working out of current reality. While such understandings continue to provide a reasonable explanation for action and events of the women's life experiences, they become part of the taken-for-granted routine knowledge of practical consciousness which guides strategic conduct, as described by Giddens (1984). Such conduct is guided by the taken-for-granted knowledge individuals hold about their position in society, their actions and the reasons they see for these actions. But when meanings, for example of motherhood, begin to lose efficacy in reasonably interpreting the world they may shift to the level of discursive consciousness whereby they are 'pulled out' and put into words. The focused locale of the
parenting class, where 'expert' knowledge is presented, discussed and evaluated in relation to women's own experiences is perhaps a particularly apt example of the way meaning becomes subject to comparison, negotiation and redefinition.

The unfocused and focused locales emerging from institutional activity and consequential to the daily round of activity are sites of communication, a communication which not only relays information, but negotiates and shares meaning of available concepts. Critical to this negotiation and sharing of meaning is morality, since moral rules of ways of doing things both constrain and, in turn, are open to new meanings of morality. Locales thus become mediating links between identity and practice and the moral dimension of practice is a means of validating identity.

The attributes which are considered to be those of appropriate motherhood are thus situationally defined and are lived in different ways according to the conditions bounding human action. These conditions are experienced in the form of local context, but originate in the relations of capitalism and patriarchy. The localized domestic workplace, spatially separate from wage workplaces, provide the conditions under which women can share ways of carrying out their common occupation of mothering.

In changing knowledge and meaning of mothering practices and motherhood, an anticipated outcome would be the possibility of a change in the organization of the sexual division of labour and the structure of gender relations. But the findings of this study suggest that the responsibility and management of childrearing remains gender specific. Women are 'capable of making a difference' but only within the bounds of dominant patterns of organization and ideas; accompanying regularized social practices are likely to be resistant to rapid change if current ways of doing things continue to meet meanings which render the world explicable. The family as a morally defined
institution appears resistant to change, yet through child-centred activities and interests meanings of the family and motherhood are constantly being negotiated by women, whose practical actions also support such negotiated meanings. Children may well be a constraint in terms of currently dominant moral rules, but also become sources of support, options and opportunity as women define the meaning of the mother-child relationship and translate this into the actions of their everyday lives.

5. Endnote

The women of the study are not faced with poverty, nor are they experiencing the extreme dominance recounted in studies of family violence. Nor are they the women that they themselves perceive as being "under their husband's thumb" in a restricted and servile relationship. I cannot speak for these latter women, but there is no reason to believe that the accounts of the women of my study are atypical of many Canadian women and represent the types of resolution such women may reach in their search for an equal position in society within prevailing social, economic and ideological conditions. The women are fostering conditions for change but the dominance of the capitalist and patriarchal relations identified in feminist literature must direct the form and content of change and the means by which it may be accomplished.

The study has been an interpretative account of women's lives as mothers. The methods I have used have been essential in reaching the contradictions, as well as the complexity, of the organization of gender relations. It supports the socialist-feminist literature that contends that 'woman' as a category is situationally defined, with its meaning and content mutable. It goes beyond the 'constraint' oriented activity pattern literature of geography in showing that the demonstration of behaviour patterns fails to recognize that such actions are
manifestations of the intertwining of relations which in themselves are changeable. Space does make a difference to women's lives, not just as physical arrangements adding to logistical problems, but as central to how social interaction is constructed and understood. Space, as Rose (1987:96) notes is "a series of contexts interwoven with human agents, social structure, institutions, material production relationships, and so forth." Furthermore, the manifestations particularly of the sexual division of labour are involved in not only reproducing the conditions of women's lives, but also have a capacity for supporting change. 'Constraints' may also be enabling if we incorporate notions of the active human agent.

Yet the reliance on the structuration thesis must leave us with little comment on determinate relations or the primacy of capitalism and patriarchy in women's domination. The intention of the study was not, however, to draw causal connections but to explore women's experiences and interpretations of childrearing in local context. Structuration theory together with questions framed in terms of feminist interests, I believe, does permit the development of a sensitivity in understanding how everyday experiences are related to the wider structuring of society and space, a concern that must remain at the heart of a geography which is accurately a 'human geography'. Nevertheless, rather than viewing structuration theory as a set of applied concepts by which to explain the world, instead its notions provide a language in which to couch knowledge of the world, one which can be cognizant of the interpretations of those coping and living within it and acknowledging its inherent spatiality.

Further research would be useful that extended such investigation to other groups of women where areas of uncertainty and stress in the ways they deal with motherhood are more sharply defined through cultural notions of a 'woman's place'. The social contradiction of beliefs about motherhood and wage
labour participation for immigrant women, for example, may be differently
defined and coped with. Would suburban supportive 'neighbourhoods' as
described in this study be created where values and expectations might vary
widely? Or in the city environment what alternative locales may be part of
women's negotiation of the meaning of their social identity? Such
investigation would highlight the relevant relations of the interlocking
processes of shaping people and space, particularly with regards to gender and
ethnically defined categories, both of which are mutable and situationally
defined.

In the pursuit of geographical explanation we need to continue to seek
new ways of combining understandings of the 'local' and the general, including
time, space, agency and structure in accounting for the ways in which the
socio-spatial dialectic forms the conditions under which people live (Soja,
1987). Such accounts must incorporate an understanding of knowledge as a
social construction, both in the empirical situations we are studying and in the
presentation of our findings. This is particularly important in the case of a
feminist mode of explanation, which is overtly political in its advocation that
all research suggest ways of benefitting women through change. Broadening the
range of options for women's ways of living is an obvious rider to feminist
research, but how this can be achieved through policy is less clear.
Conservative notions and institutions would not appear to be amenable to rapid
change, and the findings of this study would suggest that in addition to making
things easier for women to enter the paid labour force through the provision of
inexpensive daycare which is flexible in hours and of various alternative modes,
supportive environments must also be fostered so that families, of whatever
form, can raise their children in ways of their choice which may include a
full-time parent at home. While social and monetary value is more
predominantly placed on achievement in the wage workplace than on the biological and social reproduction of human beings, including their physical, social and emotional well-being, this is unlikely to be met without struggle.

The specifics of social policy which would result in equity for men and women is not within the bounds of this thesis. More importantly I see its value in relation to issues of equality in being aware of the powerful influence of certain constructions of the knowledge about our world on the way we think about it. In suggesting that research should be gender-aware is to advocate that women's experiences and ways of viewing the world must be an equal part of the language in which we describe and understand that world. This is not to recommend a 'ghettoization' of women's studies but rather that such gender-awareness be part of the framing of research problems, whether they be about men or women or both. Divergencies in the ways in which reality is viewed need to be incorporated into the stocks of knowledge of academia, as well as being acknowledged as an empirical fact.

It may be that researchers in geography, as with other areas of the social sciences, will need to pursue studies specifically on women for some time to demonstrate the differences in life experiences that the social construction of gender creates, but eventually these should be incorporated into analysis in such a way that concepts are not gender-free but gender-aware (Eichler, 1983, 1987). Perhaps the present status of feminism as almost a 'side-issue' is temporary and that as knowledge of gender differences gains wider currency we can move towards the enviable position attained at the Birmingham Centre for Cultural Studies where questions of gender, once organized in the work of a Women's Studies Group, are now central to all the Centre's research groups. Feminism "is slowly redesigning every area of critical intellectual life. The transformations it has provoked are profound and unstoppable" (Hall, 1980: 39).
In presenting an account of the organization of mothering work within a particular locality, I hope to have added a further dimension to the understanding of how gender identity is shaped by events, material conditions and dominant meanings which are an inextricable part of the way knowledge of our geographical and social worlds is constructed.
APPENDIX A

PROFILES OF RESPONDENTS

(Where exact age was not given, categories 31-35 and 36-40 are used)

Agnes
Age: 36-40
No. of Children: two - 9,7 years
Education: High school
Born: England
Occupation before children: clerical
Present Occupation: homemaker, volunteer
Security of Income: husband had been unemployed, currently stable job.
Car Access: yes
Length of residence:
  a) neighbourhood
  6 years

Barbara
Age: 30
No. of Children: two - 3 years, 7mths
Education: High school
Born: Quebec
Occupation before children: clerical
Present Occupation: homemaker
Security of Income: yes
Car Access: yes
Length of residence:
  a) neighbourhood
  5 years
  b) Coquitlam area
  6 years

Joanna
Age: 31-35
No. of Children: three - 6,4 years, 9 months.
Education: psychiatric and general nurse
Born: Manitoba
Occupation before children: nurse
Present Occupation: homemaker
Security of Income: yes
Car Access: yes
Length of residence:
  a) neighbourhood
  3 years
  b) Coquitlam area
  since last year of high school
  352
Nicole
Age: 36-40
No. of Children: Seven; between 2 and 16 years
Education: B.A.
Born: Vancouver
Occupation before children: secretary
Present Occupation: homemaker, volunteer
Security of Income: yes
Car Access: yes
Length of residence:
   a) neighbourhood 11 (3 houses) years

Monica
Age: 36-40
No. of Children: two - 4,2 years
Education: B.Sc.
Born: England (in Canada since young child)
Occupation before children: Assistant bank manager
Present Occupation: Homemaker, bank technical services
Security of Income: yes
Car Access: yes
Length of residence:
   a) neighbourhood 8 years

Cara
Age: 31-35
No. of Children: two - 8,5 years
Education: teacher training
Born: North Vancouver
Occupation before children: music teacher
Present Occupation: real estate agent
Security of Income: yes
Car Access: yes
Length of residence:
   a) neighbourhood 10 (2 houses) years

353
Jennifer
Age: 31-35
No. of Children: four - 9, 6, 3 years, 6 months
Education: teacher
Born: Kenya
Occupation before children: teacher
Present Occupation: homemaker, book-keeping for husband
Security of Income: yes
Car Access: yes
Length of residence: a) neighbourhood 31/2 years

Kathy
Age: 31-35
No. of Children: two - 3 years, 10 months
Education: B.Sc.
Born: Quebec
Occupation before children: Accounting (non-certified)
Present Occupation: Homemaker
Security of Income: yes
Car Access: yes
Length of residence: a) neighbourhood 4 years

Deirdre
Age: 31-35
No. of Children: two - 5 years, 7 months
Education: registered psychiatric nurse
Born: Saskatchewan
Occupation before children: nurse
Present Occupation: nurse
Security of Income: yes
Car Access: yes
Length of residence: a) neighbourhood 4 years
b) Coquitlam area 7 years

354
Tricia
Age: 35
No. of Children: two - 11,7 years
Education: Two years post-secondary
Born: British Columbia (Interior)
Occupation before children: Laboratory technician
Present Occupation: homemaker, volunteer
Security of Income: yes
Car Access: yes
Length of residence:
   a) neighbourhood 12 years

Mary
Age: 32
No. of Children: Two - 6, 2 years
Education: Teacher
Born: New Westminster
Occupation before children: teacher
Present Occupation: part-time teacher
Security of Income: yes (instability during recession)
Car Access: yes
Length of residence:
   a) neighbourhood 6 1/2 years

Ellen
Age: 36-40
No. of Children: two - 10,6 years
Education: B.A.
Born: British Columbia (Interior)
Occupation before children: legal secreatry
Present Occupation: part-time secretary
Security of Income: yes
Car Access: yes
Length of residence:
   a) neighbourhood 13 years
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of Children</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Occupation before children</th>
<th>Present Occupation</th>
<th>Security of Income</th>
<th>Car Access</th>
<th>Length of residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sharon</td>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>two - 7,5 years</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Pitt Meadows</td>
<td>clerical</td>
<td>homemaker</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>11 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>two - 8,7 years</td>
<td>Grade 8</td>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>key punch operator</td>
<td>homemaker</td>
<td>variable</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>2 years (a) neighbourhood, 12 years (b) Coquitlam area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>two - 7,4 years</td>
<td>Grade 12</td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>Office supervisor</td>
<td>homemaker (summer book-keeping)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>7 years one year, 356</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*
Valerie
Age: 36
No. of Children: two – 8,4 years
Education: Four years post-secondary
Born: Alberta
Occupation before children: office auditor
Present Occupation: administrator
Security of Income: no
Car Access: yes
Length of residence: 6 years
   a) neighbourhood

Lyn
Age: 26
No. of Children: two – 6,2 years
Education: One year community college
Born: Richmond
Occupation before children: sales clerk
Present Occupation: homemaker, summer clerical work
Security of Income: no
Car Access: yes
Length of residence: 6 years
   a) neighbourhood

Helen
Age: 36-40
No. of Children: two – 8,6 years
Education: Grade 12
Born: Saskatchewan
Occupation before children: secretarial
Present Occupation: senior secretarial
Security of Income: yes
Car Access: yes
Length of residence: 12 years
   a) neighbourhood

357
### Donna

- **Age:** 31-36
- **No. of Children:** three - 8,5 and 3 years
- **Education:** Grade 12
- **Born:** Coquitlam area
- **Occupation before children:** bookkeeper
- **Present Occupation:** part-time bookkeeper, volunteer
- **Security of Income:** variable
- **Car Access:** yes
- **Length of residence:**
  - a) neighbourhood
  - b) Coquitlam area
  - 12 years
  - born in area

### Jacquie

- **Age:** 31-36
- **No. of Children:** three - 8,4 years, 5months
- **Education:** high school
- **Born:** England
- **Occupation before children:** bookkeeper for family business
- **Present Occupation:** homemaker, volunteer
- **Security of Income:** yes
- **Car Access:** yes
- **Length of residence:**
  - a) neighbourhood
  - 5 years

### Diane

- **Age:** 31-36
- **No. of Children:** two - 8, 5 years
- **Education:** Grade 12
- **Born:** Burnaby
- **Occupation before children:** clerical
- **Present Occupation:** homemaker, volunteer
- **Security of Income:** yes
- **Car Access:** yes
- **Length of residence:**
  - a) neighbourhood
  - 5 years
  - 358
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of Children</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Occupation before children</th>
<th>Present Occupation</th>
<th>Security of Income</th>
<th>Car Access</th>
<th>Length of residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alison</td>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>two - 7, 5 years</td>
<td>high school</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>personnel management</td>
<td>personnel assistant</td>
<td>yes (insecure in recession)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>less than a year</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louise</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>two, 10, 8 years</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>physiotherapist</td>
<td>homemaker, volunteer, student</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>6 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maureen</td>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>Grade 12</td>
<td></td>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>clerical</td>
<td>homemaker, volunteer, home business</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>11 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pamela
Age: 36-40
No. of children: two - 12, 10 years
Education: High school
Born: England
Occupation before children: receptionist
Present occupation: homemaker, part-time bookkeeping, volunteer
Security of income: yes
Car access: yes
Length of residence:
  a) neighbourhood 13 years
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONS GUIDING TOPICS OF INTERVIEW

A. Background Information
   1. Birthplace
   2. Where grew up
   3. Education
   4. Age, and age at first child's birth
   5. Parent's occupations
   6. Husband's occupation
   7. First marriage?
   8. Household composition

B. Housing History
   - Probes
     - length of residence, changes of residence within area
     - previous knowledge of area, kin links?
     - links with husband's occupation
     - stated reasons of choice
     - structural alterations
     - as a place to live?

C. Occupational History
   - Probes
     - events surrounding taking and leaving jobs
     - links with husband's career, marriage, childbirth?
     - present occupation(s); future plans?
     - description of present paid employment, conditions

D. Social/Working Conditions
   - Changes in standard of living, security and income
   - car access
   - appliances, house size, play space for children
   - organization of housekeeping, help?
   - contacts with neighbours
   - location of kin, friends; type and frequency of contact
   - membership in social groups, organizations
   - health care
E. **Children**
- ages, sex, health
- schools, preschools
- activities (weekly schedule)
- where with whom they play
- use of community resources
- parental involvement

- **Childcare/babysitting**
  - Probes - when used, for what purposes
    - how found; features considered important
    - variations
    - reciprocity?
    - links with paid employment conditions?

F. **Daily Routines** (further detail obtained from time/space diaries)
- how time spent in and out of home
- where go, why, with whom
- trips outside Coquitlam area?
- control/flexibility
- where are children?
- what sort of day (experiences) results?
- links to husband's activities/paid employment

G. **Everyday Life**
- feelings about life as a mother/wife at home, re paid employment (including best/worst aspects)
- future expectations for children/self
- how "problem-solve" with childrearing
- perceived sources of ideas on childrearing; advice sought?
- differences/similarities with own childhood
- most important things for coping with daily life?
APPENDIX C

TIME/SPACE DIARY

Please use the attached sheets to fill in a 'diary' for one weekday, in as much detail as possible. The information is strictly confidential and you need not use names or addresses. The purpose is to get a picture of where you spent your time, with whom and what you were doing. And to see where children are spending their time. To help you, keep the following in mind:

1. Start from when you get up in the morning until your children are in bed (if a babysitter is used please state this).

2. If you were at home:
   - who was with you? what did you do?
   - if the children were at home, what were they doing?

3. If you were out:
   - how far away did you go?
   - how did you get there?
   - what was main purpose of trip?
   - did anyone go with you?

4. If your children were out:
   - where were they?
   - was anyone with them?
   - did they need to be driven or take a bus? Who drove if they went somewhere by car?

Please add a brief statement about this day - was it fairly typical?
   - how did you feel about it?
APPENDIX D

ANALYTIC MEMOS

Analytic memos were kept throughout the research process and essentially make up an 'ideas file' related to reading, fieldwork observation and interview material. They comprise written notes which identified emerging ideas and acted to progressively focus the data collection and analysis. As the memos accumulated they formed a preliminary analysis of the field work data, both the participant-observation and interview stages.

It is also through these notes that an account of the research process was developed. In addition to recording the data collection, this account described my own involvement and feelings about the research. This procedure is essential to reflexive research for, as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) point out, this exercise causes the researcher to question what he or she knows and the conditions under which this knowledge was acquired, rather than taking understanding 'on trust.'
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