

# Imagining Public Policy to Meet Women's Economic Security Needs

October 13 – 15, 2005 | SFU Vancouver Campus



## Conference program



CCPA  
CANADIAN CENTRE  
for POLICY ALTERNATIVES  
BC Office



SIMON FRASER  
UNIVERSITY

ECONOMIC SECURITY PROJECT



Social Sciences and Humanities  
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sciences humaines du Canada

Canada

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13, 2005

THURSDAY EVENING KEYNOTE

## Meeting Women's Needs: Imaginative Government & Imaginative Public Policy

The Hon. Monique Bégin, PC, FRSC, OC

*Professor emeritus, Faculty of Health Sciences  
and Visiting Professor, Health Administration,  
School of Management University of Ottawa*

A sociologist, Monique Bégin was the Executive Secretary of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (1967-1970) before becoming the first woman from Québec elected to the House of Commons (Liberal, 1972). Re-elected in 1974, 1979, 1980, she was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs (1975-1976) by Prime Minister P.E. Trudeau. Sworn in as Minister of National



Revenue (1976-1977), she then became Minister of National Health and Welfare (1977-1984). She remains best known for the Canada Health Act (1984).

She left politics in September 1984. A university professor since, Monique Bégin was the first holder of the Joint Chair in Women's Studies at Ottawa and Carleton Universities. Dean of the Faculty of Health Sciences at University of Ottawa (1990-1997), she also co-chaired the Royal Commission on Learning of Ontario (1993-1994) and served on the Inter-

national Independent Commission on Population and Quality of Life (1993-1996). She has been associated with the Health Administration Program at the School of Management since 1998. In 2005, she was appointed to the WHO Commission on Social Determinants of Health.

She is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada (1996) and has received 14 honorary doctorates in recognition of her contribution to human rights and to public policies. In 1998, she was invested as Officer of the Order of Canada.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 2005

PLENARY I (SEGAL CENTRE – ROOM 1400)

## Imagining Progressive Social Welfare Policy

**Chair: Seth Klein (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives – BC Office; Co-Director of the Economic Security Project)**

**Jane Jenson (Université de Montréal)**

In 2001 Jane Jenson was awarded the Canada Research Chair in Citizenship and Governance at the Université de Montréal, where she is professor of Political Science. Between June 1999 and 2004, she was the Director of the Family Network of Canadian Policy Research Networks, Inc., a policy think tank located in Ottawa. She is also Editor of *Lien social et Politiques – RIAC*, a social policy journal. Jane Jenson earned her B.A. Honours from McGill University and her Ph.D. from the University of Rochester in 1974, and then taught at Carleton University until 1993. In 2005 she was named a Fellow of the Trudeau Foundation and in 2004 a member of the *Successful Societies* programme of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research. She has been a Visiting Professor at a number of European universities, including the Universität Augsburg,

Freie Universität Berlin, the European University Institute in Florence. At Harvard University she held the William Lyon Mackenzie King Chair in Canadian Studies for a year in 1989. She was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1989. Her current research interests and publications cover a wide spectrum, including social policy, social movements, the relationship between Quebec and the rest of Canada, citizenship, diversity, and gender studies.

**Shelagh Day (Poverty & Human Rights Centre)**

Shelagh Day is a human rights expert and advocate. Currently, she is one of the Directors of the Poverty and Human Rights Centre. A central goal of the Project is to strengthen the human rights of the poorest women. In 1999 she co-authored, with Gwen Brodsky, a study entitled *Women and the Equality Deficit* about the impact on women of restructuring Canada's social programs. This study examines the connection between current economic policies and both domestic and international guarantees of equality. She has also authored submissions to the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on Canada's compliance with the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* and submissions to the United Nations Human Rights

Committee on Canada's compliance with the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*. In 1998, Ms. Day was a member of the expert panel on human rights at the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women where she addressed the issue of women's right to economic equality.

Shelagh Day is the co-author of a book on the guarantee of equality for women contained in Canada's *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, and numerous articles on statutory human rights commissions as institutional mechanisms for advancing the equality of disadvantaged groups. She is the publisher of the Canadian Human Rights Reporter. She is also the former Director of the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission, the first President of the Women's Legal Education and Action Fund, and a Vice-President of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women.

#### **Patsy George (Community advocate and activist)**

Patsy George is the president of the United Nations Association in Canada, Vancouver Branch, Director of Stephen Lewis Foundation and Chair of the Parents Together Society of BC. Patsy is a retired public servant with many years of social work experience in various parts of Canada. She served on the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, served as the president of BC Association of Social workers and president of International council of social welfare Canada. She has spoken at numerous conferences locally and internationally and has represented Canada and the Canadian NGOs at various UN Summits. She is the recipient of many awards and recognitions including the Order of British Columbia.

## **SESSION A**

ROUNDTABLE A (ROOM 1400)

### **Challenging the Income Security/ Labour Market Nexus for Women**

**Chair: Jane Pulkingham (Simon Fraser University,  
Sociology & Anthropology)**

This roundtable will strategize about removing the barriers women face moving from income security programs into the labour market, or combining income support and earnings. We begin at the conceptual level with the current framing of social policy and its implications for women's work and income security. We then draw on experiences in different jurisdictions and contexts, and with different programs to draw out lessons for a better nexus between income security policy and employment for women.

#### **Martha MacDonald (St. Mary's University)**

Martha MacDonald will focus on lessons learned from research in rural communities as women navigate the terrain of seasonal work and income support programs, especially EI, workers' compensation and social assistance. Of particular concern are interactions amongst policies that make little sense on the ground and that jeopardize the short-term and long-term health and well-being of women. The current program structures have negative impacts on women's access to training, safe jobs and their retirement prospects. How can perverse interactions amongst policies and unhealthy incentives be eliminated? Building on an analysis of the struggle of women and their families to navigate the existing terrain, she will draw out key changes needed to better meet their needs and fit the economic reality of their communities. She will draw on a policy paper on seasonal work prepared for HRSDC as well as research conducted in coastal Newfoundland and Labrador as part of the project "Coasts Under Stress: The Impact of Social and Environmental Restructuring on Environmental and Human Health in Canada."

*Martha MacDonald teaches Economics at Saint Mary's University. Her research areas are: gender and economic restructuring, income security policy and work/life balance.*

#### **Wendy McKeen (Dalhousie University)**

Wendy McKeen raises philosophical questions concerning the overall direction of social policy change in Canada in the recent period. Her substantive focus is the new spending priorities for social support for families in the form of the NCB and community-based programs for families and children "at risk" funded under various federal-provincial schemes. She will draw on her recent study of the national children's agenda debate and previous work on the political debates surrounding women and federal child benefits to raise questions concerning the deeper nature of the changes taking place: are we witnessing a fundamental shift in our understanding of social policy? How adequately does the current policy agenda conceptualize social problems and offer a means for addressing them? Does it facilitate real opportunity for women or does it support a low-wage labour force?

*Wendy McKeen teaches social policy in the School of Social Work, Dalhousie University. She currently has SSHRC funding for a project on "The Shaping of Discourse on Single Mothers on Welfare: The Voice of Feminists Within the 'Nested' Policy Debates of Ontario, 1980 to 2000."*

**Randy Albelda (University of Massachusetts–Boston)**

Randy Albelda documents the gap between earnings and needs for low-wage workers and their families by mapping the trajectory of six actual and potential income supports and access to benefits as job-related income increases for “archetypal” low-income single mother families in Massachusetts (part of a multi-state project). Low-wage workers in the United States have always faced difficulties earning enough to meet their basic needs in the context of the complex financial trade-offs between receiving public benefits and taking on any or more employment. However, welfare reform and skyrocketing housing and medical costs have exacerbated these challenges to low income families, policy makers, and the providers and agencies that serve them. Wages are too often too low to meet the high cost of living in many states, many benefits are sometimes difficult to get even when eligible, and eligibility for benefits phase out at relatively low earnings. The ways in which earnings supports phase out as earnings increase matter, and are currently unexamined together. Universal health insurance and child care coverage would not only improve net resources for low-income families as a breadwinner earns more, it would level the earnings playing field for low-income workers in the US, and reduce bureaucratic hurdles.

*Randy Albelda teaches economics at the University of Massachusetts–Boston. She has written on welfare reform, paid family leave policies, racial and gender divisions in occupations, on the distribution of family income and earnings, and on gender and race bias in radical theories of labour market segmentation.*

**Stella Lord (Nova Scotia policy analyst) – Low Income Single Mothers and Compulsory Employment**

Stella Lord will focus on the implications for low income single mothers in Canada of gender regime change in provincial social assistance programs from regimes once based on maternalism to regimes based on compulsory employability and ‘self sufficiency’. In the context of federal social policy change and restructuring since 1995 and changes in the labour market, she will draw on her recent research on changes in the policy environment in Nova Scotia, including a research report she wrote with Ann Martell for the Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women, *Building Transitions to Good Jobs for Low-Income Women*, to outline a number of current problems in federal and provincial income security policies and programs (Social Assistance and Employment Insurance), policies related to ‘employability’, skills development, access to adult and higher education as well as labour standards that impede the ability of low income women to reduce their risk of poverty through a transition to employment. She identifies a number of policy and program changes that will

be necessary if the new focus on welfare to work and employability within welfare regimes is to go beyond simply moving low income women from welfare to contingent or low paid employment.

*Stella Lord is recently retired as a policy analyst with the Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women. Stella has been actively engaged in action and policy-oriented research with women’s groups for over 25 years in both professional and voluntary capacities, most recently with CRIAW-Nova Scotia, Nova Scotia Women’s FishNet and the Women’s Economic Equality Society.*

**Ernie Lightman (University of Toronto, Social Work) – Challenging the Assumptions of the Economic Market**

In the attempt to challenge the labour market/income security nexus for women, it is important to confront the fundamental premises of the classical economic market. These premises highlight, not only the centrality of paid work in a market economy, but also the importance of individualism and self-reliance. This brief presentation will address some of these assumptions on which classical economics is built and their deleterious consequences for women.

*Ernie Lightman received his BA from the University of Toronto and his MA and PhD in economics from the University of California, Berkeley. A former faculty member at the London School of Economics he has been a professor of social policy at the University of Toronto for over 25 years. He is currently the Principal Investigator for a SSHRC-funded study of welfare-to-work programs, primarily in Ontario.*

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PANEL A1 (ROOM 1500)

**Translating Dreams into Policy:  
Re-Imagining Governance**

**Chair: Marcy Cohen (Hospital Employees’ Union)**

**Barbara Cameron (York University)**

During the 1980s and 1990s the women’s movement in Canada intervened actively in debates around state institutions, recognizing their potential to facilitate or hold back the realization of women’s social and economic rights. In a period of diminished feminist mobilization in the late 1990s, the Social Union was put in place as a new framework for inter-governmental relations in Canada. In the current fight for a universal system of child care, the Social Union has proven to be an even greater obstacle to the achievement of women’s equality demands than earlier regimes of federalism. This paper surveys and assesses options for an alternative Social Union – one with social rights – and makes the case for a re-assertion of a feminist voice in debates around Canadian

federal structures as an essential part of the fight for economic and social justice.

*Barbara Cameron is Associate Professor of Political Science in the Atkinson Faculty of Liberal and Professional Studies at York University where she teaches in the areas of public policy and Canadian government. The current focus of her research is federalism, political accountability and social rights.*

#### **Shelagh Day (Poverty & Human Rights Centre)**

In the 2005 federal budget the block transfer of funds from the federal government to the provinces and territories that supports social programs, the Canada Health and Social Transfer, was split into two: the Canada Health Transfer and the Canada Social Transfer (CST). The federal transfers that establish social programs, and determine funding levels for them, are indispensable practical vehicles that give life to women's human rights.

For this reason, women have an important stake in the upcoming debate about the future of the CST, and in ensuring that options for its design take women, and the requirements of the human rights framework, into account. Shelagh Day will examine the background of the transfer, and proposals for ensuring that it works as a mechanism for advancing women's equality.

*Shelagh Day is one of the Directors of the Poverty and Human Rights Centre. She is a human rights expert and advocate.*

#### **Tammy Findlay (York University)**

Feminists must actively contribute to debates about state restructuring not merely through critique, but by moving beyond what Susan Ferguson calls the "politics of preservation," toward imagining alternatives. As such, Imagining Public Policy that will meet women's economic security needs is imperative. However, women's economic security, or substantive democracy, cannot be achieved without also re-imagining, or democratizing political decision-making. This paper presentation, "Femocratic Administration and Women's Economic Security," is one attempt at doing so. It asserts that a transformation of the administrative structures of governance is key to democratization, but democratic administration must be informed by a feminist analysis. The paper describes how a combination of feminist bureaucratic restructuring, representative bureaucracy and democratic administration are essential to building a 'femocratic administration' charged with ensuring women's economic security.

*Tammy Findlay is completing her PhD in political science at York University. Her work and research are related to issues of gender and Canadian politics, gender and public policy, gender and democracy, political representation and feminist political economy.*

#### **Kim McIntyre (York University)**

Feminists have discussed the restructuring of the state at considerable length and there is widespread agreement that the shift to neo-liberalism has meant a considerable narrowing in the conception of the proper role of the state. This narrowing has had particular consequences on the conception of the public sector and, as a result, on women's employment within and around this sector. The importance of the public sector for women's employment, and for women's equality, necessitates careful consideration of how best to define this sector and ensure employment within it meets women's needs for economic security. In moving towards alternatives, feminist analysis can be used to challenge the narrowing of the conception of the state and to imagine a vision of the public sector, and the public good, that meets the economic security needs of women as state workers.

*Kim McIntyre is a Ph.D. Candidate for Political Science at York University.*

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PANEL A2 (ROOM 1510)

### **Women of an (un)certain age: Shaping older women's economic future**

#### **Chair: Laurell Ritchie (Canadian Auto Workers Union)**

This panel discusses some of the social, legal and economic forces in Canada and internationally that are having a profoundly negative effect on the lives of today's older women, as well as limiting the options of all women as they age. Participants will identify several means in public policy to begin addressing these diverse problems.

#### **Charmaine Spencer (Simon Fraser University, Gerontology Research Centre)**

Charmaine Spencer will offer a brief legal overview in older women's circumstances in labour/ employment, highlighting the ways in which human rights and labour laws, as well as employer attitudes and union positions in Canada work to the disadvantage of women, particularly in middle and later life. Current discourse around mandatory retirement often belies broader ageism and sexism.

*Charmaine Spencer, LL.M. is a lawyer and Research Associate in Vulnerable Populations at Simon Fraser University's Gerontology Research Centre, focussing on a range of legal and social issues in aging.*

### **Elsie Dean (Women Elders in Action)**

Elsie Dean of Women Elders in Action (WE\*ACT) will identify the adverse affects of discrimination at the heart of Canada's pension policies. Drawing on WE\*ACT's position paper, *Pensions In Canada: Policy Reform Because Women Matter*, she will describe the positive impact of more equitable pension and taxation policies and offers a variety of solutions to help achieve those goals.

*Elsie Dean of Women Elders in Action (WE\*ACT) has been a community-based researcher and activist in the feminist, social justice and environmental movements for several decades.*

### **Lillian Zimmerman (Simon Fraser University, Gerontology Research Centre)**

Lillian Zimmerman speaks to division of labour in middle and later life, and the social construction of women's aging. There has been a lack of recognition of the diversity and value of older women's contributions. She highlights how older women are largely treated as invisible, even within feminist perspectives. This invisibility carries into public policy in key areas, including Canada's public pension system. The cumulative effect of these forces becomes the foundation for poverty for women in later life. International trends to retrenchment in public pensions pose a threat to women in Canada too.

*Lillian Zimmerman, M.S.W. is a Research Associate at the Gerontology Research Centre SFU. Her areas of interest include older women in terms of social policy, pensions, retirement, and late life financial security.*

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PANEL A3 (ROOM 1700)

## **Immigrant, Casual and Precarious Workers**

**Chair: Leah Vosko (York University, Atkinson Faculty of Liberal and Professional Studies)**

**Jill Hanley (Université Libre de Bruxelles) – Economic Security for Women with Precarious Immigration Status: Enforcing Labour Rights for Everyone**

Experiences in a Montreal community organization and interviews with migrant workers document the limitations of labour protections. For women whose "precarious status" denies the permanent right to remain in Canada and/or depends on a third party (spouse or employer), the situation is acute. Intersecting gender roles, immigration and labour laws mean that many migrant women (sponsored wives, refugees, live-in caregivers, trafficked) are outside regular labour laws. This paper will argue for redefinition of labour

standard and workers' compensation legislation and regulations to protect all workers, including migrant women.

*Jill Hanley is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles and a community activist whose work has concentrated on community organising around immigration and anti-poverty issues.*

*This paper is co-authored by Eric Shragge (Concordia University)*

**Dan Zuberi (University of British Columbia) – The Torn Net: How Interactions of Social Safety Net Gaps Harm Hotel Room Attendants in Seattle and Vancouver**

Imagining public policy reform to improve women's economic security requires a multi-dimensional understanding of the social policies and processes that work to undermine security and cause hardship. Based on in-depth interviews with nearly 80 hotel employees in Seattle and Vancouver, this paper discusses the critical role of *interactions* between different social policy domains – unemployment, labour, health care, education/training, and child care – for failing to support or successfully mitigating material hardship experienced by workers and their families. Based on the findings, the paper concludes with recommended social and economic policies that would improve the economic security of the urban working poor.

*Dan Zuberi is an Assistant Professor of Urban Sociology at the University of British Columbia. His research focuses on how social policy and public institutions matter for the quality of life and material hardships experienced by the urban working poor in the service sector.*

**Fiona MacPhail (University of Northern British Columbia) – Imagining Public Policy: What do women casual workers want?**

Casual workers are one of the most vulnerable groups in the labour force. Their numbers have been increasing steadily in BC with associated increases in economic insecurity for a significant portion of the labour force. This paper presentation reports on a specially-designed survey of women casual workers undertaken in Vancouver and Prince George in 2005. The survey is designed to gather data on the nature of women's economic insecurity, experiences in and constraints on labour market activity, and the types of public policies which women believe would improve their lives. The case study results are placed within the broader context of the re-regulation of labour markets and critical views of flexible labour market literature, and women's suggestions for policies are compared to new policy approaches such as those of the International Labour Organization and Canadian specific views.

*Fiona MacPhail is Associate Professor of Economics at University of Northern British Columbia and a member of the*

*Economic Security Project, researching the impact of recent BC labour market policies on casual and vulnerable workers. She is interested in labour market regulation and has current research projects on volunteer work and social capital in Canada, and the impact of privatization of enterprises on workers in China.*

*This paper is co-authored by Paul Bowles (Dept. of Economics, University of Northern British Columbia).*

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PANEL A4 (ROOM 2280)

## **Meeting Women's Needs as Health Care Clients and Providers**

**Chair: Patricia Wejr (British Columbia Nurses' Union)**

**Melodie Kelly (Memorial University)**  
– **Supporting Women's Economic Security Needs Through A Universal Home Care Policy**

If we are going to imagine public policy that will benefit women's economic security needs than let us imagine a universal home care program that does not limit access to home care because of unpaid care-giving, financial contribution or residency requirements. Let us have a policy that will be fair and equitable to home care users and workers across the country. This could entail abolishing user fees, minimum training requirements for workers that is not dependent on literacy, more cohesive use of the helping professions so workers, clients and their families are better able to find additional information, help and support when needed.

*Melodie Kelly is currently completing a Masters of Arts degree in Anthropology at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Her thesis looks at home care in a rural Newfoundland community.*

**Arlene Tigar McLaren (Simon Fraser University)**  
– **Where's the Care? Re-conceptualizing the boundaries of public and private in community-based home support services**

During the last few years, as the BC Liberal government has dispersed health care into the community, it has severely cut and restructured programs and services. In doing so, it relies on women's poorly paid or unpaid caring labour. This paper explores policy alternatives for providing home support services that acknowledge the gendered implications of women's

work (and its intersection with racialization, class, age and immigration status). Such alternatives need to reflect on the actual practices of community health workers and informal family caregivers and to give recognition to patients' needs for social caring and the value of that caring.

*Arlene Tigar McLaren is Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology & Anthropology and an associate member of Women's Studies, Simon Fraser University. She is also a research associate of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and a co-investigator of the Economic Security Project. Her research is concerned with gender inequality (and its intersections with class, race, immigration status, and age) particularly as it relates to women's work and social caring. This paper is co-authored by Tracey Lou Black (BC Health Coalition), Darlene Thorburn (BCGEU) and Ann Chambers (BCGEU).*

**Laura Zilney (Canadian Federation of University Women) – Moving Beyond the Policy Debate: How Process Improvements Can Dramatically Impact Service Delivery in the Health Care System**

The state of Canadian health care is of great concern to all citizens. The country is constantly bombarded with reports and news articles describing the deteriorating state of our health care system and the mass exodus of health care practitioners. However, the reports tend to neglect the differential impact the deteriorating system has on women. Women are virtually non-existent in federal health care policy despite repeated evidence citing their different needs and experiences. What is evident is that the processes utilized are not universal, do not promote accessibility, and do not have adequate accountability and governance structures. The efficiency and effectiveness of the system can only be improved, and the underlying principles of policy actualized, if there are standardized processes in place. This research will answer: How can we ensure health care is available, safe, and meets the needs of women? The research will examine how inclusion of women in policy and procedure development will not only decrease the financial burden on the system, but also improve women's health and increase their economic independence. *Laura Zilney has been Chair of the Sub-Committee on Health for the Canadian Federation of University Women (CFUW) for three years. She is currently the Project Lead with the Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care for the province of Ontario.*

## SESSION B

ROUNDTABLE B (ROOM 1700)

### Community-based Health Care Models for the Economic Security of Women

**Chair: Jan Taylor (BC Co-operative Association)**

This roundtable session is intended to encourage conference participants to learn about the relationship between community-based health care using both the community clinic and co-op models and economic security issues.

Following short presentations by the resource people, conference participants will be engaged in an interactive discussion and encouraged to identify public policies in community-based care that promotes economic security for women.

**Laura Rath (Care Connections Co-op)/  
Michelle Kelly (Care Connections Co-op)**

Michelle Kelly and Laura Rath will explore union interest in co-ops as an option for women who have lost their jobs due to privatization. Their presentation will focus on why and when the co-op option makes sense and what is required to make these co-ops successful.

*Laura Rath is Co-ordinator of Care Connections Co-op;  
Michelle Kelly is LPN at Care Connections Co-op.*

**Sheila Rowswell (Mid-Main Health Community Health Centre and Hospital Employees' Union)**

Sheila Rowswell will present on the economic benefits for women providing primary care through a community health centre/clinic model that includes a range of services and welcomes disadvantaged women.

*Sheila Rowswell is the Chair of the Board for Mid-Main Community Health Centre.*

**Patrick LaPointe & Louise McKinney  
(Saskatoon Community Health Centre Co-op)**

Patrick LaPointe and Louise McKinney will discuss how the Saskatoon Community Health Centre Co-op addresses economic security issues for its members, which include a significant percentage of aboriginal women. The relationship between health services based on a social determinants approach and economic security will be highlighted as will the role of the co-op as an advocated for economic security policy and practice.

*Patrick LaPointe is Administrator of the Saskatoon Community Health Centre Co-op; Louise McKinney is a Native Health Worker in the Saskatoon Community Health Centre Co-op.*

**Marcy Cohen (Hospital Employees' Union)**

*Marcy Cohen is the Director of Research at Hospital Employees' Union and Co-ordinator of the Co-op Development/HEU Project.*

PANEL B1 (ROOM 1400)

### Livable or Basic Income: A New Approach to Economic Security

**Chair: Margot Young  
(University of British Columbia, Law)**

The session is based on the premise that a new model of economic security is required (beyond welfare state retrenchment, labour market adjustment, and means-tested and targeted programs), if we are to redistribute economic resources, live within our environmental limits, re-animate our communities, and provide effective protection for economically vulnerable sectors of our society.

The panel will focus on these six components: (1) key ideas of the Livable or Basic Income model, as advanced by local, national and international groups; (2) particular advantages of LI / BI for women (e.g. providing an economic option to staying in a dangerous or abusive relationship, recognizing unpaid care work, providing labour market and educational opportunities for women); (3) local activities to promote the LI / BI model (e.g. LIFE society in British Columbia, focus groups and community discussions being undertaken in Saskatchewan); (4) re-emergence of a national network in Canada promoting Allocation Universelle / Basic Income; (5) possible action steps to foster Livable / Basic Income discussion and demonstration in Canada; and (6) discussion and exchange of ideas with audience.

**Jim Mulvale (University of Regina)**

*Jim Mulvale is a Faculty member in Justice Studies, University of Regina. He is the author of Reimagining Social Welfare (Garamond Press, 2001); is currently conducting research on Basic Income in Saskatchewan, and involved in an emerging network on Allocation universelle / Basic Income in Canada.*

**Cindy L'Hirondelle  
(Victoria Status of Women Action Group)**

Women are inordinately affected by poverty because they do the world's essential yet unpaid economic work producing both producers and consumers. Because this work is deemed economically "unproductive", women are financially penalized. People with disabilities are also labeled "unproductive" and often face poverty. "Jobs" are promoted as the solution, yet the job system squanders nature's resources on

unnecessary or damaging economic activities and still leaves women with a double burden of doing both paid and unpaid work. The environmentally and economically feasible solution is a universal Guaranteed Livable Income to stop the destructive death-cycle economy; to create economic democracy; to benefit people and the planet and to mobilize for social, environmental and women's economic justice.

*Cindy L'Hirondelle is the former coordinator and current collective member of the Victoria Status of Women Action Group and a founding member of Livable Income For Everyone (LIFE) society. She is feminist writer and for many years a single parent welfare recipient and organizer.*

**Diane Delaney (Provincial Association for Transition Houses and Services of Saskatchewan)**

*Diane Delaney is the Coordinator of Provincial Association for Transition Houses and Services of Saskatchewan. She is currently researching the impact of poverty on women who have experienced violence and potential solutions to women's poverty in Saskatchewan.*

**Rhonda Breitreuz (University of Alberta) / Deanna Williamson (University of Alberta) – Enhancing social policy in Canada: The Gortex solution**

This presentation draws upon the findings from a study which examined the day-to-day experiences of welfare-to-work on low-income mothers, and proposes an "ideal" public policy approach which bridges aspects of the social investment state with aspects of the social protection state to create, like Gortex material, a layered approach to policy that offers both opportunity and protection. This approach includes policies that facilitate employment for those who are able and addresses the barriers to labour-force attachment experienced by low-income parents (i.e., limited childcare accessibility, low wages, and unstable employment). Importantly, this approach also recognizes that not everyone is able to achieve secure and stable labour-market attachment. The Gortex solution thus proposes a citizens' basic income (CBI), also referred to as a guaranteed annual income, for all citizens. Although a CBI is not a new idea, it is an idea which merits revisiting to enhance the current "investment" policy orientation which, on its own, excludes many marginalized people.

*Rhonda Breitreuz is a PhD candidate in the Department of Human Ecology. Her research interests include poverty, social policy, gender, citizenship, and feminist critical theory.*

*This paper is co-authored by Deanna Williamson (Associate Professor, Dept. of Human Ecology, University of Alberta).*

PANEL B2 (ROOM 1315)

## **Imagining Women, Provisioning and Community in a Provident State**

**Chair: Anne\_Marie DeLorey (B.C. Government and Service Employees' Union)**

Recent changes in British Columbia and Ontario to welfare, employment, and community health care policies make it more difficult for women to meet their economic and social security needs. These new policies restrict women's entitlements to adequate public resources and curtail their capacity to make choices about work, especially parenting work. The complexity and volume of the work women must do in the three spheres of household, market and community are rendered more invisible as are the hidden costs to households and society.

To imagine possibilities for new public policies, presenters in this panel first examine what the concept of provisioning, developed by feminist economists, does to illuminate all the work women do and how it points to other directions for policies and strategies for change. We take provisioning to mean the work of securing resources and providing the necessities of life to those for whom one has relationships of responsibility. Provisioning activities are fundamental to survival, take place in the household, market and community and are embedded in relationships, whether voluntary or prescribed. Second, we explore different collective locations in which women locate, constitute and practice innovative ways to provisioning, arguing these explorations point to other directions for policies and strategies for change.

The four panel papers draw upon experience in community and women-centred political struggles, caring labour and social policy scholarship, and findings from an original multi-site research project on women, provisioning and community. The panelists examine provisioning experiences and strategies for progressive policies and practices of women in communities who are pushed to the margins by low or insecure income, race or age, and who require from others, but also provide to others welfare, community health care, and support for employment. Each of the papers are informed by findings of 60 qualitative interviews conducted with women who are members of households and connected to six women-centred community groups in Ontario and BC including a food co-operative, employability programs for younger immigrant women and for women leaving abusive situations, community resource centres in multicultural neighbourhoods, and older women's network. Field notes, document analysis, and conversations with key informants about community provisioning provide context for discussion on provisioning and imagining new policies.

The panel opens with a paper that develops the concept of provisioning from an analysis of how women and community groups see their relationships of obligations and specific provisioning activities. The second and third papers are case studies of the policies that constrain and support provisioning relationships and activities in different community groups. Of particular interest are the ideas and strategies that women and groups experiment with to foster provisioning in community – a space conceptualized as different than household and employment, but upon which both depend. The last paper proposes a way of thinking about policies of a 'provident' state that fosters the provisioning work of women in community as an alternative to current policies engendered by a welfare state or post-welfare state.

**Marge Reitsma-Street (University of Victoria)**  
– **All the work women do: Imagining household and collective provisioning**

*Marge Reitsma-Street is a Professor in Studies of Policy and Practice in the Faculty of Human and Social Development at University of Victoria. She is also the Principal Investigator of "The WEDGE Women, Provisioning and Community Research Project" funded by SSHRC.*

**Stephanie Baker Collins (York University)**  
– **The complex web of household provisioning: Stories of food coop members**

*Stephanie Baker Collins is an Assistant Professor in the School of Social Work at York University and co-investigator of the WEDGE Research Project.*

**Elaine Porter (Laurentian University)**  
– **Collective provisioning: Contributions of community resource centres**

*Elaine Porter is an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at Laurentian University and co-investigator of the WEDGE Research Project.*

**Sheila Neysmith (University of Toronto)**  
– **Provisioning policies of a provident state**

*Sheila Neysmith is a Professor in the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Toronto and co-investigator of the WEDGE Research Project.*

PANEL B3 (ROOM 1600)

## **Unemployment Insurance (EI), Old Age Benefits & Retirement Issues**

**Chair: Joyce Jones (BC Seniors Network)**

**Laurell Ritchie (Canadian Auto Workers Union)**  
– **Can We Make Unemployment Insurance (EI) Work Better for Women?**

The EI account runs a multi-billion surplus while thousands of women fail to qualify for benefits when they're laid off, sick, on parental leave or taking training. Others qualify but get a much shorter benefit period. It doesn't matter if they work for a store, hotel, fish plant, school, airline or factory. What went wrong and more importantly, how do we fix it? Are there political openings for winning changes, as women have done before – and how do we use those openings?

*Laurell Ritchie is a National Representative with the Canadian Auto Workers. Her union responsibilities include research and membership assistance with EI and other benefit matters. For many years Laurell co-chaired the "Women and Work" committee of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women.*

**Margaret Manery (Independent researcher from BC):**  
**Abolishing Mandatory Retirement:**  
**What are the Safeguards for Women?**

In light of the current debate in Canada about whether or not to eliminate mandatory retirement, this study will identify issues that need to be considered to ensure that safeguards are in place to prohibit the erosion of current protections and rights awarded to women at age 65. This study takes into consideration the impact of underlying social and economic forces on the large and mostly unrepresented groups of low- and medium-income women and their different policy interests regarding mandatory retirement.

*Margaret Menton Manery, who has a master's degree in political science from Simon Fraser University, is an independent researcher. She is currently preparing a report for the Columbia Institute on the "Implications of banning mandatory retirement for low- and medium-income workers."*

**Madonna Harrington Meyer & Kristenne Robison (Syracuse University):**  
**Linking Old Age Benefits to Marital Status vs. A Minimum Benefit**

The historical practice of linking women's welfare state benefits to marital status is becoming increasingly problematic. Given the rise in women's waged work and the fall in marital rates, critics argue that such benefits exaggerate rather than ameliorate economic inequality in old age. This paper focuses on the example of the US Social Security system. I use Current

**THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13, 2005**

7:00 – 9:00 p.m. Open public event: Monique Bégin – **Meeting Women's Needs: Imaginative Government & Imaginative Public Policy** | Room 1400

**FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 2005**

8:30 – 8:45 Conference opening remarks and introductions | Marjorie Griffin Cohen (Simon Fraser University, Women's Studies and Political Science, and Co-Director of the Economic Security Project) | Room 1400

8:45 – 10:30 Plenary I | **Imagining Progressive Social Welfare Policy** | Chair: Seth Klein (CCPA-BC) | Jane Jenson (Université de Montréal), Shelagh Day (Poverty & Human Rights Centre), Patsy George (Community advocate and activist) | Room 1400

10:30 – 10:45 Break | Sponsored by the British Columbia Teachers' Federation | Concourse area

10:45 – 12:30	Session A	<p>Roundtable A (Room 1400): <b>Challenging the Income Security/ Labour Market Nexus for Women</b> Chair: Jane Pulkingham (SFU). Panelists: Martha MacDonald (St. Mary's), Wendy McKeen (Dalhousie), Randy Albelda (University of Massachusetts-Boston), Stella Lord (Nova Scotia policy analyst), Ernie Lightman (University of Toronto).</p>	<p>Panel A1 (Room 1500): <b>Translating Dreams into Policy: Re-Imagining Governance</b> Chair: Marcy Cohen (Hospital Employees' Union). Panelists: Barbara Cameron (York University), Shelagh Day (Poverty &amp; Human Rights Centre), Tammy Findlay (York University), Kim McIntyre (York University).</p>	<p>Panel A2 (Room 1510): <b>Women of an (un)certain age: Shaping older women's economic future</b> Chair: Laurell Ritchie (Canadian Auto Workers). Panelists: Charmaine Spencer (SFU Gerontology Research Centre), Elsie Dean (Women Elders in Action), Lillian Zimmerman (SFU Gerontology Research Centre).</p>	<p>Panel A3 (Room 1700): <b>Immigrant, Casual and Precarious Workers</b> Chair: Leah Vosko (York University Atkinson Faculty of Liberal and Professional Studies). Panelists: Jill Hanley (Université Libre de Bruxelles), Dan Zuberi (University of British Columbia), Fiona MacPhail (University of Northern British Columbia)</p>	<p>Panel A4 (Room 2280): <b>Meeting Women's Needs as Health Care Clients and Providers</b> Chair: Patricia Wejr (British Columbia Nurses' Union). Panelists: Melodie Kelly (Memorial University), Arlene Tigar McLaren (SFU Sociology and Anthropology), Laura Zilney (Canadian Federation of University Women)</p>
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12:30 – 1:45 Lunch | Sponsored by the British Columbia Government and Service Employees' Union | Concourse area

1:45 – 3:30	Session B	<p>Roundtable B (Room 1600): <b>Community-based Health Care Models for the Economic Security of Women</b> Chair: Jan Taylor (BC Co-operative Association). Panelists: Michelle Kelly (Care Connection), Laura Rath (Care Connection), Sheila Rowswell (Mid-Main CHC &amp; HEU), Patrick LaPointe &amp; Louise McKinney (Saskatoon CHC Co-op), Marcy Cohen (HEU)</p>	<p>Panel B1 (Room 1400): <b>Livable or Basic Income: A New Approach to Economic Security</b> Chair: Margot Young (UBC Law). Panelists: Jim Mulvale (University of Regina), Cindy L'Hirondelle (Victoria Status of Women Action Group), Diane Delaney (PATHS Saskatchewan), Rhonda Breitreuz (University of Alberta), Deanna Williamson (U of A)</p>	<p>Panel B2 (Room 1315): <b>Imagining Women, Provisioning and Community in a Provident State</b> Chair: Anne_Marie DeLorey (B.C. Government and Service Employees' Union). Panelists: Marge Reitsma-Street (UVic), Stephanie Baker Collins (York), Elaine Porter (Laurentian), Sheila Neysmith (University of Toronto)</p>	<p>Panel B3 (Room 1600): <b>Unemployment Insurance (EI), Old Age Benefits &amp; Retirement Issues</b> Chair: Joyce Jones (BC Seniors Network). Panelists: Laurell Ritchie (Canadian Auto Workers), Margaret Manery (Independent researcher from BC), Madonna Harrington Meyer &amp; Kristenne Robison (Syracuse University)</p>	<p>Panel B4 (Room 2270): <b>Including Women in Policy/Budget Making</b> Chair: Arlene Tigar McLaren (Simon Fraser University Sociology and Anthropology), Jennifer deGroot (United Nations Platform for Action Committee Manitoba), Olena Hankivsky (Simon Fraser University)</p>
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3:30 – 3:45 Break | Sponsored by the Canadian Auto Workers | Concourse area

3:45 – 5:30 Plenary II | **Imagining Strong Employment Policy** | Leah Vosko (York University), Marcy Cohen (Hospital Employees' Union), Cecilia Diocson (Philippine Women's Centre) | Chair: Pat Armstrong (York University) | Room 1400

5:30 – 7:00 Reception | **Traditional Mothers** (5:30 p.m.) | **Solidarity Notes** (6:15 p.m.) | Room 1400

**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 2005**

8:45 – 10:30 Plenary III | **Imagining Social Supports that Work** | Chair: Jane Pulkingham (SFU Sociology & Anthropology) | Marta Szebehely (Stockholm University), Rita Chudnovsky (BC Coalition of Child Care Advocates), Fay Blaney (Aboriginal Women's Action Network) | Room 1400

10:30 – 10:45 Break | Sponsored by the Health Sciences Association | Concourse area

10:45 – 12:30	Session C	<p>Roundtable C (Room 2510): <b>Securing Women's Economic Future: Redressing the Devaluation of Precarious Jobs in Policy &amp; Practice</b> Chair: Fiona MacPhail (University of Northern BC). Panelists: Pat Armstrong (York), Leah Vosko (York), Stephanie Bernstein (UQAM), Katherine Lippel (UQAM), Nancy Zukewich (Statistics Canada)</p>	<p>Panel C1 (Room 2270): <b>Community-Based Research Processes: Addressing the Needs of Multiple Constituencies</b> Chair: Olena Hankivsky (Simon Fraser University Political Science &amp; Women's Studies). Panelists: Catherine M. Scott (University of Calgary), Michelle Murdoch (Memorial University), Laura Dreuth Zeman (Southern Illinois University)</p>	<p>Panel C2 (Room 1400): <b>Single Mothers on Social Assistance: Moving Towards Solutions</b> Chair: Jewelles Smith (Simon Fraser University). Panelists: Amber Gazso (University of Alberta), Margot Young (UBC), Corrine Elizabeth Skarstedt (Carleton student), Lea Caragata (Wilfred Laurier), Joe Manion (Toronto Social Services)</p>	<p>Panel C3 (Room 2945): <b>Caring Work: Voluntary or Coerced?</b> Chair: Martha MacDonald (St. Mary's University Economics). Panelists: Paul Kershaw (University of British Columbia, Anthrolog &amp; Sociology), Susan Braedley (York U), Amanda J. Felkey (Cornell University)</p>	<p>Panel C4 (Room 1520): <b>Working with Disabilities</b> Chair: Penny Gurstein (UBC School of Community &amp; Regional Planning). Panelists: John Vellacott (UBC), Marina Morrow (SFU), Christine Gordon (BC Coalition of People with Disabilities), Kathleen Shiels (Western Society for Children and AfterMath)</p>
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12:30 – 1:45 Lunch | Concourse area

1:45 – 3:30	Session D	<p>Roundtable D (Room 1520): <b>Flexibility vs Entitlement to Support: Pathways to the Future</b> Chair: Marge Reitsma-Street (University of Victoria), Penny Gurstein/Silvia Vilches (UBC School of Community and Regional Planning), Sylvia Fuller (UBC Anth/Soc), Paul Kershaw (UBC HELP), Jane Pulkingham (SFU), Margot Young (UBC Law)</p>	<p>Panel D1 (Room 1400): <b>Economic Security for Women in the Sex Trade</b> Chair: Marina Morrow (Simon Fraser University). Panelists: Leslie Ann Jeffrey (University of New Brunswick), Emily van der Meulen (York University), Lee Lakeman (Vancouver Rape Relief and Women's Shelter)</p>	<p>Panel D2 (Room 2945): <b>Policies for Low Income Women</b> Chair: Ernie Lightman (University of Toronto Social Work). Panelists: Shauna Butterwick (University of British Columbia), Jane Henrici (University of Memphis), Wendy McKeen (Dalhousie University)</p>	<p>Panel D3 (Room 2510): <b>Community Voices in Policy Making</b> Chair: Whitney Borowko (SFU Women's Studies). Panelists: Kay Willson (Prairie Women's Health Centre of Excellence), Lise Martin &amp; Dr. Jo-Anne Lee (Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women), Chrystal Ocean (WISE)</p>	<p>Panel D4 (Room 2270): <b>Labour from the Bottom Up</b> Chair: Mary Rowles (BCGEU). Panelists: Stephen McBride (Simon Fraser University), Kathy McNutt (Simon Fraser University), Andrew Jackson (Canadian Labour Congress), Marcy Cohen (Hospital Employees' Union)</p>
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3:30 – 3:45 Break | Concourse area

3:45 – 5:00 Plenary IV | **Strategies for Change: Looking for a Different Future** | Chair: Marjorie Cohen (Simon Fraser University, Women's Studies and Political Science, and Co-Director of the Economic Security Project) | Hilary Wainwright | Room 1400

5:00 – 5:20 Wrap-Up | Marjorie Griffin Cohen | Room 1400

Population Survey supplemental data to explore the impact of declining marital rates on access to spouse and widow benefits, particularly among black women. The paper then explores the distributional impact, along gender, race and class lines, of relying on a minimum benefit instead. I conclude that a minimum benefit ameliorates inequality in old age.

*Madonna Harrington Meyer is professor of Sociology at Syracuse University. She is the author of numerous articles on economic and health inequality in old age.*

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PANEL B4 (ROOM 2270)

## **Including Women in Policy/Budget Making**

**Chair: Arlene Tigar McLaren (Simon Fraser University, Sociology and Anthropology)**

**Jennifer deGroot (United Nations Platform for Action Committee Manitoba) – Gender Budgets as a tool for women’s economic security**

According to Statistics Canada, one in five Manitoban women is living in poverty. At the same time, fewer than one-quarter of Manitoba’s MLAs are women. In other words, not only are women in Manitoba on average poorer than men, they have fewer opportunities to participate in public processes, such as budgets, which can improve their condition. The Gender Budget Project attempts to address this inequity through lobbying and advocacy for increased gender analysis in the budget-making process as well by promoting women’s budget literacy and their participation in the budget process. Budgets developed through a ‘gender lens’ can change the course of policy in all areas impacting women’s economic security. We will discuss the real potential for gender budgets as a tool for long-term policy change.

*Jennifer deGroot is Project Coordinator for the UN Platform for Action (UNPAC) Manitoba in which capacity she researched and wrote the Women & Economy website at [www.unpac.ca](http://www.unpac.ca) and produced the Banging the Door Down: Women & Economy video.*

## **Olena Hankivsky (Simon Fraser University) – Gender Mainstreaming in Neoliberal Times: The Potential of “Deep Evaluation”**

Gender mainstreaming (GM) or as it is known in Canada – gender-based analysis (GBA), has become an internationally recognized strategy for promoting gender equality. In Canada, both federal and provincial governments, including British Columbia, have introduced GBA policies and frameworks. To date, however, GBA has not been particularly successful in advancing women’s equality. In large part this is because it has not been able to confront dominant neoliberal policy agendas that have disproportionately deleterious effects on women’s lives. In this paper, I will critically examine an alternative strategy recently proposed by Bacchi and Eveline (2003) in the Australian context– “Deep Evaluation” which focuses on early stages of the policy development process. The goal of Deep Evaluation is to enable policy analysts to effectively critique neoliberal norms and in particular, dominant constructions of policy problems and gender relations. I will argue that with some minor adjustments, this approach has significant potential for making gender mainstreaming strategies more effective in BC and other jurisdictions which are facing neoliberal policy reforms.

*Olena Hankivsky is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science and an Adjunct Professor in the Department of Women’s Studies at Simon Fraser University.*

**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 2005**

PLENARY II (SEGAL CENTRE - ROOM 1400)

## **Imagining Strong Employment Policy**

**Chair: Pat Armstrong – York University,  
Sociology and Women's Studies**

**Leah Vosko (York University)**

*Leah F. Vosko is Canada Research Chair in Feminist Political Economy, York University. Professor Vosko is the author of Temporary Work: The Gendered Rise of a Precarious Employment Relationship (University of Toronto Press, 2000) and co-author of Self-Employed Workers Organize: Law, Policy and Unions (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005). She is also co-editor of Changing Canada: Political Economy as Transformation (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) and Challenging the Market: The Struggle to Regulate Work and Income (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004) and editor of Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada (2005). Her work has appeared in a range of scholarly journals and edited collections. Professor Vosko is the Principal Investigator of a Community University Research Alliance on Contingent Work, Director of the Gender and Work Database project, and she was the Virtual-Scholar-in-Residence at the Law Commission of Canada in 2003/2004. She is currently writing a book on globalization, gender, and the changing nature of the employment relationship.*

**Marcy Cohen (Hospital Employees' Union)**

*For the last 10 years Marcy Cohen has worked as the senior researcher and policy analyst for the Hospital Employee's Union. She is currently the Chair of the Board for BC's Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and involved in a number of research projects on the community health restructuring and health care privatization. She has a long history of working in community based research and on women's employment and social justice issues.*

**Cecilia Diocson (Philippine Women's Centre)**

*Cecilia Diocson is the Founding Chair and presently a member of the Board of the Philippine Women Centre of BC (PWC). She is also a member of the International Steering Committee of the Purple Rose Campaign, an international campaign to end sex trafficking of Filipino women and children led by GABRIELA Philippines. She is also the former Coordinator of BC Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines. Cecilia has been involved in various public speaking engagements and forum on human rights in the Philippines and the situation of Filipino migrant workers especially the conditions of Filipino domestic workers in Canada. She is a resource*

*person on human rights issues in the Philippines and Filipino migrants rights in Canada. She is presently working as a registered nurse at Royal Columbia Hospital in British Columbia and a working mother of three children.*

PLENARY III (SEGAL CENTRE - ROOM 1400)

## **Imagining Social Supports that Work**

**Chair: Jane Pulkingham (Simon Fraser  
University, Sociology & Anthropology)**

**Marta Szebehely (Stockholm University)**

Marta Szebehely, born in 1950, is a Professor of Social Work and Social Care at Stockholm University. Her main fields of interest are in gender, social policy and care, especially care for elderly people in Sweden and in Scandinavia. Between 1999 and 2001 she was a member of the Swedish Welfare Commission appointed by the Swedish Government and since 2002 she is holding a six-year fellowship in gender equality studies financed by the Swedish Research Council. At present she is heading a comparative research project on care workers in Scandinavia, based on a mail questionnaire to altogether 4,800 care workers in four Scandinavian countries. The survey instrument includes questions on organisation of care, working conditions, the content of the working day, and workers' experiences of their paid and unpaid work. This project is closely linked to a Canadian study on the same topic led by Professor Pat Armstrong, York University, Toronto, and the two data sets will make comparisons possible on formal and informal care work in different welfare regimes.

Szebehely has published extensively in Swedish, but less so in English. In 2005 she was the editor of an overview of Scandinavian eldercare research, published by the Nordic Council of Ministers, and she also wrote a report on unpaid and paid family care for elderly people for the Inquiry on Gender Equality Policy, a Swedish government commission. Among her publications in English is a chapter on Swedish childcare and eldercare in an edited book: *Dilemmas of Care in the Nordic Welfare State* (Eds. HM Dahl & T Rask Eriksen, Ashgate 2005).

**Rita Chudnovsky (BC Coalition of Child Care Advocates)**

Rita Chudnovsky has been an active member of Canada's child care advocacy movement for over 25 years. In 1981, as a parent of a young child in daycare, she was a founding member of the BC Daycare Action Coalition. Today, she works with and for the Coalition of Child Care Advocates of BC and

facilitates the BC Child Care Advocacy Forum – an alliance of six provincial child care organizations working together on a Common Vision and Agenda for child care services in BC.

From 1996 – 2000, Rita sat on the Provincial Child Care Council, a legislated advisory body to the minister responsible for child care services in BC. She has also been active at the national level in child care advocacy and policy development and served for four terms as the BC representative to the Board of the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada. In that role, she was the first chair of the Association's Council of Child Care Advocates. From 1989 – 1992, Rita was the first Children's Advocate for the City of Vancouver. In this unique municipal role, she worked closely with community members and City Council on the development and implementation of Vancouver's Children's Policy and the City's Child Care Strategy. She remains active in Vancouver today, as an appointed member of the Vancouver City Planning Commission, a citizen body that advises City Council on long term issues affecting the City. In 2002, Ms Chudnovsky was the third recipient of the Family Services Canada/Family Services Association of Toronto "Rosemarie Popham Award for Family Advocacy"

*Ms. Chudnovsky received her Master of Education Degree from Simon Fraser University in 1984. She teaches in the Faculty of Child, Family and Community Studies at Douglas College. Rita is an experienced public speaker, workshop leader and facilitator and has been a consultant on a wide range of community projects related to child care, children's services and community service delivery and planning.*

#### **Fay Blaney (Aboriginal Women's Action Network – AWAN)**

Fay Blaney has been involved with the Aboriginal Women's Action Network since 1995. She served on the Executive of the National Action Committee of the Status of Women from 1995 to 2001. She has taught Women's Studies at Langara College and University of British Columbia. Aside from co-authoring reports and articles published by the Aboriginal Women's Action Network, she has also published articles in "Strong Women's Stories: Native Vision and Community Survival" (eds. Kim Anderson and Benita Lawrence) and "Bringing It Home" (ed. Brenda Lee Brown). She is a member of the Xmémalhkwu Nation of the Coast Salish First Nations.

## **SESSION C**

ROUNDTABLE C (ROOM 2510)

### **Securing Women's Economic Future: Redressing the Devaluation of Precarious Jobs in Policy & Practice**

**Chair: Fiona MacPhail (University of Northern  
British Columbia, Department of Economics)**

This roundtable will explore the gendered devaluation of precarious jobs in policy and practice and identify alternative mechanisms for meeting women's needs for economic security. Drawing on research findings from a five-year Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) on Precarious Employment, panelists will employ interdisciplinary approaches in examining how to improve policy design and delivery in areas such as employment insurance; employment standards; health care; and workers' compensation.

The CURA on Precarious Work involves four streams of research on the size and location of the precarious work force; precarious work, work organization and health; labour laws, legislation and policies; and association-building. This roundtable will bring together researchers attempting to map precariousness in the Canadian labour market and researchers studying the relationship between precarious employment, laws, legislation and policies. In the current (and final) phase of CURA, researchers in these two streams are working together to address the broad question of what and who are missing from policies, legislation, and other forms of regulation, on the hand, and from the data, on the other hand. The broad aim is to examine how data gaps and omissions in policy mutually construct one another, and the role of gendered assumptions of skill and value in shaping processes of reciprocal constitution. More focused aims include exploring who is not legally eligible to benefit from policies? Who is eligible but does not benefit, and for what reasons? Who is eligible but under-protected? And, finally, who is completely missing?

In this roundtable, panelists will devote particular attention to how gaps in policies and practices shaped by dominant conceptions of 'value' and 'skill' are contributing to gendered precariousness and how the devaluation of precarious jobs can be redressed to meet women's economic security needs.

**Leah Vosko (York University) – ‘Precarious Employment’: Towards an Improved Understanding of Labour Market Insecurity in Canada**

*Leah Vosko is the Canada Research Chair in Feminist Political Economy at York University.*

**Nancy Zukewich (Statistics Canada) A View from Within Statistics Canada**

*Nancy Zukewich is a senior analyst with the Social and Aboriginal Statistics Division of Statistics Canada.*

**Stephanie Bernstein (University of Quebec at Montreal) – Precarious Employment and the Law’s Flaws: Securing Effective Protection for Workers**

*Stephanie Bernstein is Assistant Professor of Law at Université de Québec à Montréal.*

**Katherine Lippel (Université de Québec à Montréal) – Workers’ Compensation Statistics: How Costs of Injury to Women Workers are Under-Estimated and Potential Solutions**

*Katherine Lippel is Professor of Law at Université de Québec à Montréal.*

**Pat Armstrong (York University) – Where Do We Go From Here?**

*Pat Armstrong is the CHSRF/CIHR Chair in Health Services and Nursing Research at York University.*

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PANEL C1 (ROOM 2270)

**Community-Based Research Processes: Addressing the Needs of Multiple Constituencies**

**Chair: Olena Hankivsky (Simon Fraser University, Political Science & Women’s Studies)**

Community-based research (e.g. action research) uses social science research methods in collaborative exchange between academics and local communities to facilitate local problem solving while, at the same time, generating critical social analysis.

This panel addresses the challenge of bringing together multiple constituencies in collaborative community based research. While CBR is an effective tool for generating both analysis and activism, little literature speaks to the challenge of addressing the differing (and sometimes competing) needs of constituencies (e.g., activists, researchers, academics) engaged in CBR projects. I’m eager to facilitate a dialogue regarding these challenges and, thereby, contribute to the continued evolution of community-based research as a means of contributing to both critical social analysis and effective social change.

**Catherine M. Scott / Wilfreda E. Thurston (University of Calgary) – Women and a Fair Income: Creating Women Centred Policy Alternatives through Community-Based Research**

*Catherine Scott and Wilfreda Thurston are affiliated with the Department of Sociology, University of Calgary and with Women and a Fair Income (WAFI) Working Group in Calgary, Alberta.*

**Michelle Murdoch (Memorial University of Newfoundland) – Reimagining Disabilities through Self-Determined Voices**

*Michelle Murdoch is a member of the Board of Directors of the Independent Living Resource Centres (St. John’s) and a graduate student in the Women’s Studies Programme at Memorial University of Newfoundland.*

**Laura Dreuth Zeman (Southern Illinois University) – Reimagining Disabilities through Self-Determined Voices**

*Laura Dreuth Zeman is an Associate Professor with the School of Social Work, Southern Illinois University.*

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PANEL C2 (ROOM 1400)

**Single Mothers on Social Assistance: Moving Towards Solutions**

**Chair: Jewelles Smith (Simon Fraser University, Women’s Studies)**

**Amber Gazso (University of Alberta) – Listening to Low-Income Parents’ Experiences of Work/Family Conflict to Meet their Needs in Future Social Assistance Policy Restructuring**

This study examines the experiences 46 parents on social assistance in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. In all three provinces, recipients’ access to benefits is contingent on their employability efforts (i.e. job searches, work programming). In this paper, I ask two questions: 1) How does this policy shift toward seeing parents’ social citizenship rights to social assistance on the basis of their employability shape, match or contradict their actual family care and market relations?; and 2) How could policy be positively redesigned so that the conflicts parents experience when trying to juggle their employability and caring responsibilities are lessened? In my analysis of in-depth interviews with parents, I situate their experiences in the context of how policy restructuring impinges upon individual agency.

*Amber Gazso is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta. Her current research focus is on how provincial reform strategies have involved a*

*re-/de-gendered transformation of social citizenship rights to social assistance and the extent to which low-income parents' family care and market relations are embedded in this transformation.*

**Margot Young (University of British Columbia)**  
– **Single Mothers on Welfare: Catch 22**

This paper looks at the current legislative and policy situation of single mothers on social assistance in British Columbia. The paper highlights a number of discursive images of single mothers, linking such imagery to both recent changes in BC's social assistance regime and dominant political constructions of the family, state, and individual.

*Professor Young teaches at the Faculty of Law, University of British Columbia. Her focus is on areas of constitutional law, in particular, equality law and theory and social welfare law.*

**Corrine Elizabeth Skarstedt (Carleton University)**  
– **Forging Fundamental Solutions: (Un)spinning Canada's Socio-Economic (In)security**

A considerable percentage of Canadians, and particularly women, continue to experience deep and persistent poverty. In theory, Canada is legally obligated to honour its international treaty commitments *vis-à-vis* the safeguarding of fundamental human rights. In reality, however, Canadian courts have failed to provide substantive effect to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (hereinafter the ICESCR). To what extent do Canada's international economic human rights obligations influence judicial interpretation of the Charter and the scope of domestic human rights protection? While the ICESCR may potentially achieve justice for the marginalized, it is fraught with inchoate discrepancies within the Canadian judiciary system. How might policymakers, practitioners and citizens *en masse* strengthen the implementation of socio-economic human rights for women and other vulnerable groups, including the right to social inclusion and the recognition of poverty as a violation of human rights? In discerning how legislative, policy and regulatory frameworks can be forged in Canada, select case law from other parts of the world will be assessed accordingly.

*Corinne Elizabeth Skarstedt (M.A. Candidate, Legal Studies, Carleton University; B.A. [Hons.], Carleton University; B.A. History, Concordia University) is engaged in research pertaining to socio-economic human rights issues in Canada. Corinne is a volunteer Board Member of Canadian Lawyers for International Human Rights (CLAHR).*

**Lea Caragata (Wilfrid Laurier University)/ Joe Manion (Toronto Social Services) – Lone Mothers: Policy Responses to Build Social Inclusion**

Reformed welfare systems, radically reduced social assistance benefit levels and precarious labour markets have demonstrably negatively affected the life prospects of low income people in Canada over the past decade. Ultimately, welfare retrenchment, in combination with precarious labour markets, has marginalized lone mothers socially and economically, but in ways that may not be effectively captured through conventional poverty or labour market analyses.

This presentation reports on preliminary work done by university, community and government partners in a longitudinal study of the work and welfare experiences of lone mother-led families. Extending relevant conceptual and theoretical perspectives, our aim is to make visible the multiple dimensions of individuals' experiences of social exclusion (socio-political, economic, subjective, spatial) and bring into focus the relationships among these experiences, the structural and policy contexts that support them, and their policy implications.

Issues and themes explored include the capacity of lone mothers to work, their skills and job training needs, and obstacles to their sustained employment. Issues of racialization and stigmatization are discussed as they affect the "job getting" experiences of research participants. A significant finding relates to the complexity of needs within these families and the necessity for multiple types of supports to enable job retention. Appropriate policy responses are considered including labour market protections and coordinated social policy provisions affecting income, housing, child care and employment training.

*Lea Caragata is an Associate Professor at Wilfrid Laurier University; Joe Manion is the Director of Strategic Program Development at Toronto Social Services.*

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PANEL C3 (ROOM 2945)

## **Caring Work: Voluntary or Coerced?**

**Chair: Martha MacDonald**  
(St. Mary's University, Economics)

**Paul Kershaw (University of British Columbia) – Carefair: feminist policy reform served 'neoliberal style'**

Neoliberals successfully deployed a duty discourse to recalibrate the post-war safety net in favour of workfare. While some critics of neoliberal restructuring view this discourse as an attack on social citizenship, I argue that it should be embraced further to integrate care as a responsibility of citizenship that binds men as much as women. The concept 'carefair' is

advanced to justify reforms to parental leave, child care and employment standards that will challenge male free riding on female care. Carefair is strategically valuable because it defends feminist policy change in language that resonates with citizens in liberal welfare regimes.

*Paul Kershaw is an Assistant Professor at the University of British Columbia in the Faculty of Graduate Studies. His research marries political theory with public policy analysis to investigate the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship and to explore the extent to which care aspirations and obligations are integrated into our system of social policy. He was the recipient of the 2005 Jill Vickers prize for research about gender and politics.*

**Susan Braedley (York University) – ‘Getting Guys to Care’: Can Social Policies that Encourage Men’s Participation in Care Work Positively Impact on Women’s Economic Security?**

Women’s economic security has been continually undermined by social arrangements related to the sex/gender division of labour. In recent years, a number of countries have introduced social policies that encourage a redistribution of some care work to men. Drawing on three examples from three different welfare regimes (i.e. conscientious objector alternatives to the draft in Germany, paternal care policy in Iceland and elder care leaves in Canada), this paper examines these policies and their underlying assumptions regarding care and the gendered distribution of labour. Their potential contribution to improving women’s economic security is assessed, and policy directions are proposed.

*Susan Braedley is a doctoral candidate at York University. Her focus is the gendered distribution and organization of waged and unwaged care work, including the policies and practices that shape these social arrangements.*

**Amanda J Felkey (Cornell University) – Will You Covenant Marry Me? A Look at a New Type of Marriage**

In a backlash to growing divorce rates, three states have begun to offer covenant contracts (a stronger form of marriage). This study utilizes Louisiana and Arkansas marriage certificate data to determine the scope and effects of the covenant marriage option. Individual and couple characteristics are used to determine how covenants are systematically chosen over traditional marriages. At the parish level it analyzes the option’s effectiveness on decreasing the divorce rate. Since covenants will result in more costly divorce proceedings and women will bear an undue burden, this policy’s mere existence is detrimental to women’s economic security.

*Amanda Felkey has completed a Masters of Arts in Economics and is a Ph.D. candidate at Cornell University.*

PANEL C4 (ROOM 1520)

## Working with Disabilities

**Chair: Penny Gurstein (University of British Columbia, School of Community & Regional Planning)**

**John Vellacott (University of British Columbia)  
– For Better or Worse? National Employment  
Policy Approaches and Women with Disabilities**

Participation in employment is often a key element in the successful inclusion of persons with disabilities within Canadian society, and women with disabilities in particular encounter major barriers to accessing and maintaining employment. The presenter will briefly review past and current policy approaches to employment policy for persons with disabilities within Canada, and the impacts of these policies on women with disabilities. The presenter will then outline possible remedies for the shortfalls in existing policy, along with some suggestions for new policy approaches.

*John Vellacott has over 20 years of experience in field of vocational rehabilitation, focusing on the employment needs of persons with disabilities. Currently he is employed as the Manager – Knowledge Transfer within the Data Development and Evaluation Branch of AHRE, and is also completing a doctoral degree in Educational Policy and Leadership at the University of British Columbia.*

**Marina Morrow (Simon Fraser University)  
– Making Work: Income Security for Women  
with Mental Illness**

In the 1990s, emerging from a decade of mental health policy reforms and ironically under some of the most austere neoliberal social welfare cutbacks during the “Harris” era, a group of psychiatric survivors in Ontario developed the Ontario Council of Alternative Businesses (OCAB). The OCAB is an umbrella organization of consumer/survivor run businesses guided by a unique economic development model. This model has been slowly challenging traditional approaches to occupational therapy and providing people with chronic and persistent forms of mental illness with gainful employment. Through an examination of the OCAB and emergent models in Ontario, Quebec and BC this presentation will discuss the potential of these innovations to address the specific poverty and income-related needs of women with mental illness.

*Dr. Marina Morrow is a Research Associate with the BC Centre of Excellence for Women’s Health and with the BC Centre for Policy Alternatives. She teaches in Women’s Studies at the University of British Columbia. Dr. Morrow has focused her research in the area of women and mental health, health policy, citizen engagement and globalization.*

**Christine Gordon (BC Coalition of People with Disabilities) – Breaking Down the Barriers to Employment for People with Disabilities**

This presentation will discuss the barriers and risks in employment for people with disabilities. It will also explore the kinds of policies and supports that would ensure the economic security and full participation in society by people with disabilities. *Christine Gordon is a member of the BC Coalition of People with Disabilities.*

**Kathleen Shiels (AfterMath Connection, Western Society for Children) – Beyond Buck\$**

The buck stops here! Bucking inequities faced by single mothers on social assistance caring for disabled children. *Kathleen Shiels is an innovative thinker who co-founded 4 "disability" related organizations/programs. She wears many hats (including single mother of 2, one of which suffers from an acquired brain injury), to advocate for barrier-free, inclusive, community solutions based on family centered care.*

## SESSION D

ROUNDTABLE D (ROOM 1520)

### **Flexibility vs. Entitlement to Support: Pathways to the Future**

**Chair: Marge Reitsma-Street (University of Victoria)**

This roundtable discusses the paper, "Re-Visioning the Environment of Support for Impoverished Mothers." The paper takes as its starting point the experiences of single mothers on income assistance who have young children and asks the question, "How can public policies respond to the support these women need to adequately care for their child(ren) and themselves?" Lack of money following income support reductions is putting increasing pressure on these women to rely on social networks outside of the public arena, which we argue, is putting them and their children in an even more precarious situation. Re-visioning social networks as part of an ecological system of support in the lives of women opens the way to moving beyond the public/private dualism that underlies current policy approaches. To illustrate how current policy frameworks impact on single mothers, we discuss how housing for this population involves a range of interacting imperatives. Using an ecological perspective, we then suggest ways in which revisioning the policy framework can better support materials needs.

The Income Assistance Project, from which the data for this paper is derived, is a five-year research project whose objective is to advance our understanding of the environment in which families with young children live when they receive

income assistance (IA). By documenting how changes to IA affect the daily lives of single mother families with preschool children through qualitative, in-depth interviews every six months over a three-year period with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women living in urban Vancouver and the rural Bulkley Valley, this research project is designed to engage with issues of geography, ethnicity and transience.

Roundtable presenters and respondents are researchers currently involved in projects focusing on the legal and/or policy contexts of impoverished women's lives.

Respondent interventions, addressing issues of employment supports, the rights and responsibilities of childcare, mothering and state support and gendered perspectives on entitlement, will open up the roundtable discussion to all participants to provide the opportunity for a more complex discussion and critique of the possibilities suggested.

**Penny Gurstein / Silvia Vilches (UBC) – Pathways to the Future: Implications of the Income Assistance Project**

*Penny Gurstein is a Professor in the School of Community and Regional Planning at the University of British Columbia. She specializes in the socio-cultural aspects of community planning with particular emphasis on those who are the most marginalized in planning processes; Silvia Vilches is a Ph.D. student in the School of Community & Regional Planning at UBC and a recipient of a Michael Smith Health Research Foundation senior studentship.*

**Sylvia Fuller (University of British Columbia)**

*Sylvia Fuller is the SSHRC and Isaac Walton Killam Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at University of British Columbia.*

**Paul Kershaw (University of British Columbia)**

*Paul Kershaw is an Assistant Professor at the University of British Columbia in the Faculty of Graduate Studies in Human Early Learning Partnership.*

**Jane Pulkingham (Simon Fraser University)**

*Jane Pulkingham is an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at Simon Fraser University.*

**Margot Young (University of British Columbia, Law)**

*Margot Young is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Law at University of British Columbia.*

PANEL D1 (ROOM 1400)

### **Economic Security for Women in the Sex Trade**

**Chair: Marina Morrow (Simon Fraser University)**

**Leslie Ann Jeffrey (University of New Brunswick) – It's the Money, Honey: Income Security and Sex Work**

This paper explores policy changes that are needed in order to address income security for sex workers, particularly marginalized sex workers. Sex workers interviewed in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are very clear that sex work is for them primarily an income generating activity that brings greater flexibility, independence and potentially higher income than work in the service sector or social assistance. There are difficulties however in terms of the maintenance of personal safety without jeopardizing income, the management of illegal income, the illegality of contracts and the generation of savings. This paper will explore how such issues can be addressed through policies that maximize income security and personal security for sex workers.

*Leslie Jeffrey teaches International Relations and Comparative Politics with an emphasis on gender and human rights at the University of New Brunswick in Saint John. Her research focuses on national and international sex-work policy.*

**Emily van der Meulen (York University) – Towards More Egalitarian Policies on Prostitution: What Canada Can Learn from the International Community**

Prostitutes are among the most vulnerable female populations in Canada. They are also among the least involved in the creation of the policies that affect their daily lives. This paper examines the participation, or lack thereof, of prostitutes in the Canadian policy process via an analysis of the influential 1985 *Report of the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution* and the current review of solicitation laws initiated by MP Libby Davies. In an attempt to imagine policy formulation processes that might be more participatory for prostitutes, New Zealand's inclusion of prostitutes in policy development will be examined.

*Emily van der Meulen is a doctoral candidate in Women's Studies at York University. Her dissertation examines the ways that prostitutes and prostitute-allied communities in Toronto have engaged and are engaging in the public policy process.*

**Lee Lakeman  
(Vancouver Rape Relief & Women's Shelter)**

This presentation discusses the needs of the poorest women and the global trade in women, in an environment of neo-liberalism internationally, and with the particular character of this trade in Canada and Vancouver. The presentation will also discuss recent cross-Canada research on government and institutional promotion of prostitution and the government's attack on women's economic security.

*Lee Lakeman currently works with Vancouver Rape Relief & Women's Shelter and has been a frontline worker in anti-violence organisations since 1973. She has been the Chair of the NAC Committee on Violence as well as the Spokesperson of the Canadian Association of Sexual Centres.*

PANEL D2 (ROOM 2945)

## **Policies for Low Income Women**

**Chair: Ernie Lightman (University of Toronto, Social Work)**

**Shauna Butterwick (University of British Columbia)  
– Low Income Single Mothers & Access to  
Post-Secondary Education**

It is well documented that access to and successful completion of higher education is a key factor in achieving economic security and escaping from poverty, particularly for single mothers on low income. This paper examines effective policies and programs that go a long way to create bridges and pathways for single mothers on low income to enter and succeed in higher education. This report is based on a review of evaluation studies, plus interviews with 29 college and institute staff working in 14 different colleges in BC who had been involved in running programs and providing services for students on low income.

*Shauna Butterwick is an adult educator, researcher and Associate Professor in the Department of Educational Studies and UBC. Much of her research has focused women's learning, particularly in relation to paid work, and the enabling and disabling aspect of policies and programs.*

**Jane Henrici (University of Memphis) – Learning to be Poor: Job Training and Women in the US**

Women in the U.S. disproportionately number among its low-wage workers. Research indicates that job training and vocational education can assist adults to become more employable, if specific conditions are met. However, these findings typically ignore gender, race, and ethnicity differentiation as well as parenting status. Such analyses obscure socioeconomic contexts for women as well as reinforce what Lafer calls "the job training charade." To address poverty, rather than the training industry, visions of women's work must be as "flexible" as the workforce is required to be. This paper uses qualitative and quantitative studies of urban households to discuss this issue.

*Jane Henrici is Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology and Affiliate of the Center for Research on Women and the Hooks Institute for Social Change at the University of Memphis. Her research focus is on gender and ethnicity in urban poverty and development.*

**Wendy McKeen (Dalhousie University)  
– The Children's Agenda and the Shifting Philosophy  
of Social Policy in Canada: Where do we go from here?**

This paper focuses on the politics of social policy in Canada, and the potential for progressive actors to have a greater influence on the debates. The paper will critically analyze the

debate on "investing in children" and its outcome both for policy and politics. Wendy McKeen asks how has the idea of investing in children been framed within federal social policy debate, how has progressive social policy sector fared in its attempt to define the issues and solutions, and what positions have emerged as dominant? The study argues that there has been a significant turn in our understanding of social problems and the very concept of social policy, and that it is important for progressives to fully grasp the nature of the shifts if we are to present an effective challenge to current policy trajectories. The paper will end with a discussion of more realistic and progressive conceptualizations of social policy – ones that put the figure of the "social individual" at the center of social reality.

*Wendy McKeen is an Assistant Professor in the School of Social Work at Dalhousie University where she teaches social policy and social justice. Her current research focuses on the dynamics of the shifting discourse in Ontario concerning single mothers, social assistance and employability.*

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PANEL D3 (ROOM 2510)

## **Community Voices in Policy Making**

**Chair: Whitney Borowko**  
**(Simon Fraser University, Women's Studies)**

**Kay Willson (Prairie Women's Health Centre of Excellence)**  
**– We've Found our Voices. Now Who's Listening?**

Community-based research with low-income women in Saskatchewan and Manitoba has documented numerous problems encountered by those who rely upon social assistance to meet their basic needs. Women directly affected by social assistance policies have offered critiques, valuable insights and recommendations for change. Yet their recommendations often seem to fall on deaf ears. This presentation will explore these policy recommendations and provincial government responses, or lack thereof. Our aim is to shed light on the difficulties of translating grassroots policy alternatives into public policies and to stimulate discussion of creative strategies to address those challenges.

*Kay Willson is Research Manager for the Prairie Women's Health Centre of Excellence and a member of the National Coordinating Group on Health Care Reform and Women. She has worked with women's groups and anti-poverty organizations for over thirty years and is currently a member of the Saskatoon Anti-Poverty Coalition.*

**Lise Martin & Dr. Jo-Anne Lee (Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women: CRIAW) – Working to Integrate Marginalized Women's Voices into Social Policy and Debates**

Although most would agree that it is imperative that the voices of those whose economic security was most affected by the changes to Canada's social policy landscape over the last 10 years be included in the development of a future vision, the means of doing so within an ethical integrated feminist framework is often easier said than done. To avoid projecting from a position of privilege, women most affected must be included at every step. This centering may result in very different looking political research and political agenda than exists now and new issues may displace traditional issues on the feminist agenda. For the purposes of this conference we would like to explore how we can ensure that our feminist ideals of integrating marginalized women's voices materializes in our public policy research and its ensuing policy recommendations. Although this is an area in which the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW) has acquired a substantial amount of expertise, we are still continuously working to improve our research methodologies.

CRIAW is carrying out a project that will consult directly with women from specific marginalized groups about the effects of policy changes (linked to the introduction of the CHST/CST). The project will provide the women with an opportunity to have an active voice in the framing of social policy in Canada (more specifically policy linked to social assistance). This particular research project will help frame the presentation as will CRIAW's ongoing work on developing an integrated feminist framework.

*Lise Martin is currently the Executive Director of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women.*

*Jo-Anne Lee is Assistant Professor of Women's Studies at the University of Victoria. She researches and writes in the areas of immigrant women, multiculturalism, community development, adult education, nationalism and feminism, and social cohesion and citizenship identity formation of radicalized girls.*

**Chrystal Ocean (Wellbeing thru Inclusion Socially and Economically – WISE) – Recommendations from Women in Poverty: Community Based Solutions**

WISE recently completed a project whose results appear in the book *Policies of Exclusion, Poverty & Health: Stories from the Front* (January 2005). As part of the project, the 21 storytellers – all women living below the LICOs – drafted recommendations for change. These recommendations broke down into three major groups, in order of logical priority: R1) education, R2) community-based action, R3) social policy.

The first set of actions concentrates on raising community awareness and understanding, without which the women cannot proceed to R2. The second group includes novel and inexpensive ways to combat poverty from the grassroots. This presentation concentrates on R2.

*Chrystal Ocean is Coordinator of Wellbeing thru Inclusion Socially and Economically (WISE).*

## Labour from the Bottom Up

Chair: Mary Rowles (BCGEU)

**Stephen McBride (Simon Fraser University) / Kathy McNutt (SFU) – Women's Economic Security and Experiences of Labour Market Alienation**

Labour market policy frameworks have conventionally been premised on a male breadwinner model that assumes individual welfare is realized through full-time, permanent employment. Recent British Columbia social policy encourages or coerces citizens to maximize their involvement in the labour market but provides diminished social support. Consequently, women have been increasingly expected to perform dual roles as workers and domestic custodians. Through an in-depth policy and legislative analysis, this project examines the feminization of the provincial labour force, considering women's economic security and experiences of labour market alienation. We argue that the current BC framework is discordant with the realities faced by many citizens, whose experiences consist of casual employment, part time work, multiple job holdings, and unpaid labour responsibilities. To address these inconsistencies we offer an alternative policy approach that seeks to coordinate labour market policy with family welfare and risk diversification. The primary hypothesis guiding this research suggests that higher labour force attachment necessitates appropriate policy coordination among social, family, and labour policy domains.

*Stephen McBride is professor of political science at Simon Fraser University and is the Director of the Centre for Global Political Economy. Kathleen McNutt is currently a PhD student in political science at Simon Fraser University. Her research focuses on Canadian public policy.*

**Andrew Jackson (Canadian Labour Congress)  
– Work with Welfare?**

This presentation will argue that labour market regulation through collective bargaining and higher minimum wages is a much more effective and gender neutral way of dealing with the problem of low paid work than is family income supplementation for the working poor. Yet the latter solution is being increasingly promoted by progressive social policy advocates.

*Andrew Jackson is National Director of Social and Economic Policy with the Canadian Labour Congress and author of the recent book, *Work and Labour in Canada: Critical Issues*. (CSPI) He was Research Director with the Canadian Council of Social Development from 2001 to 2003 while on leave from the CLC.*

**Marcy Cohen (Hospital Employees' Union)  
– Organizing privatized health workers:  
Learning from the BC and UK Experiences**

This presentation focuses on how the privatization of health support service jobs has hurts workers, families and health care. While the presentation will touch on all these issues, it will also look at how HEU has responded through a very successful grass-roots member-to-member organizing drive led by the visible minority workers themselves. The experience of UNISON will also be examined. In the UK UNISON has campaigned and won the right of contract workers to have the same pay and working conditions as in-house employees.

*Marcy Cohen is the Director of Research at HEU*

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### PLENARY IV

## Strategies for Change: Looking for a Different Future

Chair: Marjorie Griffin Cohen (Simon Fraser University, Women's Studies and Political Science; Co-Director of the Economic Security Project)



**Hilary Wainwright**

Hilary Wainwright is the Research Director of the New Politics project at the Transnational Institute, Editor of Red Pepper, a popular independent left magazine in Britain and Associate Fellow of the Centre for Global Governance at the London School of Economics. Hilary's first work

towards a new politics was 'Beyond the Fragments; Feminism and the Making of Socialism' (Merlin 1981) with Sheila Rowbotham and Lynne Segal. After this, while teaching at Durham University and then based at the Open University, she wrote several books on innovative developments in the trade union movement in Britain. She worked to apply these and related ideas by working for the Greater London Council with Ken Livingstone and founding the Popular Planning Unit under the shadow and finally the axe of Margaret Thatcher. She then wrote: 'Labour, A Tale of Two Parties' (Chatto 1988) on the battles inside the British Labour Party in the 1970s and 80s. While working at Manchester University, she wrote 'Arguments for a New Left. Answering the Free Market Right' (Blackwell 1993) a more theoretical case for a new politics of the left. More recently she has developed this with 'Reclaim the State, Experiments in Popular Democracy' (Verso/TNI, 2003). This has been/is being translated into Portuguese, Italian, Spanish and Japanese. She is now working on a book around the theme of rethinking political agency.



**CCPA**  
CANADIAN CENTRE  
for POLICY ALTERNATIVES  
BC Office

[www.policyalternatives.ca](http://www.policyalternatives.ca)

## About the CCPA

The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives is an independent, non-partisan research institute concerned with issues of social and economic justice. Founded in 1980, it is one of Canada's leading progressive voices in public policy debates.

The CCPA works to enrich democratic dialogue and ensure Canadians know there are workable solutions to the issues we face. The Centre offers analysis and policy ideas to the media, general public, social justice and labour organizations, academia and government. It produces studies, policy briefs, books, editorials and commentary, and other publications, including *The Monitor*, a monthly magazine. Most of these resources are available free at [www.policyalternatives.ca](http://www.policyalternatives.ca).

Established in 1997, the CCPA's BC Office offers policy research and commentary on a wide range of provincial issues, such as: BC finances, taxation and spending; poverty and welfare policy; BC's resource economy; privatization and P3s; public education financing; health care; and more.

The CCPA is a registered non-profit charity and depends on the support of its more than 10,000 members across Canada.

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## About the Economic Security Project

The Economic Security Project is a major research initiative of the CCPA's BC Office and Simon Fraser University, in partnership with 24 community organizations and four BC universities.

The project examines how recent provincial policy changes affect the economic well-being of vulnerable people in BC, such as those who rely on social assistance, low-wage earners, recent immigrants, youth and others. It also develops and promotes policy solutions that improve economic security.

The project is funded primarily by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) through its Community-University Research Alliance Program.

For more information, visit [www.policyalternatives.ca/esp](http://www.policyalternatives.ca/esp)